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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

VOL. I.

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CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Page 32, line 4, insert a comma after Yoga-vasishta.
85, line 28, after preceptor add of Gautama who was preceptor
45, line 7, for Ilyas, read Ilion.
49, line 18, read Tatar expunge 30 year, &c.
55, line 6, for Kingdom, read Ferghana.
65, note †, for Chetrigun, read Chhetrigun.
76, line 24, after son add of.
84, line 26, for eternal, read Internal
138, line 27, after worthy add of notice.
151, line 19, after capital, add was
146, line 25, dele the comma after supernatural
153, line 27, dele and
201, line 24, dele Jayachandra.
207, line 2, add us, after and.
213, line 28, before some add were.
223, note 23, for Magha sudi light bai, read Magha sudi thirk half
256, note 14, substitute a comma for the period after districts.
288, line 15, after Embassy add was to this Emperor
295, line 19, dele the
295, line 20, after difficult, add to cure.
301, note §, after see, add that
305, line 19, substitute a comma for the period.
315, line 14, insert the comma after Nakshi.
315, note †, for Barvach, read Barnach,
316, note *, for Barnach, read Barrach.
317, line 6, insert of from, read for
317, line 8, for that word is, read a word,
317, note 44, for Silhi, read Silili.
320, note 4, for author read compilers.
322, line 3, for Vallus, read Valens.
322, line 26, for Segestes, read Sigurtu, in the and every other place where it occurs.
327, line 23, for lived, read live
330, line 22, after no information, add from them.
333, note *, after Plate, add XII
336, line 24, for Sigeodon, read Sigertides.
342, note †, after the father of, add or
354, line 5, for Lanka, read Sanka.

Page 333, line for Chhina, read Cetina.
345, note 4, for Lymnitis, read Lymurica.
356, line 26, a comma to be placed after Sun.
356, line 27, a period to be placed after doubt
136, note for Tabi-tai read Tafasa
358, line 9, for Agisi, read Azad.
370, note , after Plate add XII.
359, line 3, for supposed, read regretted
54, line 8, for it was, read tribute was
344, note † for Dhalla, read Bhalla.
Dhia, — for Benaudet read Betaudet, in both instances.
405, line 9, for Foo-chow read Foo, Chow
414, line 26, after trade, add and.
415, note, for represented, read used.
421, line 6, after name, add of
457, line 24, after exchanged, add of passing.
507, line 1, read and explanation, instead of and for explanation.
534, note for 41), read 412

545, line 7 of the Inscription, for كب read كب

545, line 18 of ditto, for يتم read يتم

547 note *, for بر read بر

548, line 7, for آمين كذين وزجر read آمين كذين وزجر

548, line 10, for رواج read رواج

548, line 18, for رحمة read رحمة

548, line 14, for رجر read رجر

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REPORT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

AT THE

FIRST GENERAL MEETING,

ON

THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1823.

THE first *General Meeting* of the Asiatic Society, having, in the original Prospectus, been fixed for the 15th of March, the Committee appointed for making the necessary arrangements, took measures to carry that intention into effect. Under the authority of a meeting of Original Members, a *Circular Letter* was issued, by which the General Meeting was convened. The letter communicated to the Members the business in which the meeting, on this day, would be engaged, being chiefly the election of a Council, and Officers, for the future administration of the affairs

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of the Society Some other points likewise, that were to be brought before the meeting, were noticed in the circular letter, in order to put the Members distinctly in possession of all the topics that were to come under their consideration.

The Meeting, accordingly, took place, at the Thatched House, St. James's Street.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq, was called to the Chair

With a view to the ballot, Henry St George Tucker, Esq, and W H Trant, Esq were nominated Scrutineers.

Before the ballot commenced, the Chairman desired leave to address the Meeting he delivered a discourse, in which he developed the views of the Society, and the purposes for which it was instituted. This discourse having been received with marked approbation, by the Meeting, it was moved that it should be printed, and likewise, that the thanks of the Meeting should be given to the Chairman which propositions, being respectively seconded, were adopted unanimously by the Meeting

The Chairman proceeded to announce to the Meeting, that His Majesty, King George the Fourth, had been graciously pleased to declare himself Patron of the Asiatic Society,

Farther, that the Most Noble the *Marquis Wellesley*, and the Most Noble the *Marquis of Hastings* were nominated Vice-Patrons;

And lastly, that the *President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, for the time being*, would always be a Vice-Patron.

The following Resolutions were next proposed by the Chairman, and approved by the Meeting

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I.—That the Society be called, *The Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.**

II.—That the designation of the Members of the Society be *M.A.S.† Member of the Asiatic Society*

III.—That the Meeting do empower the Council, as soon as it shall have been elected, to frame Regulations, by which, when sanctioned by the Society, at its General Meetings, the Society is in future to be governed.‡

IV.—That the Council be authorized to take such steps, or make such arrangements, as they may deem advisable, to provide a suitable place for the Society's meetings.§

V.—That the Council be authorized to take such steps as may be requisite, to obtain a Charter of Incorporation, as early as they may find it expedient and practicable.‖

VI.—That the next General Meeting be held on Saturday, the 19th of April, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon

The Chairman congratulated the Meeting on the promising aspect which the Society bore, stating, that the number of Members already entered on its list, exceeded *Three Hundred.*

---

* His Majesty having been pleased, subsequently, to grant to the Society the title of *Royal*, its present denomination is, *The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.* This distinction was announced to the Society, by its President the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn, at the General Meeting, June 7, 1823, as appears from the Minutes.

† The designation now is M.R.A.S. *Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.*

‡ The Regulations have, accordingly, been framed. They were sanctioned by the Society, at the General Meeting, April 19, 1823. They were afterwards printed, and distributed among the Members.

§ The Council has succeeded in obtaining the lease of a convenient house, situated in Grafton Street, Bond Street, which was taken possession of, in the name of the Society, on the 15th of January, 1824, and the Society met there, for the first time, on the 17th of that month.

‖ The Charter, by which the Society now is incorporated, is dated August 11, 1824.

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The Chairman having concluded, the ballot opened, and was carried on till four o'clock, as had been previously fixed, when, being closed, the lists were examined by the Scrutineers. It was then declared from the Chair, that the following Twenty-five Members had been elected to form the Council, viz.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SOMERSET
HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,
THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE,
THE EARL HEREDITARY THE EARL OF ABERDEEN,
THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES W WILLIAMS WYNN.
THE RIGHT HON. SIR GORE OUSELEY BART
THE RIGHT HONORABLE JOHN SULLIVAN,
SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART.
SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, DART
SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B.
SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT.
SIR JAMES MACINTOSH, KNT
JAMES ALEXANDER, ESQ.
JOHN BARROW ESQ.
HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, ESQ.
COLONEL F. M. DOYLE,
LIEUTENANT COLONEL C. J. DOYLE,
MAJ. BENJAMIN EDMONSTONE, ESQ.
JOHN FLEMING, ESQ.
CAPTAIN HENRY KATER.
ANDREW MACKLEW ESQ.
WILLIAM MARSDEN, ESQ.
G. H. NOEHDEN, LL.D
COLONEL MARK WILKS,
CHARLES WILKINS, ESQ.

And out of this number the following were chosen Officers of the Society, viz.

President.

THE RIGHT HON CHARLES WATKIN WILLIAMS WYNN

Director

HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, BART.
SIR JOHN MALCOLM, G.C.B
SIR ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT
COLONEL MARK WILKS

Treasurer.

JAMES ALEXANDER, ESQ

Secretary.

GEORGE HENRY NOEHDEN, LL.D.

G. H. NOEHDEN,
Secretary

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

CHARTER

OF

INCORPORATION

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

GEORGE THE FOURTH, by the Grace of GOD of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland KING, Defender of the Faith To all to whom these Presents shall come Greeting.

WHEREAS our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, *Charles Watkin Williams Wynn*, and others of our loving subjects, have under our Royal Patronage formed themselves into a Society for the investigation of subjects, connected with, and for the encouragement of Science, Literature and the Arts, in relation to Asia, called "*The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*," and we have been besought to grant to them, and to those who shall hereafter become members of the same Society, our Royal Charter of Incorporation, for the purposes aforesaid Now KNOW YE that we being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, have of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere

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motion, willed, granted, and declared, and we do by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, will, grant, and declare, that our said Right Trusty and Well-beloved Councillor, Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, and such others of our loving subjects, as have formed themselves into, and are now members of the said Society, and all such other persons as shall hereafter become members of the said Society, according to such regulations or bye-laws, as shall be hereafter formed or enacted, shall, by virtue of these presents, be the members of, and form one body politic and corporate, by the name of "*The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*;" by which name they shall have perpetual succession, and a common seal, with full power and authority to alter, vary, break, and renew the same, at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, and answer and be answered unto, in every court of us, our heirs, and successors, and be for ever able and capable in the law, to purchase, receive, possess, and enjoy, to them and their successors, any goods and chattels whatsoever and also be able and capable in the law (notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain) to take, purchase, possess, hold, and enjoy, to them and their successors, a Hall or College, and any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments whatsoever, the yearly value of which, including the site of the said Hall or College, shall not exceed in the whole the sum of one thousand pounds, computing the same respectively at the rack rent which might have been had or gotten for the same respectively, at the time of the purchase or acquisition thereof, and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate for the purposes aforesaid, as fully and effectually to all intents, effects, constructions, and

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purposes whatsoever, as any other of our liege subjects, or any other body politic and corporate, in our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, not being under any disability, might do in their respective concerns. And we do hereby grant our especial licence and authority unto all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent), to grant, sell, alien, and convey in mortmain unto, and to the use of the said Society, and their successors, any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, not exceeding such value as aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, that our first Commissioner, for the time being, for the Affairs of India, shall be a Vice-Patron of the said body politic and corporate. And we further will, grant, and declare, that there shall be a general meeting of the members of the said body politic and corporate, to be held, from time to time, as hereinafter is mentioned, and that there shall always be a council to direct and manage the concerns of the said body politic and corporate, and that the general meetings and the council shall have the entire direction and management of the same, in the manner, and subject to the regulations, hereinafter mentioned. But our will and pleasure is, that at all general meetings, and meetings of the council, the majority of the members present, and having a right to vote thereat respectively, shall decide upon the matters propounded at such meetings, the person presiding therein having, in case of an equality of numbers, a second or casting vote. And we do hereby also will, grant, and declare, that the council shall consist of a President, and not more than twenty-four nor less than five other members, to be elected out of the members of the said body politic and corporate; and that the first members of the council, exclusive of the President, shall be elected within six

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calendar months after the date of this our Charter, and that the said Charles Watkin Williams Wynn shall be the first President of the said body politic and corporate. And we do hereby further will, grant, and declare, that it shall be lawful for the members of the said body politic and corporate, hereby established, to hold general meetings once in the year, or oftener, for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, (that is to say) That the general meetings shall choose the President and other members of the council, that the general meetings shall make and establish such bye-laws, as they shall deem to be useful and necessary for the regulation of the said body politic and corporate, for the election and admission of members, for the management of the estates, goods, and business of the said body politic and corporate, and for fixing and determining the manner of electing the President and other members of the council, as also, of electing and appointing such officers, attendants, and servants, as shall be deemed necessary, or useful, for the said body politic and corporate, and such bye-laws, from time to time shall, or may, alter, vary, or revoke, and shall or may make such new and other bye-laws, as they shall think most useful and expedient, so that the same be not repugnant to these presents, or to the laws and statutes of this our Realm; and shall or may also enter into any resolution, and make any regulation respecting any of the affairs and concerns of the said body politic and corporate, that shall be thought necessary and proper. And we further will, grant, and declare, that the council shall have the sole management of the income and funds of the said body politic and corporate, and also the entire management and superintendence of all the other affairs and concerns thereof, and shall, or may, but not inconsistently with, or

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contrary to the provisions of this our Charter, or any existing bye-law, or the laws and statutes of this our Realm, do all such acts and deeds as shall appear to them necessary or essential to be done, for the purpose of carrying into effect the objects and views of the said body politic and corporate. And we further will, grant, and declare, that the whole property of the said body politic and corporate, shall be vested, and we do hereby vest the same, solely and absolutely in the members thereof, and that they shall have full power and authority to sell, alienate, charge, or otherwise dispose of the same, as they shall think proper, but that no sale, mortgage, incumbrance, or other disposition of any messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, belonging to the said body politic and corporate, shall be made, except with the approbation and concurrence of a general meeting. And we lastly declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure, that no resolution, or bye-law, shall on any account or pretence whatsoever be made by the said body politic and corporate, in opposition to the general scope, true intent, and meaning of this our Charter, or the laws or statutes of our Realm, and that if any such rule or bye-law shall be made, the same shall be absolutely null and void, to all intents, effects, constructions, and purposes whatsoever. In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent. Witness ourself at our Palace at Westminster, this eleventh day of August, in the fifth year of our reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal. SCOTT.

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A DISCOURSE

READ AT A MEETING

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,

ON THE 15TH OF MARCH, 1823,

BY

H. T. COLEBROOKE, Esq.

Called by the indulgence of this meeting to a chair, which I could have wished to have seen more worthily filled, upon so interesting an occasion, as the first general meeting of a Society, instituted for the important purpose of *the advancement of knowledge in relation to Asia*, I shall, with your permission, detain you a little from the special business of the day, while I draw your more particular attention to the objects of the Institution, for the furtherance of which we are now assembled.

To those countries of Asia, in which civilization may be justly considered to have had its origin, or to have attained its earliest growth, the rest of the civilized world owes a large debt of gratitude, which it cannot but be solicitous to repay. And England, as most advanced in refinement, is, for that very cause, the most

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beholden, and, by acquisition of dominion in the East, is bound by a yet closer tie As Englishmen, we participate in the earnest wish, that this duty may be fulfilled, and that obligation requited, and we share in the anxious desire of contributing to such a happy result, by promoting an interchange of benefits, and returning in an improved state that which was received in a ruder form

But improvement, to be efficient, must be adapted to the actual condition of things and hence a necessity for exact information of all that is there known, which belongs to science, and all that is there practised, which appertains to arts

Be it then our part to investigate the sciences of Asia, and inquire into the arts of the East, with the hope of facilitating ameliorations, of which they may be found susceptible

In progress of such researches, it is not perhaps too much to expect, that something may yet be gleaned for the advancement of knowledge, and improvement of arts, at home. In many recent instances, inventive faculties have been tasked to devise anew, what might have been as readily copied from an Oriental type, or unacknowledged imitation has reproduced in Europe, with an air of novelty, what had been for ages familiar in the East Nor is that source to be considered as already exhausted. In beauty of fabric, in simplicity of process, there possibly yet remains something to be learnt from China, from Japan, from India, which the refinement of Europe need not disdain

The characteristic of the arts in Asia is simplicity With rude implements, and by coarse means, arduous tasks have been achieved, and the most finished results have been obtained; which, for a long period, were scarcely equalled, and have, but recently, been surpassed, by polished artifice and refined skill in Europe. Were it a question of mere curiosity, it might yet be worth the inquiry, what were the rude means by which such things have been accomplished? The question, however, is not a merely idle one. It may be investigated with confidence, that an useful answer will be derived If it do not point to the way of perfecting

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European skill, it assuredly will to that of augmenting Asiatic attainments.

The course of inquiry into the arts, as into the sciences, of Asia, cannot fail of leading to much which is curious, and instructive. The inquiry extends over regions, the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide, as those regions are vast, and as various, as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history; their civil polity; their long-enduring institutions; their manners, and their customs; their languages, and their literature; their sciences, speculative and practical in short, the progress of knowledge among them; the pitch which it has attained; and last, but most important, the means of its extension.

In speaking of the history of Asiatic nations (and it is in Asia, that recorded and authentic history of mankind commences), I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements; but rather to less conspicuous, yet more important, occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society, the civil institutions of nations, their internal, more than their external, relations and the yet less prominent, but more momentous, events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilized life.

It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently to be investigated the discoveries of the wise, the inventions of the ingenious; and the contrivances of the skilful.

Nothing, which has much engaged the thoughts of man, is foreign to our inquiry, within the local limits, which we have prescribed to it. We do not exclude from our research the political transactions of Asiatic states, nor the lucubrations of Asiatic philosophers. The first are necessarily connected, in no small degree, with the history of the progress of society; the latter have great influence on the literary, the speculative, and the practical, avocations of men.

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Nor is the ascertainment of any fact to be considered destitute of use. The aberrations of the human mind are a part of its history. It is neither uninteresting, nor useless, to ascertain what it is that ingenious men have done, and contemplative minds have thought, in former times, even where they have erred, especially, where their error has been graced by elegance, or redeemed by tasteful fancy.

Mythology then, however futile, must, for those reasons, be noticed. It influences the manners, it pervades the literature, of nations which have admitted it.

Philosophy of ancient times must be studied, though it be the edifice of large inference, raised on the scanty ground of assumed premises. Such as it is, most assiduously has it been cultivated by Oriental nations, from the further India to Asiatic Greece. The more it is investigated, the more intimate will the relation be found between the philosophy of Greece, and that of India. Whichever is the type, or the copy, whichever has borrowed, or has lent, certain it is, that the one will serve to elucidate the other. The philosophy of India may be employed for a commentary on that of Greece, and conversely Grecian philosophy will help to explain Indian. That of Arabia too, avowedly copied from the Grecian model, has preserved much which else might have been lost. A part has been restored through the medium of translation, and more may yet be retrieved from Arabic stores.

The ancient language of India, the polished Sanscrit, not unallied to Greek and various other languages of Europe, may yet contribute something to their elucidation, and still more to the not unimportant subject of general grammar.

Though attic taste be wanting in the literary performances of Asia, they are not, on that sole ground, to be utterly neglected. Much that is interesting, may yet be elicited from Arabic and Sanscrit lore, from Arabian and Indian antiquities.

Connected as those highly polished and refined languages are with other tongues, they deserve to be studied for the sake of the

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particular dialects and idioms, to which they bear relation, for their own sake, that is, for the literature which appertains to them; and for the analysis of language in general, which has been unsuccessfully attempted on too narrow ground, but may be prosecuted, with effect, upon wider induction

The same is to be said of Chinese literature and language. This field of research, which is now open to us, may be cultivated with confident reliance on a successful result, making us better acquainted with a singular people, whose manners, institutions, opinions, arts and productions, differ most widely from those of the West; and through them, perhaps, with other tribes of Tartaric race, still more singular, and still less known.

Wide as is the geographical extent of the region, to which primarily our attention is directed, and from which our association has taken its designation, the range of our research is not confined to those geographical limits. Western Asia has, in all times, maintained intimate relation with contiguous, and not unfrequently, with distant, countries. and that connexion will justify, and often render necessary, excursive disquisition beyond its bounds. We may lay claim to many Grecian topics, as bearing relation to Asiatic Greece; to numerous topics of yet higher interest, connected with Syria, with Chaldæa, with Palestine. Arabian literature will conduct us still further Wherever it has followed the footsteps of Moslem conquest, inquiry will pursue its trace Attending the Arabs in Egypt, the Moors in Africa, accompanying these into Spain, and cultivated there with assiduity, it must be investigated without exclusion of countries, into which it made its way.

Neither are our researches limited to the old continent, nor to the history and pursuits of antient times. Modern enterprise has added to the known world a second Asiatic continent, which British colonies have annexed to the British domain. The situation of Austral Asia connects it with the Indian Archipelago. Its occupation by English colonies brings it in relation with British India.

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Of that new country, where every thing is strange, much is yet to be learnt. Its singular physical geography, its peculiar productions, the phænomena of its climate, present numerous subjects of inquiry and various difficulties are to be overcome, in the solution of the problem of adapting the arts of Europe to the novel situation of that distant territory. The Asiatic Society of Great Britain will contribute its aid towards the accomplishment of those important objects.

Remote as are the regions to which our attention is turned, no country enjoys greater advantages than Great Britain, for conducting inquiries respecting them. Possessing a great Asiatic empire, its influence extends far beyond its direct and local authority. Both within its territorial limits and without them, the public functionaries have occasion for acquiring varied information, and correct knowledge of the people, and of the country. Political transactions, operations of war, relations of commerce, the pursuits of business, the enterprise of curiosity, the desire of scientific acquirements, carry British subjects to the most distant and the most secluded spots. Their duties, their professions, lead them abroad: and they avail themselves of opportunity, thus afforded, for acquisition of accurate acquaintance with matters, presented to their notice. One requisite is there wanting, as long since remarked by the venerable founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it is leisure: but that is enjoyed, on their return to their native country. Here may be arranged the treasured knowledge, which they bring with them, the written or the remembered information, which they have gathered. Here are preserved in public and private repositories, manuscript books, collected in the East, exempt from the prompt decay, which would there have overtaken them. Here, too, are preserved, in the archives of families, the manuscript observations of individuals, whose diffidence has prevented them from giving to the public the fruits of their labours, in a detached form.

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An Association, established in Great Britain, with views analogous to those, for which the parent Society of Bengal was instituted, and which happily are adopted by Societies, which have arisen at other British stations in Asia, at Bombay, at Madras, at Bencoolen, will furnish inducement to those, who, during their sojourn abroad, have contributed their efforts for the promotion of knowledge, to continue their exertions after their return. It will serve to assemble scattered materials, which are now liable to be lost to the public, for want of a vehicle of publication. It will lead to a more diligent examination of the treasures of Oriental literature, preserved in public and private libraries. In cordial co-operation with the existing Societies in India, it will assist their labours, and will be assisted by them. It will tend to an object, first in importance the increase of knowledge in Asia, by diffusion of European science. And whence can this be so effectually done, as from Great Britain?

For such purposes we are associated; and to such ends our efforts are directed. To further these objects, we are now assembled and the measures, which will be proposed to you, Gentlemen, are designed for the commencement of a course, which, I confidently trust, may, in its progress, be eminently successful, and largely contribute to the augmented enjoyments of the innumerable people, subject to British sway abroad, and (with humility and deference be it spoken, yet not without aspiration after public usefulness,) conspicuously tend to British prosperity, as connected with Asia.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I. *Memoir concerning the Chinese.* By JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, Esq., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.

Read May 17, 1823.

THE Empire of China furnishes a subject of investigation, highly deserving the attention of the antiquarian and the philosopher; and one which, in proportion as it has been little attempted, affords the ampler field for research. It may in some measure be considered as a reproach to this country, that, notwithstanding our having a much greater interest in the subject, we should have permitted the learned of France and of Germany to anticipate us on many points of inquiry. although the labours of the last twenty years, and more especially of the last ten, have gone far towards giving us the first place in the ranks of Chinese literature; and much more may be expected from the future.

I shall endeavour, in this paper, to take a cursory view of such facts connected with the *earlier* history of the Chinese, as may be depended upon, in order to obtain a correct idea of the antiquity of their empire, and their advancement in knowledge, points on which the most vague and unfounded notions have been prevalent; and the view may not be without its utility, in shewing what parts of the subject stand in need of further investigation. Great as is the antiquity of the Chinese, it has still been extravagantly overrated. The best-informed and most reflecting among themselves reject, as unprofitable fables, the earliest traditions of their history;* and indeed the

* See, in Morrison's Chronology, p. 57, a quotation from *Chao-foo-tsze*, in which he says, "It is impossible to give entire credit to the traditions of these remote ages."

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prodigies that are recorded, as well as the fanciful names that are given to their first emperors, carry with them the most unquestionable marks of fabrication. National vanity and a love of the marvellous have influenced in a similar manner the early history of most other countries, and furnished materials for nursery tales, as soon as the spirit of sober investigation has supplanted that appetite for wonders, which marks the infancy of nations, as well as of individuals. The person called *Fo-hi*, and some of his immediate successors, appear to have been of the number of those gifted men, who rescued the human race from primeval barbarism, and whom their gratitude has invested with superhuman attributes. All institutions and inventions, of whose real origin no history remains,* have been referred to them as to a common source; but the grave appellation of *Emperor* is only applied by the ignorant and the unthinking, to savages who first taught their cotemporaries to make fishing nets, to till the ground, and live together in a state of society.†

In order to prove how little dependence can be placed on the accounts which the Chinese give of their own antiquity and inventions, I need only produce the following quotation from the abstract of history given by Du Halde. "*Chuen-hiu* regulated the calendar, and desired to begin the year the first day of the month in which the sun should be nearest the 15th degree of Aquarius, for which he is called the author and father of the Ephemeris. He chose the time when the sun passes through the middle of the sign, *because in this season the earth is adorned with plants, trees renew their verdure, and all nature seems re-animated.* This of course means the spring season. Now *Chuen-hiu* is said to have lived more than two thousand years before Christ, and according to the usual mode of calculating the precession of the equinoxes, the sun must have passed through the 15th of Aquarius, in his time, somewhere about the *middle of December.*

This strange blunder might very well have been expected from a Chinese historian, but that Du Halde should have quoted it, without any comment,

* "All they relate concerning the progress of the arts and sciences, is an incongruous mass of fictions. Every thing with them is produced as if by enchantment: and events succeed each other with inconceivable rapidity: but the greatest absurdity consists in attributing all inventions of that nature to *princes*, who we know have few opportunities of making discoveries."—*De Pauw, Preliminary Discourse on the Egyptians and Chinese.*

† "At this time," says a Chinese author, speaking of *Fo-hi*, "men differed but little from brutes, they knew their *mother*, but not their *father*."—*See Du Halde.*

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is certainly extraordinary. I am inclined to think that the present rule for commencing the Chinese year, near the middle of Aquarius, has a reference to the position of the *Winter Solstitial Colure* at a remote period, though it would not be so far back as the reputed age of *Chuen-hŭ*, but short of it by about six hundred years. From the circumstance of the Winter Solstice being at present observed as a festival, there is a possibility that it was at first the period of their year's commencement; though I mention this merely as a conjecture.

The only direct and positive testimony that we seem to possess, *out of* China, relating to the first origin of the Chinese nation, exists in the Institutes of Menu: and I cannot help thinking that the observations of Sir W. Jones on the passage in question are deserving of great attention. It is there written, that "many families of the military class, having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the Vedas, and the company of Brahmens, lived in a state of degradation, as the *Chinas* and some other nations." The great antiquity of the laws of Menu is in favour of the authenticity of the above testimony; for at the period at which Sir W. Jones supposes them to have been written (above one thousand years B.C.), there can be no doubt whatever but the Chinese nation was yet in its infancy, and that it could lay no claim to the character of an extensive, united, and powerful empire, until many centuries after that date: as I shall attempt to shew. I content myself with noticing in this place the statement of one of their own historians,* that twelve hundred years before Christ, "the Chinese nation was small and feeble, the eastern foreigners (that is, the aborigines, perhaps Tartars, between them and the east coast) numerous and strong," and that the former "gradually obtained a residence in the middle of the country," namely, in *Honan*. It is universally admitted among themselves, that the seat of government was at first in *Shen-si*, the north-west part of the present empire, where the colonists, mentioned by the Indian Lawgiver, are supposed to have settled, and that they subsequently carried on wars against a state called *Yen*, in *Pĕ-chĭ-lĭ*, and another named *Tsi*, in *Shan-tung*, until they succeeded in fixing themselves in *Honan*.

The opinion, hazarded by M. de Guignes, that the Chinese were a colony from Egypt, seems hardly capable of being supported by sufficient proof. Such a distant and extensive emigration could not have taken place without

* See Morrison's Chinese Chronology, p. 58.

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the knowledge and notice of the nations inhabiting the vast countries that intervene, besides which, there exists no resemblance between the mysterious hieroglyphics of Egypt and the Chinese characters, which might, as Sir W. Jones observes, "have been contrived by the first *Chinas*, or outcast Hindus, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetic character of their wiser ancestors." Though M. de Pauw and other learned men have been of opinion that the Chinese were originally a tribe of Tartars, or Scythians, I cannot help thinking that there are some reasonable grounds for concluding that they were a colony from India, and that they owe their present distinctive character to their subsequent mixture with the aborigines of the country, and with the Tartars.

The *Empire* of China cannot be dated earlier than the dynasty called *Tsin*, about two hundred years before Christ, and the term *Wang*, or Prince, instead of *Hoang ti*, or Emperor, is applied by their own historians to all the monarchs of the race of *Chow*, which immediately preceded it. From this race of *Chow* (B.C. 1100 to 240) we may date the *Authentic History* of the Chinese, which commences with the *Chun-tsew* of Confucius, the annals of his own times, in which he relates the wars of the different petty states against each other *. The northern half of modern China, from the great river Keang † to the confines of Tartary, appears then to have been divided by a number of petty independent states, which contended against each other with various success, and as one obtained a temporary ascendancy over the rest, it assumed the pretensions of a doubtful sovereignty, which was acknowledged or denied, in proportion as adversity or success might influence the dispositions of its neighbours. The province of *Pĕ-chĕ-li* was occupied by a nation or state called *Yen*, *Shan-tung* was held by the Kings of *Loo* and *Tsi*, *Keang-nan* by the sovereign of *Woo*, while a large portion of the modern half of the empire to the south of the *Keang*, together with the province of *Sze-chuen*, was occupied by Barbarians, who are seldom mentioned in the histories of that period, except as provoking, by their incursions, the chastisement of the more civilized states in the north.

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* It would perhaps be going too far to condemn all that precedes the time of *Chow*, as *absolutely fabulous*, but it is so mixed up with fable, as not to deserve the name of history. They have no records older than the compilations of Confucius.

† *Yang-tsse-kiang*, or *nan'shuy*, *Keang*, "The River."

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The period of *Chow*, from about the middle of which the era of authentic history may be dated, was distinguished by the birth of *Confucius*, and of *Laou-keun*, the founders of two of the sects of China, while *Fo*, or Buddha, the author of the third, was also born in India about the commencement of the same period, although his worship was not introduced into the empire until long after, in the first century of the Christian era. The memory and the doctrines of Confucius have met with almost uninterrupted veneration down to the present time, while the absurd superstitions of the other two have been alternately embraced and despised by the different sovereigns of the country. Under the present Tartar government, they can merely be said to be *tolerated*. In the instructions of the Emperor *Yung-ching* to the people, the tenets of *Fo* and of *Laou-keun* are stigmatized among the "impure doctrines" against which the nation is warned to guard itself with especial caution.

Leaving the religion of his countrymen as he found it, Confucius embodied in sententious maxims the first principles of morals and of government, and the purity and excellence of some of his precepts (whatever may have been said to the contrary by persons ignorant of the language) will bear a comparison with even those of the gospel. He, and he only, of the men who have at different times aspired to teach the Chinese, was truly deserving of the title of Philosopher, and he alone, during the revolutions of ages, has met with uniform veneration. Guided by the light of reason, he applied the energies of a powerful intellect to the *Study of man*, and grounded his doctrines on the fixed and immutable principles of human nature. His works are at this day the Sacred Books of the Chinese, and when compared with the evanescent tenets of *Fo* and of *Laou-keun*, confirm the superiority of truth over the fictions of artful, and the ravings of fanatical teachers. Thus it is that "opinionum dolet dies, naturæ judicia confirmat."

After the death of Confucius, who appears to have been respected by the sovereigns of nearly all the independent states of China, a series of sanguinary contests arose among them, which gave to this period of history the name of *Chen-kwo*, or the "contending nations," and proved at length the ruin of the race of *Chow*. The king of *Tsin*, who had long been growing very powerful at the expense of the neighbouring states, fought against six other nations, and after a course of successes, compelled them all to acknowledge his supremacy (B.C. 300). The chief government began now to assume the aspect of an *Empire*, which comprehended the greater portion

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of the northern half of modern China, but which, after the lapse of not much more than four centuries, was doomed again to be divided into three or four parts.

CHI HOANG-TI, the *First Emperor*, as his name seems to import, had hardly established his authority, when the Tartars, or barbarians of the north, began to make incursions over the extensive frontiers. The Emperor succeeded in driving them back into their deserts, and then employed the united resources of his dominions in the erection of the vast Wall, which has existed during a space of two thousand years, and remains to this day a stupendous, though nearly useless, monument of the ambitious disposition of this prince.* As if determined, however, to have a counterpoise to the reputation which this great work entitled him to, or influenced by a spirit not unlike that on which Erostratus was inspired, when he burned the Ephesian temple, the same Emperor issued a general order that all the books of the learned should be cast into the flames. Though a great many, of course, escaped this sweeping sentence, his memory is execrated by the literati of China.

It is stated in the history of that period, that Japan was colonized from China during the same dynasty, and there appears to myself some grounds for giving credit to this record. The union of the different states under his single authority, and the magnificent turn of mind that prompted *Chi-hoang-ti* to carry into execution such a work as the Great Wall, were most likely to urge him to schemes of colonization, which are sometimes very analogous to those of conquest, and the extension of his new dominions to the shores of the Eastern Sea was still further calculated to suggest such ideas. I am well aware that the Japanese have been asserted by some to have peopled their islands as early as the 13th century before Christ, and that those people are said to disdain the very idea of being descended from the Chinese. If, however, we remark the striking similarity that exists between the persons, the manners, the dispositions, and the policy of the two nations, we cannot but recognize them to be of *one family*, and the fact of the Japanese making use of the Chinese written language, and reve-

* The substance of the Great Wall, which extends along a space of 1,500 miles, from the shore of the Yellow Sea to Western Tartary, has been estimated by Mr Barrow to exceed in quantity that of all the houses in Great Britain, and to be capable of surrounding the whole earth with a wall several feet high.

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reviving the books of Confucius, may fairly be considered as evidence that they carried them from China, at, or some time previous to, the period in question.* The earliest traditions of every country must be listened to with distrust, unless corroborated by circumstantial proof, and the most fastidious native of Japan need not be offended with the chronology that gives to his country an antiquity of more than two thousand years.

During the succeeding dynasties of *Han* (B.C. 200—A.D. 220), the first of which is called *Si*, or western, from holding its metropolis in *Shen-si*, while the latter bears the opposite name of *Tung*, or eastern, from its court having been removed to *Honan*, the empire suffered several revolutions. The ambition of the rulers of the different states, as well as of the ministers of the Emperor, gave rise to various wars, and, in the last days of *Han*, so little was left of an empire, that the sovereigns of that period are called *Chou*, or Lord, instead of *Hoang-ti*. The Tartars, too, by their fugitive and predatory mode of warfare, were the cause of much trouble, and forced the Chinese to propitiate them with alliances and tribute. This impolitic system, which commenced so early, was in subsequent ages carried to a still greater height, and terminated, many centuries afterwards, in the overthrow of the empire, by the Moogol Tartars.†

The dynasty of *Han*, however, is a very celebrated period in Chinese history, and learning especially is said to be under great obligations to it. At the present day, the term for a Chinese, in contradistinction to a Tartar, is *Han-jin*, "a Man of Han." *Paper* and *ink*, instead of the awkward and cumbrous method of pricking characters on the bark of trees with a stile, are stated to have been invented during this dynasty, shortly previous to the Christian era ‡ and it is probable that the rapid progress of Buddhism, or the religion of *Fo* which was soon after introduced from India, was in some measure owing to those inventions. The leading tenets of this sect were taught in the Chinese language, while the mere *sounds* of the characters were used,

* Allowing that this might have happened *before* the burning of the books, B.C. 900, it must necessarily have been *after* the time of Confucius, B.C. 500.

† During the learned and polite, but unwarlike dynasty of *Sung* (A.D. 960—1281), who were crushed by the Moogols, enormous supplies of money and silk were repeatedly demanded and obtained by the Barbarians. This unwise submission had the natural effect of increasing their insolence, and hastening the ruin of the empire.

‡ The art of *printing* is not conceded to have arisen until, about A.D. 925, a little before the time of *Sung*.

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as a system of syllabic spelling, to express the principal epithets or attributes of the Indian god, as well as the more mysterious, or unintelligible portions of his sacred books. These are now chaunted by the priests, or bonzes, without being understood, even by themselves, and may perhaps serve to excite the greater veneration for the object of their worship, on the principle of "omne ignotum pro magnifico." The appellation *o-mee-to*, which, during my travels with Lord Amherst in the interior, I once saw inscribed around every division of a seven-storied pagoda, is supposed by Sir W. Jones to express *amita*, "immeasurable," the Sanscrit epithet of Buddha: and it is probable that a person acquainted with both the languages would recognise abundance of Sanscrit words in the books of the Chinese bonzes.*

The *San-kwŏ*, or three nations into which the empire was divided, towards the close of *Han* A. D. 200, were *Wei* in the north, *Woo*, whose capital was at *Nan-king*, and *Shŭ* in the modern *Sze-chuen*. The period of the three nations is a very favourite subject of the historical plays of the Chinese, as well as of a well written and much prized historical romance, which bears the same name, and of which Sir George Staunton possesses a curious Latin translation.† The dress of that period, as represented on the stage, and in pictures, forms a singular contrast with the modern garb which has been forced upon the Chinese by their Tartar conquerors. Instead of the long queue or tail, proceeding from a single tuft at the back of the head, and which forms the usual handle for seizing offenders, the ancient Chinese are depicted with fine heads of hair, folded beneath their caps, and with dresses of a fashion differing altogether from the national costume of the present day.

Few circumstances could more strongly prove the complete subjection of the Chinese by the Manchew Tartars, than this one of the total change in their national dress. Modes of government and political institutions may be altered, in despotic countries, without the notice or even knowledge of

* The literary world is under great obligations to Professor Bopp of Germany for proving beyond a doubt that the Sanscrit and the Greek are little more than dialects of the same language. The similarity of a few scattered words might have been regarded as accidental coincidence: but it requires considerable hardihood of disbelief to set aside the resemblance that runs through the whole conjugations of verbs, &c. &c. Even in the above-mentioned word *amita*, it is impossible not to allow a great resemblance to *a-μητος*, the *α* in both cases having the negative force.

† The translation has since been presented by Sir George to the Royal Asiatic Society, and is now in their Library.

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a large mass of the community: but a change in the national costume, in consequence of a peremptory command, affects every individual equally, from the highest to the lowest, and is, perhaps, of all others, the most open and degrading mark of conquest. It can never be submitted to, except by a people who are thoroughly subdued, nor ever imposed, except by a government that feels itself well able to *enforce* a measure, which is perhaps resorted to for no other purpose than to try, or to break, the spirit of the vanquished. The second conquest of China, in the seventeenth century, by the Eastern, or Manchew Tartars, who had not entire possession of the southern provinces until the reign of *Kang-hi*, was not so violent, or so bloody, as its first conquest by the Western or Mongols, under Cobla Khan, in the thirteenth; but it was not less complete, and has already continued much longer.

After the time of *Han*, and at the commencement of the period called *Woo-tae*, or the Five short Dynasties, A.D. 410-620, China is recorded to have been divided into two Empires, the Northern and Southern. The Emperor of the North, however, having promoted a person, named *Yang-këen*, to the situation of his first minister, and formed an alliance between his own daughter and the minister's son, soon after made *Yang-këen* sovereign of the state *Suy*. During the following reign, this ambitious person took the title of Emperor, and having crossed the *Keang*, dethroned the sovereign of the south, and united the two empires into one, A.D. 585. The seat of government was soon after removed from *Shen-si* to *Honan*, as to a more centrical situation.

During the Dynasty *Tang*,* which immediately succeeded, and which lasted from A.D. 620-900, a circumstance highly deserving of attention is the extraordinary power which the Eunuchs of the palace seem to have assumed. For a considerable time, their influence and authority were such, as to enable them to make and unmake emperors at pleasure, like the

	A.D.	A.D.
* After *Tang*, we have the five latter dynasties	900	960
Sung	960	1281
Yuen, or Mongols	1281	1365
Ming, or Chinese restored	1365	1644
Ta-tsing, the present Manchows	1644	down to the present time.

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Prætorian guards at Rome. As they could not, like the latter, have possessed any real or substantial power, we must necessarily refer so curious a circumstance to the operations of intrigue. The uncontrouled access which their neutralised condition gave them to all parts of the palace, and to the company of both sexes, was greatly calculated to facilitate their projects: and projects of much ill and disorder were likely enough to be formed by persons in their miserable condition, who looked with an eye of envy and hatred on all the rest of the human race. The awe of state was not long felt by those who were the immediate attendants, and perhaps the companions of the sovereign, in his private haunts; and that barrier being once passed, the approaches of insolence and usurpation advanced with less interruption. At the close of the dynasty, however, their power was finally crushed in a general massacre: and though eunuchs are at this day employed at Pekin in great numbers, the more modern history of China has not recorded their interference in the revolutions of the Empire.*

In the above brief view of the principal facts connected with the *earlier* history of China, I have contented myself with noticing such points, as seemed best calculated to convey a general notion of the real antiquity of the Empire, or were most deserving of attention in themselves; and I am of opinion, that a careful examination of its authentic annals, undertaken with a proper degree of scepticism towards the misrepresentations of national vanity, will establish the following facts, that the antiquity of China as an *Empire* has been greatly exaggerated, and that it cannot be dated earlier than the reign of *Chi-hoang-ti*, about B.C. 200, that it was then confined

* It was about the end of the same dynasty of *Tang*, or very soon after, that the strange custom of cramping the feet of the higher classes of women is recorded to have commenced. As it has always appeared to myself impossible to refer the origin of such shocking mutilation to any notions of physical beauty, however arbitrary, I am inclined to ascribe it to a principle which unquestionably dictates the *long* nails of the literati and higher classes of Chinese men. The idea conveyed by these is *exemption from labour*; and as the small feet make perfect cripples of the ladies, it is fair to conclude that the idea of gentility which they convey, arises from a similar association. That appearance of helplessness, which the mutilation induces, is much admired by the Chinese, notwithstanding its usual concomitant of extreme unhealthiness; and in their poetry I have frequently observed the tottering gait of the poor women compared to the "waving of a willow in the breeze." A Mandarin once told me, with great gravity, that the compression of the ladies feet in early youth was highly desirable, *quod carnem ex pedibus in crura mitti, et progressum ex ob hanc causam fieri.*

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almost entirely to that half of modern China, which lies between the great river Keang, and the confines of Tartary, that it was subsequently split into several independent nations, which, after various contests and revolutions, were formed into two Empires, the Northern and Southern, and became finally united under one head, about A.D. 585, that China has been the theatre of as bloody and continued wars as have ravaged most of the other countries of the globe, that it has twice, and at no very distant periods of time, been completely conquered by foreign barbarians; and that its last conquerors exercise over it, at this day, an imperious, and by no means impartial sway, but one in which the precedence and the trust are, in most cases, conferred on the Tartar.

Among other points of inquiry relating to the Chinese, their attainments in the various branches of human knowledge have naturally been the objects of much curiosity in Europe. With respect to those arts of life which administer to the wants and enjoyments of mankind, they must be allowed to have made a very early and considerable proficiency, and are even at this day, in many respects, the most skilful and best workmen in the world. Of science, however, they are, and appear always to have been, entirely destitute. It is a curious circumstance that they and the Hindus, (whether they had, or had not, any connexion in remote antiquity,) should have existed so long in the immediate vicinity of each other, and at the same time possessed so little in common. With the exception of the sect of *Fŏ*, or Buddha, an Indian heresy, which found refuge in the Empire from the persecutions of a bigotted priesthood, the Chinese appear to me to have received nothing from their western neighbours. The ancient skill of the Hindus, in astronomical and algebraic science, has been clearly and ably demonstrated; but no proofs have yet occurred that they imparted any portion of that skill to the Chinese. I feel persuaded that, until the introduction of astronomy into the Empire by the Arabians, in the first instance, and subsequently by the European Missionaries, the whole science of the Chinese consisted in a careful observation and scrupulous notation of the eclipses, and other heavenly phenomena. Their ignorance led them to attach the most important political influences to the different aspects and conjunctions of the celestial orbs, and hence arose the exactness with which they marked and chronicled them.

Confucius has recorded six and thirty eclipses of the sun, the greatest number of which have been verified by the calculations of European astro-

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numbers: but the recording an eclipse may prove the authenticity of historical annals, while, at the same time, it proves nothing as to the existence of astronomical science. Some persons have been led to suspect that the Chinese must at one time have possessed the astronomy of the Hindus, by their having twenty-eight lunar mansions, and a cycle of sixty years: but a careful observation of the essential differences that exist on either side, must remove all shadow of identity. The Hindu cycle is a cycle of Jupiter, while that of the Chinese is a solar cycle; and the twenty-eight constellations of the Hindus are nearly all of them equal divisions of the circle, consisting of about 13° each, while the Chinese constellations are extremely unequal, varying from 30° to less than 1°.

That the Chinese possessed no real science of their own, and that they obtained none from the Hindus, is, I think, proved by the readiness with which they adopted that of Europeans. On this one subject that singular nation has deviated from its established prejudices and maxims against introducing what is foreign: and that a people so self-sufficient and vain, should at once, in open violation of their general practice, have adopted the science of foreigners, and raised its professors to high dignities, is perhaps the strongest proof in the world that they possessed none of their own. It appears that they have in former times adopted the very *errors* of our astronomy, most probably from the Arabians. I discovered in an old Chinese book the most exact delineation of the Ptolemaic system, with its crystalline orbs, primum mobile, &c. &c. and the Earth occupying a conspicuous place in the centre of all. Indeed it is impossible not to smile at the idea of attributing any science to a people, whose learned books are filled with such trumpery as the diagrams of *Fo-hi*, and a hundred other puerilities of the same kind.

In a consideration of this vast and extraordinary Empire, there is no point of inquiry more curious, or more interesting, than the amount of its *population*, and though it deserves to be ascertained with some degree of accuracy, it has perhaps been the subject of as many vague guesses and conjectures as any other. The enormous amount of 333 millions, stated to Lord Macartney, was supported by no better authority than the mere assertions of Mandarins, at all times ready enough to make the most of their country in the eyes of foreigners, and generally possessed of very little correct information on such points, even if they were willing to give it. The document to which Dr. Morrison refers for the sum of 143 millions, would be deserving of great attention, did it not destroy its own credit by

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the tremendous absurdity of its statements. According to this statistical work (the *Ye-tung-chy*), the total population about A.D. 1644, was twenty-seven millions and a half, and in 1790 it was increased to 143 millions. "Oh, monstrous! eleven buckram men grown out of two!" The population of an old country like China more than quintupled in 146 years. This is quite incredible, and throws great discredit either on the *Ye-tung-chy*, or on the accuracy of the Chinese in taking their census. Twenty-seven millions and a half seem much too little for China in the year 1644, and there must either be some mistake in the dates, or the later census was the correct one, and the earlier altogether erroneous. Grosier states, on the authority of the *Ye-tung-chy*, (though he makes the date of it 1748,) that the population of China proper was somewhat more than 142 millions, and by a calculation of his own, to include those whom he assumes to have been left out in the census, increases the number to 167 millions. To this account he subjoins the copy of an estimate of the population, called *Chong-min-soo*,* which, he says, was made in the 27th year of Kien-Lung, or 1761, and received in France from the missionaries in 1779. This, which states the population at 198 millions, is not to be depended on, as the Chinese generally profess to be ignorant of the existence of such a document. It is likely to be spurious, or at least *unofficial*, and certainly does not deserve as much credit as even the *Ye-tung chy*, which is a national work. Thus it would appear, that the only thing *certain* is our total ignorance of the real population of China;

"And all our knowledge is, we nothing know."

Some persons have been disposed to draw sweeping inferences from the numbers that were observed by the two British embassies of 1794 and 1816, but surely these were not the proper data for such calculations. The provinces and districts, through which both missions passed, are confessedly the richest of the whole Empire; and beyond comparison excel, both in fertility and population, those to the westward. The grand canal, and the *Yang-tsze Keang*, render them the great commercial route between the northern and southern provinces; as well as the channel of almost all political communication. A British embassy was calculated to draw, and did actually draw together, the whole population of the cities and neighbour-

* "An account of the whole people."

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hoods through which they passed; and the officers of government observed frequently to us, during the progress of Lord Amherst's embassy, that the "*jé-naou*," "the crowd and bustle," exceeded any thing they had before witnessed. What sound inferences then can be drawn from the observations of either mission, respecting the real population of China? A statistical work like the *Tá-tsung-chy*, whose professed object was to treat of the resources of the Empire, was very unlikely (however incorrect it might be), to *underrate* the amount of population. We may, therefore, assume with tolerable certainty, that about 150 millions is the *full extent* of the Chinese population; that is, less than one half of the 333 millions stated to Lord Macartney.

Whatever the actual population of the Empire may be, it probably is as thickly peopled in some of its provinces, as any of the richest countries of Europe: but there is every reason to believe that this is not uniform, and that, by the application of additional stimuli to its resources, the whole country might be rendered vastly more wealthy and populous than at present. These stimuli have been stated generally, by political economists, to consist in the distribution and demand arising first, from the division of the lands of a country; secondly, from foreign and internal commerce; thirdly, from the maintenance of unproductive consumers.* With respect to the first of these, it may safely be affirmed that the subdivision of land in China could not be carried much further with advantage. A great landed proprietor is a character unknown in the country, and all the institutions of the Empire, as well as the habits of the people, are generally inimical to a great accumulation of any kind of property by an individual.† As to its commerce, although the *internal* trade of China has long since arrived at a very high pitch, and may from the beginning be regarded as the chief cause of the wealth and populousness of the Empire, its *foreign* commerce must be considered as very trifling indeed, in comparison with the productive powers of the whole country. If the habits of the people, and the policy of the government,

* Malthus. Political Economy, ch. 7, sect. 7, page 427.

† Extraordinary wealth never fails, in a country where *justice* is administered as it is in China, to attract the grasp of rapacity. "*Ferientque summos fulmina montes.*" A certain affectation of patriarchal simplicity and *purity*, on the part of the Mandarins, operates as a sumptuary law, and gives a corresponding tone to the habits of the people, as far as relates to external equipage and show. Superfluous wealth finds itself a vent in the shades of domestic privacy, in contributing to the gratification of every species of sensuality.

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should ever change so far as to admit of an unrestrained intercourse with the rest of the world, it is really impossible to conceive to what an extent the wealth and power of that country might increase, favoured as it is in point of fertility, climate, and facility of internal intercourse, as well as in the industrious character of its inhabitants. As far as regards the third point, although the number of unproductive consumers might be greatly extended by the increased number and efficiency of its military establishments, by the formation of a naval force proportioned to the extent of its coasts, and by an increase in the use of various other kinds of unproductive labour, this consideration is quite trifling in comparison with the results of an *extended foreign trade*.

With a view to guard against a very common danger, that of *false inferences*, I must apologize for the super-addition of a few observations, which may appear somewhat out of place in this paper. Such a trade, as the above mentioned, can never take place without a complete change in the habits of the people, and the maxims of the government. Let no inference be drawn from the foregoing remarks, in favour of an *open trade* between this country and China. Until the other party change their restrictive policy, it is not expedient for us to change ours. I am firmly of opinion, and this opinion is founded on some degree of local experience, some knowledge of the language, and considerable intercourse with the natives, that if, at the expiration of the Charter, the present system be altered, it will be an experiment attended with the *greatest hazard*. There is no maxim more generally true, than that monopoly is not so good as unfettered intercourse; but there is, at the same time, no greater source of error, than the application of general principles, without a due regard to the peculiarities of individual cases: and if the government shall ever be induced by popular clamour,—by the "civium ardor *prava* jubentium,"—to throw the trade with China open, there is every reason for predicting, that it will be a sacrifice of the true interests of the *whole* to the outcries of a *part*, though that may be the most numerous part of the community. We shall soon find that we buy *worse* tea, and pay *dearer* for it; not to mention the difference that it will make, in the collection of nearly four millions of revenue, and the facilities that will be afforded to smuggling, with the temptation to evade a duty of one hundred per cent.: and for the reasons of all this, I need only refer to the evidence before Parliament in 1813, as well as to Sir George Staunton's notices of China, published in 1822. The systematic, and un-

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ceasingly operating spirit of encroachment, imposition, and extortion, on the part of the Chinese, requires the constant pressure of a counteracting check, the firm and concentrated, though mild and judicious, opposition of all the resources in one power. These resources consist in a long experience and thorough knowledge of the people, an intimate acquaintance with their language, and an adequate (though not overweening) confidence in, as well as a temperate use of, the influence arising to the Company, *as a body*, from the value and importance of the trade. The present system, namely, the establishment of a resident Factory, acting with knowledge, judgment, and unanimity, and possessing the most thorough controul over a numerous fleet of ships, whose commodore, captains, and officers depend for character and employment on the discipline which they preserve in the river among 2500 seamen, as well as on the obedience which they themselves pay to the orders of the Committee, can alone ensure the continuance of a trade, whose *existence* depends on the entire suppression of disorder on the one hand, as much as its *value* does on the successful opposition to extortion on the other. This excellently organized system may with truth be affirmed, (like most others,) gradually to have arisen out of the *necessity for it*. Any person at all acquainted with the early history of our intercourse with China, when every separate ship of the Company transacted its own business, and when that intercourse in many points resembled *what a free trade would make it*, must have been struck by the endless and intolerable grievances to which we were subjected by the Chinese, and which frequently reduced us to the brink of giving up the commerce altogether. (See Asiatic Journal for 1822.) It is quite idle to insist that the Americans are a proof of the success with which an open trade can be carried on. It is too evident that they participate in a very large portion of the advantages which our own system affords, that they absolutely trade under our wing, and that while we are constantly and successfully opposing, with the united weight of our influence and address, the infliction of destructive impositions on the *British* trade, the beneficial effects extend to foreign trade *in general*.

But to return from this digression. In a comparative estimate of the advancement and civilization of different countries, *at the present day*, it would not perhaps be a very difficult matter to assign to China her proper place, were the comparison confined to the nations of *Asia*. *There* she may be allowed to stand pre-eminent. Some persons, however, (and those well

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acquainted with the country,) have been bold enough to assert, that she can challenge competition with the most refined states of Europe. But in what instances? Has natural science, or have even the arts, made the same progress there as here? Have the principles of moral or of political philosophy been as thoroughly investigated, or as clearly established? Is the state of one-half of the people, namely the female sex, so elevated or so happy as in Europe? Is the person or the property of the Chinese so secure, as the persons and properties of the subjects of most European states? Or, lastly, are the daily and domestic habits of the people so generally free from sensual and degrading vices? Until these questions can be answered in the affirmative, it is impossible to give to that country the lofty station which her advocates require. At the same time, it must be allowed, that she appears to have attained, at a very early period, to a considerable point of refinement in many respects, and that, with the exception of occasional and tremendous revolutions, she has been, for at least two thousand years, a wealthy, flourishing, and tolerably civilized portion of the globe. I am disposed to attribute this in a great measure to her particular geographical situation,* to the peculiarly favourable climate, or rather climates, the *moderate* average fertility of soil, and the great facility of internal intercourse, with which she has been gifted by nature. An attentive survey of most of the tropical regions of the globe, where the great heat of the climate, and the almost *morbid* fertility of the earth, tend to produce food in the greatest abundance,† will seem to justify the conclusion, that extreme fertility, or power of production, has been rather unfavourable to the progress of the human race, or at least, that the industry and advancement of nations has appeared in some measure to depend on a certain proportion between their *necessities* and their *natural resources*. Man is by nature an indolent animal, and without the stimulant of necessity, will in the first instance be inclined to get on, as well as he can, with the provision that nature has made for him. In the

* Between the 40th and 53d degrees of North latitude, that is, in the finest part of the temperate Zone.

† I was led to make the above observations during a voyage among the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and I have since been gratified in finding them confirmed by the great authority of Mr. Malthus, in his late work upon Political Economy, in which he draws some important conclusions from the remarks of M. de Humboldt upon New Spain, ch. vii., sect. iv., p. 361.

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warm and fertile regions of the Tropics, or rather of the Equinoctial, where lodging and clothing, the two most necessary things after food, are rendered almost superfluous by the climate, and where food itself is produced with very little exertion, we find how small an advancement has in most cases been made, while, on the other hand, the whole of Europe, and by far the greater part of China, is situated beyond the northern Tropic. If, again, we go *farther* north, to those Arctic Regions where men are still in a very miserable state, we shall find that *there* they have really no materials to work upon. Nature is such a niggard in the returns which she makes to labour, that industry is discouraged and *frozen*, as it were, in the outset. In other words, the *proportion* is destroyed. The equinoctial regions are too spontaneously fertile, and the arctic too unkindly barren: and industry, wealth, and civilization seem on this account to have been principally confined to the temperate zone, where there is at once *necessity* to excite labour, and *production*, to recompense it. I am well aware that there are other important circumstances, besides geographical situation, which influence the progress of nations: all I mean to say is, that the last cause does not seem generally to have met with the attention it deserves. It will be obvious too, that the foregoing observations apply solely to those countries whose inhabitants may be considered as *indigenous*, in the common acceptation of the word, and not to such as have been peopled by extensive emigrations from old states, whence all their industry and knowledge—"tanta memoria præteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantæ scientiæ, tot inventa"—have been transferred

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II. *On the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part I. By* HENRY THOMAS COLEBROOKE, *Esq., Director R.A.S., F.R.S., &c.*

Read June 21, 1823.

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Hindus*, as is well known, possess various ancient systems of philosophy, which they consider to be orthodox, as consistent with the theology and metaphysics of the *Védas*, and have likewise preserved divers systems deemed heretical, as incompatible with the doctrines of their holy books.

The two *Mímánsá* (for there are two schools of metaphysics under this title) are emphatically orthodox. The prior one (*purva*) which has JAIMINI for its founder, teaches the art of reasoning, with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the *Védas*. The latter (*Uttara*) commonly called *Vedánta*, and attributed to VYASA, deduces from the text of the Indian scriptures, a refined psychology, which goes to a denial of a material world.

The *Nyáya*, of which GOTAMA is the acknowledged author, furnishes a philosophical arrangement, with strict rules of reasoning, not unaptly compared to the dialectics of the Aristotelian school. Another course of philosophy connected with it bears the denomination of *Vaiséshica*. Its reputed author is CANADE; who, like Democritus, maintained the doctrine of atoms.

A different philosophical system, partly heterodox, and partly conformable to the established *Hindu* creed, is the *Sánc'hya* of which also, as of the preceding, there are two schools, one usually known by that name, the other commonly termed *Yóga*. A succinct exposition of the *Sánc'hya* doctrines is the design of the present essay: they are selected for that purpose, on account of the strong affinity which they manifestly bear to the metaphysical opinions of the sects of *Jina* and *Buda'ha*.

Though not strictly orthodox, both *Sánc'hyas* and the *Vaiséshica*, as well as the *Nyáya*, are respected and studied by very rigid adherents of the *Védas*, who are taught, however, to reject so much as disagrees, and treasure up what is consonant to their scriptures. " In CANADE's doctrine, in " the *Sánc'hya*, and in the *Yóga*, that part, which is inconsistent with the

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" *Védas*, is to be rejected by those who strictly adhere to revelation. In " Jaimini's doctrine, and in Vyasa's, there is nothing whatsoever at variance " with scripture."*

Heretical treatises of philosophy are very numerous among which that of Charváca, which exhibits the doctrine of the *Jaina* sect, is most conspicuous: and next to it, the *Pánupáta*.

To them and to the orthodox systems before mentioned, it is not intended here to advert, further than as they are noticed by writers on the *Sánc'hya*, citing opinions of other schools of philosophy, in course of commenting on the text which they are engaged in expounding. It is not my present purpose to exhibit a contrasted view of the tenets of different philosophical schools; but to present to this Society a summary of the doctrine of a single sect which will serve, however, to elucidate that of several more.

Of other philosophical sects, the received doctrines in detail may be best reserved for separate notice, in distinct essays to be hereafter submitted to the Society. It must be clearly understood, however, not to pledge myself definitively for that task.

I proceed without further preface to the immediate subject of the present essay.

A system of philosophy, in which precision of reckoning is observed in the enumeration of its principles, is denominated *Sánc'hya*; a term which has been understood to signify *numeral*, agreeably to the usual acceptation of *sanc'hyá*, number: and hence its analogy to the Pythagorean philosophy has been presumed. But the name may be taken to imply, that its doctrine is founded in the exercise of judgment: for the word, from which it is derived, signifies reasoning or deliberation;† and that interpretation of its import is countenanced by a passage of the *Bharata*, where it is said of this sect of philosophers: " They exercise judgment (*sanc'hyá*), and discuss " nature and [other] twenty-four principles, and therefore are called " *Sánc'hya*."‡

The commentator, who has furnished this quotation, expounds *sanc'hyá*, as here importing 'the discovery of soul by means of right discrimination.'‡

The reputed founder of this sect of metaphysical philosophy was Capila, an ancient sage, concerning whose origin and adventures the mythological

* Quotation in Vijnyana—Brichad's—*Capila Bháshya*.
† *Am. Cosh.* l. 1, 4, 11. ‡ *Cap. Bhásh.*

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fables, which occupy the place of history with the *Hindus*, are recounted variously. In Gaudápada's commentary on the *Sanc'hya-Carica*, he is asserted to have been a son of Brahma, being one of seven great *Rishis* or saints, named in *Puránas* or theogonies, as the offspring of that deity. His two most distinguished disciples, Asuri and Panchaśic'ha, are there exalted to the same rank and divine origin with himself. Another commentator maintains, that Capila was an incarnation of Vishnu. It had been affirmed by a writer on the *Vedánta*, upon the authority of a passage quoted by him, wherein Capila, the founder of the *Sanc'hya* sect, is identified with *Agni*, fire, that he was an incarnation, not of Vishnu, but of *Agni*. The commentator is not content with the fiery origin conceded to the author. He denies the existence of more than one Capila, and insists, that the founder of this sect was an incarnation of Vishńu, born as the son of Dévahóti.*

In fact, the word *capila*, besides its ordinary signification of tawny colour, bears likewise that of fire; and, upon this ambiguity of sense, many legends in the Indian theogonies, concerning the saint of the name, have been grounded: a sample of which will be found quoted by Col. Wilford, in the Asiatic Researches.†

A passage, which is cited in the commentaries of Gaudápada and Váchespati on the *Cárica*, assigns to Capila intuitive knowledge, and innate virtue, with transcendent power and other perfections born with him at the earliest creation: and this is taken by those scholiasts as relating to the founder of the *Sanc'hya* sect. But another commentator of the *Cárica*, Rámacaśisena, who belongs to the theistical branch of this sect, affirms that the passage in question concerns Íśwara, or God, acknowledged by that school.

A text, quoted in Vyása's commentary on Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra*,‡ and referred by the annotator Váchespati, as well as a modern scholiast of the *Yóga-sástra*, Nagóji, to Panchaśic'ha the disciple of Asuri, describes Capila as an incarnation of the Deity. "The holy and first wise one, "entering a mind by himself framed, and becoming the mighty sage "(Capila), compassionately revealed this science to Asuri."§

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* *Vijnyána* in *Cap. Bhásh.* † Vol. III. p. 353. ‡ *Patanj. Sánc'h. prav.* I, 25.
§ *Panch. sútra*, quoted in *Vyása's Bháshya.*

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It may be questioned whether Capila be not altogether a mythological personage, to whom the true author of the doctrine, whoever he was, thought fit to ascribe it.

A collection of *sútras*, or succinct aphorisms, in six lectures, attributed to Capila himself, is extant under the title of *Sánc'hya-pravachana*. As an ancient work (whoever may have been really its author), it must doubtless have been expounded by early scholiasts. But the only commentary, which can at present be referred to by name, is the *Capila-bhashya*, or, as the author himself cites it in his other works, *Sánc'hya-bháshya*. The title at full length, in the epigraph of the book, is *Capila-sánc'hya-pravachana-śástra-bhashya*. It is by Vijnyana-bhicshu, a mendicant ascetic (as his designation imports) who composed a separate treatise on the attainment of beatitude in this life, entitled *Sánc'hya-sára*, and wrote many other works; particularly the *Yoga-várttica*, containing scholia on Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra* and the *Brahme-mímánsá-bháshya*, which is a commentary on a treatise of *Védánt* philosophy.

It appears from the preface of the *Capila-bhdshya*, that a more compendious tract, in the same form of *sútras* or aphorisms, bears the title of *Tattwa-samása*, and is ascribed to the same author, Capila. The scholiast intimates, that both are of equal authority, and in no respect discordant one being a summary of the greater work; or else this an amplification of the concisor one. The latter was probably the case, for there is much repetition in the *Sánc'hya-pravachana*.

It is avowedly not the earliest treatise on this branch of philosophy: since it contains references to former authorities for particulars, which are but briefly hinted in the *sútras*;* and it quotes some by name, and among them Panchaśic'ha,† the disciple of the reputed author's pupil — an anachronism which appears decisive.

The title of *Sánc'hya-pravachana* seems a borrowed one, at least it is common to several compositions. It appertains to Patanjali's *Yóga-śástra*.

If the authority of the scholiast of Capila may be trusted, the *Tattwa-samása* is the proper text of the *Sánc'hya*, and its doctrine is more fully, but separately set forth, by the two ampler treatises, entitled *Sánc'hya-pravachana*, which contain a fuller exposition of what had been there succinctly delivered. Patanjali's work supplying the deficiency of Capila's,

* Cap. 3, 39. † Cap. 4.

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and declaring the existence of God, which for argument's sake, and not absolutely and unreservedly, he had denied.

Of the six lectures or chapters, into which the *sutras* are distributed, the three first comprise an exposition of the whole *Sánc'hya* doctrine. The fourth contains illustrative comparisons, with reference to fables and tales. The fifth is controversial, confuting opinions of other sects, which is the case also with part of the first. The sixth and last treats of the most important parts of the doctrine, enlarging upon topics before touched.

The *Cáricá*, which will be forthwith mentioned as the text book or standard authority of the *Sánc'hya*, has an allusion to the contents of the fourth and fifth chapters; professing to be a complete treatise of the science, exclusive of illustrative tales and controversial disquisitions.* The author must have had before him the same collection of *sutras*, or one similarly arranged. His scholiast expressly refers to the numbers of the chapters.†

Whether the *Tatwa-samása* of Capila be extant, or whether the *sutras* of Panchasic'ha be so, is not certain. The latter are frequently cited, and by modern authors on the *Sánc'hya* whence a presumption, that they may be yet forthcoming.

The best text of the *Sánc'hya* is a short treatise in verse, which is denominated *Cáricá*, as memorial verses of other sciences likewise are. The acknowledged author is Iswara-Crishna, described in the concluding lines or epigraph of the work itself, as having received the doctrine, through a succession of intermediate instructors from Panchasic'ha, by whom it was first promulgated, and who was himself instructed by Asuri, the disciple of Capila.‡

This brief tract, containing seventy-two stanzas in *áryá* metre, has been expounded in numerous commentaries.

One of these is the work of Gaudapada the celebrated scholiast of the *Upanishads* of the *Vedas*, and preceptor of Sancara Achárya, author likewise of numerous treatises on divers branches of theological philosophy It is entitled *Sánc'hya-bháshya*.

Another, denominated *Sánc'hya-chandriká*, is by Náráyana Tirt'ha, who seems from his designation to have been an ascetic. He was author likewise of a gloss on the *Yóga-sástra*, as appears from his own references to it.

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* *Cár.* 72. † *Nár. T.* ‡ *Cár.* 70 and 71.

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A third commentary, under the title of *Sánc'hya-tatwa-causmudí*, or more simply *Tatwa-causmudí* (for so it is cited by later commentators) is by Váchespati Misra, a native of *Tírhút*, author of similar works on various other philosophical systems. It appears from the multiplicity of its copies, which are unusually frequent, to be the most approved gloss on the text.

One more commentary, bearing the analogous but simpler title of *Sánc'hya-causmudí*, is by Rama-crishna Bhattachárya, a learned, and not ancient writer of Bengal who has for the most part followed preceding commentators, borrowing frequently from Náráyana Tírt'ha, though taking the title of his commentary from Váchespati's.

The scholiasts of the *Cáricá* have, in more than one place, noticed the text of the *sútras*, thus formally admitting the authority of the aphorisms. The excellence of the memorial verses (*Cáricá*), with the gloss of Gauda-pada, and that of Váchespati Misra, has been the occasion of both collections of aphorisms (*Tatwa samása* and *Sánc'hya-pravachana*) falling into comparative neglect. They are superseded for a text book of the sect by Íswara crishna's clearer and more compendious work. Both *sútras* and *cáricá* may be considered to be genuine and authoritative expositions of the doctrine, and the more especially, as they do not, upon any material point, appear to disagree.

The several works before-mentioned, are the principal works in which the *Sánc'hya* philosophy may be now studied. Others, which are cited by scholiasts, may possibly be yet forthcoming. But they are at least scarce, and no sufficient account of them can be given upon the strength of a few scattered quotations. Among them, however, may be named the *Rája-vártica* to which reference is made, as to a work held in much estimation, and which appears to comprise annotations on the *sútras*, and the *Sangraha*, which is cited for parallel passages explanatory of the text, being an abridged exposition of the same doctrines, in the form of a select compilation.

Concerning the presumable antiquity of either Capila's aphorisms, or Íswara-crishna's memorial couplets, I shall here only remark, that notices of them, with quotations from both, do occur in philosophical treatises of other schools, whereby their authenticity is so far established.

Besides the *Sánc'hya* of Capila and his followers, another system, bearing the same denomination, but more usually termed the *Yóga-sástra*, or *Yóga-sutra*, as before remarked, is ascribed to a mythological being, Patanjali, the supposed author of the great grammatical commentary emphatically

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named the *Mahábhashya*, and likewise of a celebrated medical treatise termed *Characa*, and other distinguished performances.

The collection of *Yóga-sutras*, bearing the common title of *Sánc'hya pravachana*, is distributed into four chapters or quarters (*páda*): the first on contemplation (*samádʼhi*); the second on the means of its attainment; the third on the exercise of transcendent power (*vibhúti*, , the fourth on abstraction or spiritual insulation (*caivalya*).

An ancient commentary on this fanatical work is forthcoming, entitled *Pátáyala-bháshya*. It is attributed to *Véda-vyása*, the compiler of the Indian scriptures, and founder of the *Védánti* school of philosophy. VACHESPATI MISRA has furnished scholia on both text and gloss. This scholiast has been already noticed as an eminent interpreter of the *Cárica* and the same remark is here applicable, that the multiplicity of copies indicates the estimation in which his gloss is held above other scholia.

Another commentary is by VIJNANA-BHICSHU before mentioned. He refers to it in his other works under the name of *Yóga-várttica*. It probably is extant: for quotations from it occur in modern compilations.

A third commentary denominated *Rája-mártanda* is ascribed in its preface and epigraph to RAŃA-RANGA MALLA, surnamed BHÓJA-RAJA or BHÓJA-PATI, sovereign of *Dhárá*, and therefore called *Dharéśwara*. It was probably composed at his court, under his auspices; and his name has been affixed to it in compliment to him, as is no uncommon practice. It is a succinct and lucid exposition of the text.

An ampler commentary by a modern *Mahárástriya Brahman*, named NÁGÓJI-BHATTA UPAD'HYÁYA, bears the title of *Patanjali-sútra-vritti*. It is very copious and very clear.

The tenets of the two schools of the *Sánc'hya* are on many, not to say on most, points, that are treated in both, the same; differing however upon one, which is the most important of all the proof of existence of supreme God.

The one school (PATANJALI's) recognising God is therefore denominated theistical (*séśwara sánc'hya*). The other, (CAPILA's) is atheistical, (*niríswara-sánc'hya* as the sects of *Jina* and *Buddha* in effect are: acknowledging no creator of the universe, nor supreme ruling providence. The gods of CAPILA are beings superior to man; but, like him, subject to change and transmigration.

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A third school, denominated *Paurânica sânc'hya*, considers nature as an illusion conforming upon most other points to the doctrine of Patanjali, and upon many, to that of Capila. In several of the *Purânas*, as the *Matsya*, *Curma* and *Vishnu*, in particular, the cosmogony, which is an essential part of an Indian theogony, is delivered consonantly to this system. That, which is found at the beginning of Menu's institutes of law, is not irreconcileable to it.*

Doctrine of the Sânc'hya.

The professed design of all the schools of the *Sanc'hya*, theistical, atheistical, and mythological, as of other Indian systems of philosophy, is to teach the means by which eternal beatitude may be attained after death, if not before it.

In a passage of the *Védas*, it is said, "Soul is to be known, it is to be discriminated from nature: thus it does not come again, it does not come again."† Consonantly to this, and to numberless other passages of a like import, the whole scope of the *Veddnta* is to teach a doctrine, by the knowledge of which, an exemption from metempsychosis shall be attainable, and to inculcate that as the grand object to be sought, by means indicated.

Even the aphorisms of the *Nyayat* the same is proposed as the reward of a thorough acquaintance with that philosophical arrangement.

In like manner the Grecian philosophers, and Pythagoras and Plato in particular, taught that "the end of philosophy is to free the mind from incumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection, and to raise it to the contemplation of immutable truth," and "to disengage it from all animal passions, that it may rise above sensible objects to the contemplation of the world of intelligence."§

In all systems of the *Sânc'hya* the same purpose is propounded. "Future pain," says Patanjali, "is to be prevented. A clear knowledge of discriminate truth is the way of its prevention."‖

It is true knowledge, as Capila and his followers insist,¶ that alone can secure entire and permanent deliverance from evil. whereas temporal means, whether for exciting pleasure, or for relieving mental and bodily

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* *Menu*, I. 14—19. † *Gaud* on *Car* ‡ *Ghi. ibid*
§ Enfield's Hist. of Phil. I 389 and 393. ‖ *Pat.* 2. 15 and 26. ¶ *Cap.* I. 1 *Car.* I

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sufferance, are insufficient to that end; and the spiritual resources of practical religion are imperfect; since sacrifice, the most efficacious of observances, is attended with the slaughter of animals, and consequently is not innocent and pure, and the heavenly meed of pious acts is transitory *.

In support of these positions, passages are cited from the *Védas* declaring in express terms the attainment of celestial bliss by celebration of sacrifices. "Whoever performs an *asva medha* (or immolation of a horse) conquers all worlds, overcomes death, expiates sin, atones for sacrilege." In another place, INDRA and the rest of the subordinate deities, are introduced exulting on their acquisition of bliss. "We have drunk the juice of asclepias, † and are become immortal, we have attained effulgence, we have learned divine truths. How can a foe harm us? How can age affect the immortality of a deathless being?"‡ Yet it appears in divers parts of the Indian scriptures, that, according to *Hindu* theology, even those deities, though termed immortal, have but a definite duration of life, perishing with the whole world, at its periodical dissolution. "Many thousands of *Indras* and of other Gods have passed away, in successive periods, overcome by time: for time is hard to overcome."§

Complete and perpetual exemption from every sort of ill is the beatitude which is proposed for attainment by acquisition of perfect knowledge. "Absolute prevention of all three sorts of pain," as an aphorism of the *Sanc'hya* intimates, "is the highest purpose of soul."‖ Those three sorts are evil proceeding from self, from external beings, or from divine causes: the first is either bodily, as disease of various kinds, or mental, as cupidity, anger, and other passions: the two remaining sorts arise from external sources, one excited by some mundane being, the other, by the agency of a being of a superior order, or produced by a fortuitous cause.

True and perfect knowledge, by which deliverance from evil of every kind is attainable, consists in rightly discriminating the principles, perceptible and imperceptible, of the material world, from the sensitive and cognitive principle which is the immaterial soul. Thus the *Cárica* premises, that "the inquiry concerns means of precluding the three sorts of pain: for pain is embarrassment. Nor is the inquiry superfluous, because obvious means of alleviation exist: for absolute and final relief is not thereby accomplished.

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* *Car.* 1.

† *Sóma*; the moon-plant. Asclepias acida.

‡ *Gaud. on Car.* 2.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ *Sánc. prava.* 1. 1.

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The revealed mode is, like the temporal one, ineffectual: for it is impure; and it is defective in some respects, as well as excessive in others. A method, different from both, is preferable, consisting in a discriminative knowledge of perceptible principles, and of the imperceptible one; and of the thinking soul."*

The revealed mode, to which allusion is here made, is not theological doctrine, with the knowledge of first principles, insuring exemption from transmigration, but performance of religious ceremonies enjoined in the practical *Védas*, and especially the immolation of victims, for which a heavenly reward, a place among the Gods, is promised.

It is not pure, observes the scholiast, for it is attended with the slaughter of animals, which, if not sinful in such cases, is, to say the least, not harmless. The merit of it, therefore, is of a mixed nature. A particular precept expresses "slay the consecrated victim" but a general maxim ordains "hurt no sentient being" It is defective, since even the Gods, INDRA and the rest, perish at the appointed period. It is in other respects excessive, since the penalty of one is a source of unhappiness to another

Visible and temporal means, to which likewise reference is made in the text, are medicine and other remedies for bodily ailment, diversion alleviating mental ills, a guard against external injury; charms for defence from accidents. Such expedients do not utterly preclude sufferance. But true knowledge, say Indian philosophers, does so, and they undertake to teach the means of its attainment.

By three kinds of evidence, exclusive of intuition, which belongs to beings of a superior order, demonstration is arrived at, and certainty is attained, by mankind namely, perception, inference, and affirmation.† All authorities among the *Sánc'hyas* (PATANJALI and CAPILA, as well as their respective followers) concur in asserting these. Other sources of knowledge, admitted in different systems of philosophy, are reducible to these three. Comparison, or analogy, which the logicians of GÓTAMA's school add to that enumeration, and tradition and other arguments, which JAIMINI maintains (viz. capacity, aspect, and privation of four sorts, antecedent, reciprocal, absolute, and total,) are all comprehended therein. Other philosophers, who recognise fewer sources of knowledge, as CHÁRVÁCA, who acknowledges percep-

* Cár. 1. and 2. with Scholia. † Cár. 4. Pat. 1. 7. Cap. 1.

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tion only, and the *Vaiśéshicas*, who disallow tradition, are rejected as insufficient authorities.*

Inference is of three sorts, equally admitted by the schools of the *Sánc'hya* and Gótama's *Nyáya*, and in all distinguished by the same denominations. The consideration of them more properly belongs to the dialectic philosophy, than to this; and may therefore be postponed. It will be here sufficient to state the simplest explanation furnished by scholiasts of the *Cárics* and *Sútras*, without going into the differences which occur in their expositions.

One sort, then, is the inference of an effect from a cause: the second is that of a cause from an effect; the third is deduced from a relation of more than that of cause and effect. Examples of them are, 1st, rain anticipated from a cloud seen gathering. 2d. Fire concluded on a hill, whence smoke ascends. 3d. A flower's appropriate colour presumed where its peculiar scent is noticed; or motion of the moon's orb, deduced from observation of it in different aspects; or saltness of the sea, concluded from that of a sample of sea water; or bloom surmised on mangoe-trees in general, when an individual mangoe tree is found in blossom.

In regard to the third kind of evidence, tradition or right affirmation,† explained as intending true revelation,‡ commentators understand it to mean the *Védas* or sacred writ, including the recollections of those gifted mortals, who remember passages of their former lives, and call to mind events which occurred to them in other worlds; and excluding, on the other hand, pretended revelations of impostors and barbarians.

In a dialogue cited from the *Védas*, one of the interlocutors, the holy Jaigishavya, asserts his presence, and consequent recollection of occurrences, through ten renovations of the universe (*Mahásarga*).

In a more extended sense, this third kind of evidence is the affirmation of any truth; and comprises every mode of oral information or verbal communication, whence knowledge of a truth may be drawn.

From these three sources, by the right exercise of judgment and due application of reasoning, true knowledge is derived; consisting in a discriminative acquaintance with principles, which, in the *Sánc'hya* system, are reckoned to be not less than twenty-five; viz.

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* Com. on Cor. 5. † *Pat.* 1. 7. ‡ Cór. 4. and 5.

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1. Nature, *Pracriti* or *Múla-pracriti*, the root or plastic origin of all: termed *Prad'hána* the chief one the universal, material cause; identified by the cosmogony of the *Puránas* (in several of which the *Sánc'hya* philosophy is followed) with *Máyá* or illusion, and, by mythologists, with *Brahmí* the power or energy of *Brahmá*. It is eternal matter, indiscrete; undistinguishable, as destitute of parts, inferrible, from its effects being productive, but no production.

2. Intelligence, called *Buddh'i* and *Mahat* or the great one: the first production of nature, increate, prolific; being itself productive of other principles. It is identified by the mythological *Sánc'hya* with the *Hindu* triad of Gods. A very remarkable passage of the *Matsya-puráña* cited in the *Sánc'hya-sára*, after declaring that the *great* principle is produced "from modified nature," proceeds to affirm, "that the *great* one becomes distinctly known, as three Gods, through the influence of the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness; 'being one person, and three Gods,' (*éká múrtis trayó dévás*) namely, BRAHMA, VISHNU, and MAHESWARA. In the aggregate it is the deity, but, distributive, it appertains to individual beings."

3. Consciousness, termed *Ahancára*, or more properly egotism, which is the literal sense of the term the peculiar and appropriate function of it is (*abhimána*) selfish conviction, a belief that, in perception and meditation, "I" am concerned, that the objects of sense concern ME; in short, that I AM. It proceeds from the intellectual principle, and is productive of those which follow.

4—8. Five subtile particles, rudiments, or atoms, denominated *Tanmátra*, perceptible to beings of a superior order, but unapprehended by the grosser senses of mankind derived from the conscious principle, and themselves productive of the five grosser elements, earth, water, fire, air, and space.

9—19. Eleven organs of sense and action, which also are productions of the conscious principle. Ten are external viz. five of sense, and five of action. The eleventh is internal, an organ both of sense and of action, termed *manas* or mind. The five instruments of sensation are, the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin. The five instruments of action are, 1st, voice, or the organ of speech; 2d, the hands, 3d, the feet, 4th, the excretory termination of the intestines, 5th, the organ of generation.

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Mind, serving both for sense and action, is an organ by affinity, being cognate with the rest.

These eleven organs, with the two principles of intelligence and consciousness, are thirteen instruments of knowledge: three internal, and ten external, likened to three warders and ten gates.*

An external sense perceives, the internal one examines, consciousness makes the selfish application; and intellect resolves: an external organ executes.

20—24. Five elements, produced from the five elementary particles or rudiments. 1st, A diffused, ethereal fluid (*acasa*), occupying space: it has the property of audibleness, being the vehicle of sound, derived from the sonorous rudiment or ethereal atom. 2d, Air, which is endued with the properties of audibleness and tangibility, being sensible to hearing and touch, derived from the tangible rudiment, or aerial atom. 3d, Fire, which is invested with properties of audibleness, tangibility, and colour, sensible to hearing, touch, and sight: derived from the colouring rudiment, or igneous atom. 4th, Water, which possesses the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour and savour; being sensible to hearing, touch, sight, and taste: derived from the savoury rudiment, or aqueous atom. 5th, Earth, which unites the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour, savour, and odour; being sensible to hearing, touch, sight, taste, and smell: derived from the odorous rudiment, or terrene atom.

25. Soul, termed *Purusha*, *Puman*, or *Atman*; which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, eternal, unalterable, immaterial.

The theistical *Sánc'hya* recognises the same principles, understanding, however, by *Purusha*, not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Iswara*), the ruler of the world.

These twenty-five principles are summarily contrasted in the *Cárica*. "Nature, root of all, is no production. Seven principles; the GREAT or intellectual one, &c., are productions and productive. Sixteen are productions (unproductive). Soul is neither a production, nor productive."†

To this passage a close resemblance will be remarked in one which occurs at the beginning of ERIGENA's treatise De Divisione Naturæ, where he distinguishes these four: "That which creates and is not created, that which

* *Car.* 33—35. † *Car.* 3.

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is created and creates; that which is created and creates not; and that which neither creates nor is created."*

In several of the *Upanishads* of the *Védas* a similar distribution is affirmed, *viz.*, "eight productive principles, and sixteen productions."†

It is for contemplation of nature, and for abstraction from it, that union of soul with nature takes place, as the halt and the blind join for conveyance and for guidance. (one bearing and directed, the other borne and directing). By that union of soul and nature, creation, consisting in the development of intellect, and the rest of the principles, is effected.

The soul's wish is fruition, or liberation. For either purpose, it is in the first place invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the elementary rudiments.‡ This is composed then of intellect, consciousness, and mind, as well as the rest of the organs and instruments of life, conjoined with particles, or elementary rudiments, of five sorts: thus seventeen principles enter into its composition.§

This person, or subtile frame, termed *linga*, *linga-sarira*, or *sukshma-sarira*, is primeval, produced from original nature at the earliest or initial development of principles. It is unconfined; too subtile for restraint or hindrance (and thence termed *atividhe*, surpassing the wind in swiftness): incapable of enjoyment, until it be invested with a grosser body, affected nevertheless by sentiments.

This is termed the rudimental creation (*tanmátra-sarga*).

The notion of an animated atom seems to be a compromise between the refined dogma of an immaterial soul, and the difficulty which a gross understanding finds in grasping the comprehension of individual existence, unattached to matter.

The grosser body, with which a soul clad in its subtile person is invested for the purpose of fruition, is composed of the five elements, or of four, excluding the etherial, according to some authorities, or of one, earth alone, according to others.‖ That grosser body, propagated by generation, is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, transmigrating through successive bodies, which it assumes, as a mimic shifts his disguises, to represent various characters.

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* J. Scot. Erigenæ de div. nat. lib. 3. † *Garbha*, *Prasna* and *Maitréya Upanishad*.
‡ Cár. 40. § Cap. 3. 6. ‖ Cap. 3. 16—18.

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According to CAPILA,* as he is interpreted by his scholiast, there is intermediately a corporeal frame composed of the five elements, but tenuous or refined. It is termed *anushṭ'hana sarira*, and is the vehicle of the subtile person.

It is this, rather than the subtile person itself, which in PATANJALI's *Yóga sástra* is conceived to extend, like the flame of a lamp over its wick, to a small distance above the skull.

The corporeal creation (*bhautica-sarga*), consisting of souls invested with gross bodies, comprises eight orders of superior beings, and five of inferior, which, together with man, who forms a class apart, constitute fourteen orders of beings, distributed in three worlds, or classes.

The eight superior orders of beings bear appellations familiar to Hindu theology: *Brahma*, *Prajapatis*, *Indras*, *Pitris*, *Gand'harvas*, *Yacshas*, *Rácshasas*, and *Pisáchas*, gods or demi-gods, demons and evil spirits.

The inferior orders of beings are quadrupeds, distinguished in two orders; birds, reptiles, fishes, and insects, vegetables and unorganic substances.

Above is the abode of goodness, peopled by beings of superior orders, virtue prevails there, and consequent bliss, imperfect however, inasmuch as it is transient. Beneath is the abode of darkness or illusion, where beings of an inferior order dwell; stolidity or dulness is there prevalent. Between is the human world, where foulness or passion predominates, attended with continual misery.

Throughout these worlds, sentient soul experiences ill arising from decay and death, until it be finally liberated from its union with person.

Besides the grosser corporeal creation and the subtile or personal, all belonging to the material world, the *Sanc'hya* distinguishes an intellectual creation (*pratyaya-sarga* or *bhava-sarga*), consisting of the affections of intellect, its sentiments or faculties, which are enumerated in four classes, as obstructing, disabling, contenting, or perfecting the understanding, and amount to fifty.

Obstructions of the intellect are error, conceit, passion, hatred, fear; which are severally denominated obscurity, illusion, extreme illusion, gloom, and utter darkness. These again are subdivided into sixty-two sorts: error comprising eight species; illusion, as many; extreme illusion, ten; gloom, eighteen, and utter darkness, the same number.

* *Cár.* 8. 10. 11.

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Error, or obscurity, mistakes irrational nature, intellect, consciousness, or any one of the five elementary atoms, for the soul, and imagines liberation to consist in absorption into one of those eight prolific principles.

Conceit, termed *Asmita*, imagines transcendent power, in any of its eight modes, to be deliverance from evil. Thus beings of a superior order, as *Indra* and the rest of the gods, who possess transcendent power of every sort, conceive it to be perpetual, and believe themselves immortal.

Passion, called extreme illusion, concerns the five objects of sense, sound, tact, colour, savour, and odour, reckoned to be twice as many, as different to man and to superior beings.

Envy, or hatred, denominated gloom, relates to the same ten objects of sense, and to eight-fold transcendent power, furnishing the means of their enjoyment.

Fear, named utter darkness, regards the same eighteen subjects, and consists in the dread of ill attendant on their loss by death or by deprivation of power.

Disability of intellect, which constitutes the second class, comprising twenty-eight species, arises from defect or injury of organs, which are eleven: and to these eleven sorts are added the contraries of the two next classes, containing, the one nine, and the other eight species, making a total of twenty-eight. Deafness, blindness, deprivation of taste, want of smell, numbedness, dumbness, handlessness, lameness, costiveness, impotence, and madness, are disabilities preventing performance of functions.

Content, or acquiescence, which forms the third class, is either internal or external: the one four-fold, the other five-fold, viz. *internal*, 1st, concerning nature, as an opinion that a discriminative knowledge of nature is a modification of that principle itself, with a consequent expectation of deliverance by the act of nature. 2d, Concerning the proximate cause; as a belief that ascetic observances suffice to ensure liberation. 3d, Concerning time, as a fancy that deliverance will come in course, without study. 4th, Concerning luck, as a supposition that its attainment depends on destiny. *External* acquiescence relates to abstinence from enjoyment upon temporal motives: namely, 1st, aversion from the trouble of acquisition, or, 2d, from that of preservation; and, 3d, reluctance to incur loss consequent on use; or, 4th, evil attending on fruition; or, 5th, offence of hurting objects by the enjoyment of them.

The perfecting of the intellect is the fourth class, and comprises eight species. Perfection consists in the prevention of evil, and this being three-

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fold, its prevention is so likewise as is the consequent perfection of the understanding. This is direct. The remaining five species are indirect, viz. reasoning; oral instruction; study, amicable intercourse; and purity, internal and external (or, according to another interpretation, liberality). They are means of arriving at perfection.

The *Sanc'hya*, as other Indian systems of philosophy, is much engaged with the consideration of what is termed the three qualities (*guna*). If indeed quality be here the proper import of the term, for the scholiast of CAPILA understands it as meaning, not quality or accident, but substance, a modification of nature, fettering the soul; conformably with another acceptation of *guna*, signifying a cord.*

The first, and highest, is goodness (*sattwa*). It is alleviating, enlightening, attended with pleasure and happiness and virtue predominates in it. In fire it is prevalent; wherefore flame ascends, and sparks fly upwards. In man, when it abounds, as it does in beings of a superior order, it is the cause of virtue.

The second and middlemost is foulness or passion (*rajas* or *tejas*). It is active, urgent and variable; attended with evil and misery. In air it predominates wherefore wind moves transversely. In living beings it is the cause of vice.

The third and lowest is darkness (*tamas*). It is heavy and obstructive attended with sorrow, dulness, and illusion. In earth and water it predominates, wherefore they fall or tend downwards. In living beings it is the cause of stolidity.

These three qualities are not mere accidents of nature, but are of its essence, and enter into its composition. "We speak of the qualities of nature, as we do of the trees of a forest," say the *Sanc'hyas*.† In the *Védas* they are pronounced to be successive modifications, one of the other "All was darkness; commanded to change, darkness took the taint of foulness and thus, again commanded, assumed the form of goodness."

They co-operate for a purpose, by union of opposites as a lamp, which is composed of oil, a wick, and flame,‡ substances inimical and contrary.

Taking the three qualities by which nature is modified, for principles or categories, the number, before enumerated, is raised to twenty-eight, as is by some authorities maintained.§

* *Vijnyán.* on Cap. I. 60. † *Sánc'hya-sára.* ‡ *Ibi.* 18.
§ *Vijnyána Bhicshu* in *Sánc'hya-sára* and *Capila-bháshya.*

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To the intellect appertain eight modes, effects, or properties: four partaking of goodness, namely, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power; and four, which are the reverse of those, and partake of darkness, viz. sin, error, incontinency, and powerlessness.

Virtue here intends moral or religious merit. Knowledge is either exterior or interior, that is, temporal or spiritual. Interior or spiritual knowledge discriminates soul from nature, and operates its deliverance from evil. Exterior or temporal knowledge comprehends holy writ, and every science, but self-knowledge.

Dispassion likewise is either exterior or interior, as proceeding from a temporal motive, aversion from trouble, or a spiritual impulse, the conviction that nature is a dream, a mere jaggle and illusion.

Power is eight-fold: consisting in the faculty of shrinking into a minute form, to which every thing is pervious, or enlarging to a gigantic body, or assuming levity (rising along a sunbeam to the solar orb); or possessing unlimited reach of organs (as touching the moon with the tip of a finger); or irresistible will (for instance, sinking into the earth, as easily as in water): dominion over all beings animate or inanimate, faculty of changing the course of nature, ability to accomplish every thing desired.

The notion, that such transcendent power is attainable by man in this life, is not peculiar to the *Sánc'hya* sect. It is generally prevalent among the Hindus, and amounts to a belief of magic. A *Yogi*, imagined to have acquired such faculties, is, to vulgar apprehension, a sorcerer, and is so represented in many a drama and popular tale.

One of the four chapters of PATANJALI's *Yoga-sástra* (the third), relates almost exclusively to this subject, from which it takes its title. It is full of directions for bodily and mental exercises, consisting of intensely profound meditation on special topics, accompanied by suppression of breath, and restraint of the senses, while steadily maintaining prescribed postures. By such exercises, the adept acquires the knowledge of every thing past and future, remote or hidden, he divines the thoughts of others, gains the strength of an elephant, the courage of a lion, and the swiftness of the wind, flies in the air, floats in water, dives into the earth, contemplates all worlds at one glance, and performs other strange feats.

But neither power, however transcendent, nor dispassion, nor virtue, however meritorious, suffices for the attainment of beatitude. It serves but to prepare the soul for that absorbed contemplation, by which the great purpose of deliverance is to be accomplished.

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The promptest mode of attaining beatitude, through absorbed contemplation, is devotion to God, consisting in repeated muttering of his mystical name, the syllable *om*, at the same time meditating its signification. It is thus which constitutes efficacious devotion, whereby the deity, propitiated, confers on the votary the boon that is sought; precluding all impediments, and effecting the attainment of an inward sentiment, that prepares the soul for liberation.

"God, Iswara, the supreme ruler," according to Patanjali,* "is a soul or spirit, distinct from other souls, unaffected by the ills with which they are beset, unconcerned with good or bad deeds and their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts. In him is the utmost omniscience. He is the instructor of the earliest beings that have a beginning, (the deities of mythology); himself infinite, unlimited by time."

Capila, on the other hand, denies an Iswara, ruler of the world by volition, alleging that there is no proof of God's existence, unperceived by the senses, not inferred from reasoning, nor yet revealed.† He acknowledges indeed a being issuing from nature, who is intelligence absolute, source of all individual intelligences, and origin of other existences successively evolved and developed. He expressly affirms, "that the truth of such an Iswara is demonstrated"‡ the creator of worlds, in such sense of creation: for "the existence of effects," he says, "is dependent upon consciousness, not upon Iswara," and "all else is from the great principle, intellect."§ Yet that being is finite, having a beginning and an end; dating from the grand development of the universe, to terminate with the consummation of all things. But an infinite being, creator and guide of the universe by volition, Capila positively disavows.‖ "Detached from nature, unaffected therefore by consciousness, and the rest of nature's trammels, he could have no inducement to creation, fettered by nature, he could not be capable of creation. Guidance requires proximity, as the iron is attracted by the magnet, and in like manner, it is by proximity that living souls govern individual bodies, enlightened by animation as hot iron is by heat."

Passages of admitted authority, in which God is named, relate, according to Capila and his followers, either to a liberated soul, or to a mythological

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* *Yóga sástra* 1. 23—24 and 26—29.

† *Cap.* 1. 91—92, 3. 56—57; 5. 9—12; and 6. 64—70.

‡ *Cap.* 5. 55. § *Cap.* 6. 65 and 66. ‖ *Cap.* 1.

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deity, or that superior not supreme being whom mythology places in the midst of the mundane egg.

Such is the essential and characteristic difference of Capila's and Patanjali's, the atheistical and deistical, *Sánc'hyas*.

In less momentous matters they differ, not upon points of doctrine, but in the degree, in which the exterior exercises, or abstruse reasoning and study, are weighed upon, as requisite preparations of absorbed contemplation. Patanjali's *Yoga-sástra* is occupied with devotional exercise and mental abstraction, subduing body and mind. Capila is more engaged with investigation of principles and reasoning upon them. One is more mystic and fanatical. The other makes a nearer approach to philosophical disquisition, however mistaken in its conclusions.

The manner, in which a knowledge of those principles or categories that are recognised by the *Sánc'hyas*, may be acquired, is set forth in the *Cárica*: "Sensible objects become known by perception. It is by inference or reasoning, that acquaintance with things transcending the senses is attained. And a truth, which is neither to be directly perceived nor to be inferred by reasoning, is deduced from revelation. For various causes, things may be imperceptible or unperceived; distance, nearness, minuteness, confusion, concealment, predominance of other matters, defect of organs or inattention. It is owing to the subtlety of nature, not to the non-existence of this original principle, that it is not apprehended by the senses, but inferred from its effects. Intellect and the rest of the derivative principles are effects, whence it is concluded as their cause; in some respects analogous, but in others dissimilar."*

"Effect subsists antecedently to the operation of cause:" a maxim not unlike that ancient one that "nothing comes of nothing," for it is the material, not the efficient, cause, which is here spoken of.

The reasons alleged by the *Sánc'hyas*† are, that "what exists not, can by no operation of a cause be brought into existence:" that is, effects are educts, rather than products. Oil is in the seed of sesamum, before it is expressed; rice is in the husk before it is peeled; milk is in the udder before it is drawn. "Materials, too, are selected, which are apt for the purpose:" milk, not water, is taken to make curds. "Every thing is not by every means possible:" cloth, not earthen ware, may be made with yarn. "What

* Cár. 6, 8. † Cár. 9.

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is capable, does that, to which it is competent: a potter does not weave cloth, but makes a jar, from a lump of clay, with a wheel and other implements. "The nature of cause and effect is the same:" a piece of cloth does not essentially differ from the yarn of which it is wove; as an ox does from a horse: barley, not rice or peas, grows out of barley-corns.

"There is a general cause, which is undistinguishable."* This position is supported by divers arguments. "Specific objects are finite," they are multitudinous and not universal: there must then be a single all-pervading cause. Another argument is drawn from affinity: "homogeneousness indicates a cause." An earthen jar implies a lump of clay of which it is made: a golden coronet presumes a mass of gold of which it was fabricated: seeing a rigidly abstemious novice, it is readily concluded, says the scholiast, that his parents are of the sacerdotal tribe. There must then be a cause bearing affinity to effects which are seen. Another reason is "existence of effects through energy:" there must be a cause adequate to the effects. A potter is capable of fabricating pottery: he makes a pot, not a car, nor a piece of cloth. The main argument of the *Sánc'hyas* on this point is "the parting or issuing of effects from cause, and the re-union of the universe." A type of this is the tortoise, which puts forth its limbs, and again retracts them within its shell. So at the general destruction, or consummation of all things, taking place at an appointed period, the five elements, earth, water, fire, air, and ether, constituting the three worlds, are withdrawn in the inverse order of that in which they proceeded from the primary principles, returning step by step to their first cause, the *chief* and undistinguishable one, which is nature.

It operates by means of the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness. It does so by mixture, as the confluence of three streams forms one river, for example, the Ganges: or as threads interwoven constitute a piece of cloth: and as a picture is a result of the union of pigments. It operates "by modification" too: as water, dropped from a cloud, absorbed by the roots of plants, and carried into the fruit, acquires special flavour, so are different objects diversified by the influence of the several qualities respectively. Thus, from one *chief* cause, which is nature, spring three dissimilar worlds, observes the scholiast, peopled by gods enjoying bliss, by men suffering pain, by inferior animals affected with dullness. It is owing to

* *Cár.* 15. 16.

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prevalence of particular qualities. In the gods, goodness prevails, and foulness and darkness are foreign: and therefore are the gods supremely happy. In man, foulness is prevalent, and goodness and darkness are strangers: wherefore man is eminently wretched. In animals, darkness predominates, and goodness and foulness are wanting: and therefore are animals extremely dull.

The existence of soul is demonstrated by several arguments *. "The assemblage of sensible objects is for another's use," as a bed is for a sleeper, a chair for a sitter: that other, who uses it, must be a sensitive being, and the sensitive being is soul. The converse of sensible objects endued with the three qualities, goodness, foulness, and darkness, indiscriminate, common, inanimate, and prolific, must exist, devoid of qualities, discriminate, and so forth: and that is soul. "There must be superintendence," as there is a charioteer to a car: the superintendent of inanimate matter is soul. "There must be one to enjoy" what is formed for enjoyment: a spectator, a witness of it: that spectator is soul. "There is a tendency to abstraction:" the wise and unwise alike desire a termination of vicissitude: holy writ and mighty sages tend to that consummation, the final and absolute extinction of every sort of pain: there must then be a being capable of abstraction, essentially unconnected with pleasure, pain, and illusion: and that being is soul.

There is not one soul to all bodies, as a string on which pearls are strung: but a separate soul for each particular body. "Multitude of souls" is proved by the following arguments †. "Birth, death, and the instruments of life are allotted severally:" if one soul animated all bodies, one being born, all would be born; one dying, all would die; one being blind, or deaf, or dumb, all would be blind, or deaf, or dumb; one seeing, all would see; one hearing, all would hear; one speaking, all would speak. Birth is the union of soul with instruments, namely intellect, consciousness, mind and corporeal organs: it is not a modification of soul, for soul is unalterable. Death is its abandonment of them, not an extinction of it, for it is imperishable. Soul then is multitudinous. "Occupations are not at one time universally the same:" if one soul animated all beings, then all bodies would be stirred by the same influence, but it is not so: some are engaged in virtue, others occupied with vice, some restraining passions, others yielding

* *Cár.* 17. † *Cár.* 18.

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to them; some involved in error; others seeking knowledge. Souls therefore are numerous. "Qualities affect differently:" one is happy, another miserable, and again, another stupid. The gods are ever happy, man, unhappy, inferior animals, dull. Were there but one soul, all would be alike.

The attributes of the several principles, material and immaterial, discrete and undiscrete, perceptible and imperceptible, are compared and contrasted. "A discrete principle," as is affirmed by the *Sánc'hyas*,* "is causable:" it is uneternal: "inconstant," one while apparent, at another time evanescent: it is "unpervading," not entering into all, for effect is possessed with its cause, not cause with its effect: it is acted upon, and "mutable," changing from one body to another: it is "multitudinous;" for there are so many minds, intellects, &c., as there are souls animating bodies: it is "supported," resting upon its cause: it is involvable, "merging" one into another, and implying one, the other: it is "conjunct," consisting of parts or qualities, as sound, taste, smell, &c.: it is "governed," or dependent on another's will.

"The undiscrete principle" is in all these respects the reverse: it is causeless; eternal; all pervading, immutable, or unacted upon; single, as being the one cause of three orders of beings; unsupported (relying but on itself); uninvolvable (not merging, or implying); unconjunct, consisting of no parts; self-ruled.

Discrete principles, as well as the undiscrete one, have the three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness: the one (nature) having them in its own right, as its form or properties, the rest, because they are its effects as black yarn makes black cloth. They are undiscriminating, or "indiscriminate," not distinguishing quality from quality, and confounding nature with qualities: for nature is not distinct from itself, nor are qualities separate from it. They are "objects" of apprehension and enjoyment for every soul, external to discriminative knowledge, but subjects of it. They are "common" like an utensil, or like a harlot. They are "irrational" or unsentient, unaware of pain or pleasure: from an insensible lump of clay comes an insensible earthen pot. They are "prolific," one producing or generating another: nature producing intellect, and intellect generating consciousness, and so forth.

* Cár. 10, 11.

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Soul on the contrary is devoid of qualities; it is discriminative; it is no object of enjoyment, it is several or peculiar; it is sensitive, aware of pain and pleasure; unprolific, for nothing is generated by it.

In these respects it differs from all the other principles: on certain points it conforms with the undiscrete principle, and differs from the discrete: in one regard it agrees with these and disagrees with the other: for it is not single, but on the contrary multitudinous; and it is causeless, eternal, pervading, immutable, unsupported, unmerging or unimplying, unconjunct (consisting of no parts), self-governed.

The attributes of the perceptible, discrete principles and of the undiscrete, indefinite one, are considered to be proved* by the influence of the three qualities in one instance, and their absence in the converse; and by conformity of cause and effect: an argument much and frequently relied upon. It concerns the material, not the efficient, cause.

From the contrast between soul and the other principles, it follows, as the *Cárica*† affirms, that "soul is witness, bystander, spectator, solitary and passive. Therefore, by reason of union with it, insensible body seems sensible: and, though the qualities be active, the stranger (soul) appears as the agent."

"Though inanimate, nature performs the office of preparing the soul for its deliverance, in like manner as it is a function of milk, an unintelligent substance, to nourish the calf."‡

Nature is likened to a female dancer, exhibiting herself to soul, as to an audience, and is reproached with shamelessness for repeatedly exposing herself to the rude gaze of the spectator. "She desists, however, when she has sufficiently shown herself. She does so, because she has been seen; she desists, because he has seen her. There is no further use for the world: yet the connexion of soul and nature still subsists."§

By attainment of spiritual knowledge, through the study of principles, the conclusive, incontrovertible, single truth is learned, so the *Cárica* declares‖ that "neither I AM, nor is aught MINE, nor I exist."

"All, which passes in consciousness, in intellect, is reflected by the soul, as an image which sullies not the crystal, but appertains not to it. Possessed of this self-knowledge, soul contemplates at ease nature thereby debarred

* *Cár.* 15. † *Cár.* 19, 20. ‡ *Cár.* 75. § *Cár.* 59, 61. ‖ *Cár.* 64.

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from prolific change and precluded therefore from every other form and effect of intellect, but that spiritual saving knowledge."*

"Yet soul remains awhile invested with body, as the potter's wheel continues whirling, after the pot has been fashioned, by force of the impulse previously given to it. When separation of the informed soul from its corporeal frame at length takes place, and nature in respect of it ceases, then is absolute and final deliverance accomplished."†

"Thus," concludes the *Cárica*, "this abstruse knowledge, adapted to the liberation of soul, wherein the origin, duration, and termination of beings are considered, has been thoroughly expounded by the mighty saint The sage compassionately taught it to Asuri, who communicated it Panchasic'ha, and by him it was promulgated to mankind."‡

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* Cár. 65 † Cár. 67, 68. ‡ Cár. 69, 70

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III. *Singular Proclamation, issued by the Foo-yuen, or Sub-Viceroy, of Canton, December 28, 1822. Translated from the Chinese by the Rev. Dr. Morrison. Communicated by Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.*

Read June 7, 1823.

Chiho, the Foo-yuen, has issued a very long proclamation, exhorting the people, under his government, to industry, and to the practice of all the social virtues. He states his object in eight words: it is, he says, to

"Encourage Industry,
Establish Education,
Praise Virtue, and
Reprem Vice."

The effect of which "he hopes will be tranquility amongst the poor, and the prevalence of good manners and customs."

"Ancient rulers (says the Foo-yuen), thought that, if one man was unreclaimed, it must be some fault in the Ruler." "I commenced life (adds he) as a *Che-heen* magistrate, and in Canton province I served twenty years. I was removed to Shantung and to Honan, and now I am placed here in the situation of Foo-yuen, bearing also the office of Censor-general, General Adviser of His Imperial Majesty, and a Captain empowered to call forth the army of Canton. Music and women, goods and gains, revelry and avarice have no charms for me. My only, constant, unremitted, heedful, anxious desire (which I dare not decline to cherish) is, that I may look on national affairs, as if they were my domestic affairs, and the affairs of the poor people, as if they were my own personal affairs.

"Having had to give thanks to the Wise and Holy One, for appointing me to be the soother of the people, I am well aware that, in all the districts under my government, robberies and thefts prevail, and burn, litigations and imprisonments abound, and multiply. Polite decorum and instruction do not flourish, and the public manners are not substantially good. Without an increased and great effort to correct what is wrong, I shall be unable to console the people, and shall have no hope of rendering a recompense for the favour of my country.

"Beside diligent attention to actual cases that come before me, and constant deliberation for the public good, I deem it now right, on first

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alighting from my carriage, amongst you, to draw out a list of the important things I would have attended to, and publish them by way of proclamation, commanding all the government officers, clerks, country gentlemen, soldiers, and poor people, as one body, to yield implicit obedience thereto. Oppose not. A special (Edict, or) Proclamation."

First Topic.

Encourage the Means of promoting Good.

5 Sections.

1 A supply of water is fundamental to the existence of the people. In agriculture, water to irrigate the fields is, to the husbandman, as the arteries and veins to the life-giving fluid. Canton is near to hills and mountains, and the land is dry, so that ten days want of rain raises the complaint of drought. (The Foo-yuen then states what efforts he employed, when he was a magistrate at Nan-keung district, to promote a supply of water).

2. Plant trees of all nature's gifts there is none more important, than the growth of trees, which neither require to be clothed with your garments, nor to eat your rice.

3. Breed domestic animals.

4. Encourage charity and compassion nature cannot equalise benefits, and give a complete competence to all, but relies on those, who have the ability to compassionate the poor, and they shall be abundantly rewarded, in their children and grand-children.

5 Honor economy Canton is a luxurious extravagant province; and of all the districts, *Kwang-chow* and *Chaou-chow* are the most so. The vice begins with the retired literati, and passes to the country gentlemen, from them to the rich merchants, and down to the common people, and petty writers and hectors. They desire to have gay shining dwellings, their wives and children adorned with gold and jewels; their food and drink from the seas, and the mountains; their garments to be silks and crapes, their ancestors' halls must, in violation of their proper sphere, have vermilion beams, and doors and pillars—forgetting that Heaven's curse will come on those who affect an enjoyment which does not belong to their place, whereas, in the affluent, charity to the poor, and rescuing the distressed, bring a blessing on posterity for hundreds of years. Besides, the Emperor, who is supreme, and whose riches embrace all the world, encompassed by the four seas, himself sets you an example, &c.

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SECOND TOPIC.

Establish Instruction.

9 Sections.

1 Teach filial piety, and fidelity Nature gives to all, whether scholars, farmers, mechanics, or merchants, a connatural sense of the four virtues, expressed by four words

Filial, Fraternal (duties),
Faithfulness, Truth, &c. &c

2 Cultivate talent; and schools are the places to foster talent. I hold public schools to be of the first importance. Why so slow in assisting, where aid is required—I will subscribe my salary to assist poor districts to establish public schools, and let the Foo districts subscribe 200 taels, and the Chin-le-Chow districts 150 taels, and the Keen districts 100 taels, and all the local officers according to their ability, and let them take the lead, and induce the country gentlemen to come forward, and manage the concerns, &c.

3. Respect the aged.

4. The gentry are the hope of the poor people. let them instruct them, and guide them, &c.

5. Let the rich, who derived their wealth from their ancestors, assist their poor kindred, &c.

6. Let the poor remember, that poverty or riches are according to the decree of Heaven, and let them be content, &c.

7. Let merchants and traders deal fairly and honestly, &c.

8. Instruct mothers to teach their children. Early instructions are second nature.

9. Since women do not learn to read, let fathers and husbands instruct their wives and daughters, on whom the rise, or ruin, of the family depends. The duties of women are chiefly these to be dutiful to their husbands' parents, to respect their husbands, to agree with their sisters, to teach their children, to be diligent in weaving and spinning; to prepare repasts of wine and food these are all. When principles of virtue are established, they will be good wives and mothers, and chaste, and an honour to their family; but if they are indulged, and left unInstructed, they will, one day, become lewd, their virtue be ruined, and their parents be disgraced.

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THIRD TOPIC.

Address to Magistrates.

7 Sections.

1. Laud and soothe the virtuous distressed, as virgins; those who suffer death rather than a violation of chastity (or martyrs to chastity); unmarried daughters, eminently dutiful to parents; chaste wives; martyrs to a chaste widowhood, wives eminently dutiful to parents: for these persons request imperial honorary banners, &c.

2. Honour filial duty

3. Respect the aged.

4. Hold up to view the eminently virtuous.

5. Illustrate the good and charitable.

6. Praise, and encourage to correct and benevolent conduct, village elders, and city constables.

7. Give honorary banners to families, that excel in domestic virtues.

FOURTH TOPIC.

7 Sections.

1. Prohibit gaming.

2. Interdict suicide, or making slight of one's life. It is the detestable custom of Canton Province, on every slight occasion, for a slight resentment, to commit suicide. And the relatives of the self-murderer view the dead body, as a piece of goods of extraordinary value. They contrive to allege that the deceased committed suicide, in consequence of ill-usage from some rich neighbour, who, to avoid litigation, gives them a sum of money, or, if he refuses, they combine with the police, and commence a prosecution, &c.

When I was at Nan-keung district, in the office of magistrate, five or six suicides occurred every month, &c.

3. Canton abounding in hills and rivers, it abounds in thefts and robberies, both by individuals, and associated bodies of men—let these be acted against, &c.

4. Vagabond attornies excite litigations, increase and protract them, in numbers infinite, and to periods interminable. The innocent are accused, and the utterly wrong become accusers, they find avaricious and cruel magistrates, and fraudulent police extortioners. Disputes about marriages and lands, are viewed by magistrates as petty affairs, and are given to the

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management of underlings and by various forms of legal fraud and oppression, families are ruined, and lives lost), &c. &c.

5. Put down the vicious, who rebel against the higher social relations, and offend against parents, senior brothers, &c.

6. Seize on bandits, who belong to brotherhoods, or to clubs and societies, and who swear attachment to each other.

7. Seize sharpers and vagabonds, who make themselves the terror of the neighbourhood, and who carry weapons about them, and try to get into quarrels, and insult the desolate, and injure the feeble, &c.

If these, my instructions, be but roughly regarded, tranquillity will prevail amongst the people; if they are nicely regarded, a complete renovation of the public manners will be the result.

I desire that all my officers, gentry, and common people will not consider this as vague loose moralizing; nor view this document as a paper issued for form's sake, but in deed and in truth respectfully receive it, and act upon it, and the good effects will long be felt, and my hopes will appear to have been substantial, and well founded.

Taou Kwang.

2d Year, 11th Month, 8th Day
(December 26th 1822.)

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IV *On the Pure Sheep of Ladakh, and some other Animals, principally of the Sheep and Goat kind with general Observations on the Country of Ladakh, &c. By William Moorcroft, Esq., in a Letter to John Fleming, Esq. M. R. A. S., dated Lek, Capital of Sarrak, April 25, 1822. Communicated by Mr. Fleming.*

Read June 21, 1823.

In Calcutta, you desired that I would procure, and send to you, some Sheep of the Isle of Ormus, should it be in my power; which, however, it has not been. This circumstance impressed me with an idea of your conceiving the introduction of that animal into Great Britain, likely to prove beneficial to her agricultural and manufacturing concerns, and, by a natural inference, leads to a belief, that a communication respecting the domestic animals of a country, new to Europeans, may not be wholly without interest.

A cursory view of the striking difference in the tails of Asiatic Sheep suggests the notion, that this might furnish a character, distinguishing the races of this animal more correctly, than those which have been set up for this purpose, and Nature has adopted varieties in the proportion of this part, of which some both surprise and perplex the mind, in endeavouring to assign the cause of the difference. But this variation in the sheep is not more extraordinary than that existing in the Mouse genus, some varieties of which are here furnished with tails of a length, which would seem preposterous and inconvenient, whilst others are wholly destitute of this appendage.

The novelties, which have already met my view in Natural History, are so great, as to invite the introduction of details that would swell a letter to a volume, and divert me from its practical objects. A breed of sheep of *Ladakh*, (which ought, perhaps, to have precedence in mention,) when at full growth, has scarcely acquired the size of a South Down lamb, of five or six months yet, in the fineness and weight of its fleece,* and in the

* A sample of the wool was communicated by Mr. Moorcroft in the letter to Mr. Fleming, who has presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose Museum it is deposited. It is of a white colour *Secretary.*

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flavour of its mutton, added to its peculiarities of feeding and constitution, yields not in merit to any race hitherto discovered. Perhaps the dog of the British cottager is not so completely domiciliated, as is the *Pūrik* sheep of this country. In the night, it finds shelter either in a walled yard, or under the roof of its master, and frequently, in the day, picks up its food on a surface of granite rock, where the eye of the cursory enquirer can scarcely discover a speck of vegetation, though closer investigation shews stunted tufts of wormwood, hyssop, bugloss, and here and there a few blades of a dwarfed grass. But the indefatigable industry of this animal detects, and appropriates, substances so minute and unmarking, as would be unseen, or be neglected, by ordinary sheep, or those of larger breeds, even in this country. Almost all the land,* round this capital, is under tillage for wheat and barley, and in lucerne, but the harvest will not have been two months off the ground, and a single blade of vegetable substance shall not be discovered, not a stem of stubble, nor a crown of lucerne. The stubble is batten off by the common cow, the *Dzo* (a hybrid, between the *Yak* male and the cow), and the shawl-goats, whilst the ass not only devours the stock of the lucerne, but, by pawing, lays bare the tap-root, of the upper part of which he, generally, gets about three or four inches.

The *Pūrik* sheep, if permitted, thrusts its head into the cooking-pot, picks up crumbs, is eager to drink the remains of a cup of salted and buttered tea, or broth, and examines the hand of its master for *lattro* (barley flour), or for a clearly picked bone, which it disdains not to nibble. A leaf of lettuce, a peeling of a turnip, the skin of an apricot, give a luxury. The coarse black tea of China forms the basis of the nourishment of the natives of this misgoverned country, and its use is conducted with the utmost frugality. Rubbed to a powder, and tied in a cloth, it undergoes the ceremony of frequent boilings; and when it has given out the whole of its colouring matter, a process rather tedious (from the Chinese steeping the full-grown leaves in a vat, with infusion of *Kut'h*, Ext. Cat.), the residuum falls to the share of the sheep.

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* The salt plains of the valley, in which runs the *Sinka-ka-bal*, or "River, proceeding from the Lion's Mouth." But these, partly left in natural herbage, contain swamps, abounding, in the autumn, with the *Fasciola Hepatica*; which, getting into the gall-ducts, kills the sheep, in winter, that have pastured upon it.

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I have been minutely tedious upon their acquired habits of feeding, as introductory to the conclusion, that there exists not a cottager in Britain, receiving no parochial relief, who might not keep three of these sheep, with more ease, than he now supports a cur dog, nor a little farmer, who might not maintain a flock of fifteen, or twenty, without appropriating half an acre, exclusively, to their use. They would derive support from that produce, which now either wholly runs to waste, or goes to the dunghill in a raw, unprofitable state, whereas, by giving sustenance to the sheep, it would be animalized, and improved as manure.

This point is so well understood here, that sheep are bought in some parts of *Ladakh*, from grazing countries, in which there is no tillage, merely for their dung, &c. during winter. They are placed in small yards, of which the floor is bespread with a coating of soil, such as it is, and are fed with lucerne hay, given with such regard to quantity, that within two or three hours not a stem, nor a leaf, remains; and this is repeated in such a way, as to prevent the smallest possible waste. So soon as the stratum is sufficiently saturated with urine and dung, it is carried off, and a fresh coating is given.

To return to the *Pŭrik* sheep, it gives two lambs within twelve months, and is twice shorn within that period. The clip may afford, safely say, three pounds in the annual aggregate, and the first yield is fine enough for tolerably good shawls. The sheep of the cottager in Britain would live luxuriously, in the day, on the stripes of grass carpet, which border the roads, and by keeping clean hedge bottoms. When a boy, I have accompanied Mr. Bakewell over his farm, and listened with pleasure to his details of the frugality of his management, nor have I been less gratified with the prudent economy of the Flemish peasant. But Britain and Flanders are countries, to which nature has been prodigal of vegetable productions, and what seems prudent husbanding there, would here be accounted the most lavish waste. The British farmer pays for the weeding of his crops. The *Ladakh* feeder of cattle weeds the crops of the farmer for nothing, and supports his cows and goats on weeded grass, common mallow, chenopodium, &c. without other expense, than that of the labour of women and children, whilst the animals remain in the house, and yield him fuel for the cold season by their dried excrement, and the milk gives butter for tea, butter-milk, sour curd, and *kŭrŭt*.

I have seen more luxuriant crops of wheat and of barley, but never crops

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more regular, nor so clean as those of this country. The *Ladakh* farmer begins to work upon a soil consisting of the disintegrated materials of the granite rock out of which, speaking of the upland terraces, the felspar, reduced to powder, in the process of decomposition, is carried by snow-water to the flat surface, bordering the banks of rivers, where it stands in beds of the finest porcelain clay. This, naturally most unproductive materia., he so manages, as to cause it to yield, year after year, in unvaried succession, excellent crops of wheat and of barley, without failure, without alternation, without degeneracy! Agriculture has much to regret, that such an observer, as my friend Mr Marshall, was not the first Briton to witness these practices, instead of an individua., whose thoughts have comparatively been little directed to rural affairs.

Few people know the full value of the saying, that "necessity is the mother of invention." In respect to some of the first necessaries of life, in this country, the adage is most strikingly illustrated; but in others a neglect prevails, with difficulty reconcileable to common sense. For instance, the rivers abound with several varieties of large trout, easily taken. Food for man is dear. Polyandry is the general custom. Nearly two-thirds of the productive lands are appropriated to the support of an unproductive priesthood, yet fish are not pressed into the service of the table. Wood-fuel is scarce and dear, yet little or none is cultivated, expressly for this purpose, though the *Thuja* grows freely on some bordering mountains, the black and Lombardy poplar on stony steppes; all the varieties of willow and tamarisk, on the banks of streams, and the *Lonicera Tartarica*, dog rose, gooseberry and currant-bush, near the base of lower rocks. The springy bog beds, frequent at the foot of some ranges, would yield osiers in abundance, but not one is planted.

This is not the most extraordinary feature in the conduct of this extraordinary people. That, which would give all necessaries, comforts, elegancies, and superfluities, exists in profusion, neglected, and uncollected, in the midst of a nation more miserably sordid and avaricious (I speak of the rulers), than any I have visited. Were I to credit the accounts of some reporters, in respect to some districts in this vicinity, I should consider the country as another *El Dorado*, but I know that the beds of the *Sindé*, the *Singie*, and of the *Shayuk* rivers, abound with gold, in oblong grains, and laminæ, detached from their matrix, and bruised, broken and flattened, in their journey down their stony channels. The governors of

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Ladakh, sensual and luxurious, in their way, yet experiencing privations which they know to be such, forbid the collecting of gold in their rivers, lest their harvests of grain should be injured. It would be difficult for a logician to discover a connexion between this cause, and its effect. It is to be found in superstition, and policy, each equally absurd.

I have procured some of the sheep alluded to, and mean to increase the parent stock to two hundred, leaving them under the care of a respectable Lama, (my pupil in surgery,) for two years, at the end of which period, my journey will have been completed. Should I fail, an event by no means improbable, the Government will receive them as a legacy, without expense, under the hope that some of the individuals will be sent to Britain, and in the sure expectation that the progeny will be distributed to cottagers and small farmers, in poor and dry counties. I leave to you to estimate the national advantages, derivable from two or three millions of extra animals, supported upon produce now really waste; provided their present frugal habits of feeding be maintained, and their constitutions be not injured by delicate treatment.

The British flock-master would be delighted with the fineness of the bone of the sheep of these countries, with the spread of the carcase, the hardiness of their constitution, and their aptness to fatten, but he would object to the rounded nose, and to the stickey hairs, that debase the fleeces of some of the numerous varieties of breed, in these regions. You have seen the flat-tailed sheep of Persia and of Arabia, and so have I, with appendages respectable enough, but prudence causes me to suppress the size and weight of the tails, of some of the fat-tailed sheep of the Calmucks and Kosaks. Such of their fleeces, as have come under my inspection, are little fit for any other than common cloths; and for these are scarcely desirable: but the elastic wiriness, and the glittering lustre of the fibre, retained even when dyed, render them particularly valuable for carpets. *Yar-kund* is under the greatest disadvantage for dyeing drugs, but, being well placed for the principal materials, manufactures carpeting of great beauty, for the China market.

You will recollect the name of a peculiar kind of shawl, called *Asal*, or *Asli Tûs*, of a brownish colour, and must have seen cloth and blankets, in which deer-like hairs are worked up with a remarkably fine wool, in *Cashmir*. Since the reign of Mahmud Shah, scarcely a single shawl has been made entirely of this kind of wool, for sale, and very few even to order, on

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account of the expense, and those, so named, have been got up of shawl-wool dyed, and mixed with a small portion of the real *Tūs*. I have procured about a maund, which, when picked, will be reduced to less than half that quantity: this I purpose to forward by the first opportunity, to be tried for gloves and stockings. Neither the domesticated shawl-goat, nor the Vigogna *Ovis Peruana Tecunna* furnish a wool so full and rich to the feel, nor has so fine a material ever yet graced a British loom.* The animal, which yields it, is one of the almost innumerable varieties of the wild goat which frequent the mountains of this country, but more especially those of *Changthang*, and *Khoten*. Its price is very high, as the goat has not yet been tamed, but, from an experiment made under my view, it is obvious that it is just as domesticable, as that which bears the common shawl-wool, and as soon as I shall have returned from my journey, arrangements, for accomplishing this object, will be put in force. This, as well as the shawl-goat, may, with advantage to the peasantry, be transferred to a portion of the Himalaya, now unproductive, but I much doubt, whether it be worth while, from the scanty yield of wool, on each carcase, to raise the breed on the poorest surface in Britain. I did not think thus, when I first obtained the shawl-goat, but at that time, the Company possessed not its present extensive territories in the Himalaya, and their attendant facilities. France has, I learn from a correspondent in that country, obtained a flock from some of the steppes near the Caspian, which must be inferior to those of Tibet, as lately *Aghā Aabdī* was employed by Russia itself, to procure the breed from the border of Chinese Turkistan. The latter gives wool by no means so fine as that of the province of *Changthang*, which touches upon, or rather, is separated from the Honourable Company's Hill Provinces, by a tract of uninhabited border, only four days journey in breadth. Through the interest which I now possess in the Trans-Himalayan countries, I could procure thousands of the best breeds, within a few months.

In the eastern part of this principality, there is a nondescript wild variety of Horse, which I shall call *Equus Asiaig*, perhaps more nearly allied to the ass than to the horse, in some particulars, but differing from the Gūrkhar of

* A specimen of this fine wool, which is of a brown colour, was transmitted by Mr Moorcroft to Mr Fraser, and presented by the latter to the Royal Asiatic Society, in whose Museum it is deposited. *Secretary.*

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Sind, of which I obtained a female of great beauty. It is an animal, which, excepting its ears, resembles more an antelope, in the beauty of its eye, and the vivacity of its movements, than the sluggish animal with which it is classed, though unquestionably of the same family with the ass.

I bought above a hundred sheep and eight asses to carry provisions, for a party of sixteen persons, for two months, to proceed to *Shayjūng*, with a view of shooting some *Kiangs*. I traversed a pass in which the snow reached to my horse's hips, lost one valuable servant by the cold, and reached the *Kiang* country, after eighteen days march, when I received an express, directing me to return immediately, to meet a deputation of persons from the Chinese authorities of Yarkund, arrived at Lek. As I was on horseback on my return, within an hour after the receipt of the advice, I gained no other advantage by the journey than an opportunity of making out a part of the old commercial line, between *Aqsūbād* and *Khoten*, frequented in the reign of *Shah Jehan*, and closed by the Chinese, subsequently to their acquisition of the state of *Kashgar*, by the expulsion of the Musleman *Khoja*, whose heir, *Jehāngīr Khoja*, is now in attendance at the Court of *Omar Khan*, the sovereign of *Yingkara*. I ought to add, perhaps, as another result of my researches, the tracing of the line of the army of the *Sokpas*, or *Calmucks*, when they invaded *Ladakh*, in the reign of *Alemgīr Aurengzeb*, and farther, some geographical facts, and the discovery of a nondescript variety of Grouse, and Partridge. Not more than a dozen *Kiangs* came within view, and all were out of shot. A native of that district was directed to lie in wait, and a suitable remuneration was offered for the skin, head, and organs of voice, for dissection. The man has completed his task, and I shall have these matters, as soon as the pass of *Changlung* will admit of being traversed. The *Kiang* appeared to me to be about fourteen hands high, of a round muscular form, with remarkably clean limbs. I would have given my reasons for thinking its domestication, for the use of the small farmer, and of the poor in Britain, desirable; but the recital would lead to too much of detail at present.

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V. *Memoir on Sirmór. By the late Captain* GEORGE RODNEY BLANE, *Engineers, Bengal. Communicated by Sir* GILBERT BLANE, *Bart.*

Read December 6, 1825.

Boundaries and Divisions of Sirmór.

Sirmór is bounded, on the north by *Bisér*, from which it is divided by the river *Páber*, on the west by *Hindúr* and the *Barah Tukrdí*, or twelve districts, on the south by the *Sikh* possessions, and on the east by *Gerhwál*, and the river *Jumna*. It is divided into *Pergunahs*, and each *Pergunah* into *Patts*. The head of a *Patti* is styled a *Siana*, and is responsible to the Government for its revenues. Some villages are possessed by the tenure of military service. *Náhen* is the capital, once a flourishing town.

Sketch of the Inhabitants.

Eternal feuds subsisted between the *Sirmoris* and the *Gerhwális*, under the dominion of their Rajas. Owing to this spirit, and the anarchy which prevailed in the interior, the *Gorkhas*, as allies of the *Srinagar Raja*, made an easy conquest of *Sirmór*. *Manoher Sinh*, their commander, who had been preceded by some smaller detachments, forded the *Tons*, at *Kelár Ghat*, in December 1804, and in the course of the following year carried his victorious arms to the banks of the *Setlej*. Devastation and emigration were the consequences of the subjugation of *Sirmór* by the Gorkhas. During a peace of ten years, the inhabitants had, in a great measure, recovered from the effects of the conquest, and it may be questioned whether their condition, in general, was not better under the severe government of its new masters, than under the misrule, and imperfect police of their native Rajas. These Princes having but an insufficient control over their subjects, each village decided its own disputes, and waged an incessant warfare with its neighbours.

The terror in which the new government was held, and its comparative vigour, entirely checked these proceedings, and the character of *Ranjór Thappa*, the Gorkha governor, for mildness and justice, had in some degree reconciled the people to the revolution. But the cruelty and the extortion of the other Gorkha officers goaded by that love of independence, which is

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the characteristic of mountaineers) counteracted this feeling, and excited those discontents which were found to prevail, on the invasion of the country by the British. Submission to the equitable rule of this power was deemed preferable to the despotism of masters, whom they feared, without respecting. Yet their manners to European travelers have been found deceitful, and inhospitable, the natural result of their poverty, and of the oppression and rapacity, to which they have been subject, coupled with a desire to impress their new lords with the most unfavourable ideas of the wealth of the country.

The *Sirmóris* are filthy in their persons and habits. Great inattention to cleanliness is exhibited in the interior of their houses, and nothing can be conceived more disgusting, than the skirts of their villages, at the close of the winter, when the snow begins to melt. Their habitations, however, are neatly and substantially built, of stone. Those S.W. of the *Giri*, have flat roofs, but in the interior, they consist of two and three stories, with pent roofs, projecting considerably over the wall, constructed of deal planks, and slated, where this material is procurable. Their villages are small, containing from three to fourteen houses. Situated on the summit of the ranges, or ornamenting their craggy slopes, they give a singular, but highly pleasing, effect to the mountain landscape.

Besides *Náhen*, *Kala* and *Keardah* are the only towns of which they can boast; unless *Rajpúr*, a place in *Kongra*, with two or three shops, can be accounted one. *Kala*, like *Náhen*, has lost much of its former prosperity; yet it still remains the *entrepôt* of the diminished commerce of the plain, with the countries to the northward.

Notwithstanding the dislike, in which the *Gorkhas* were held by both nations, ten years of restraint have not subdued the mutual animosity of the borderers of *Sirmór* and *Gerhwal*. The one, in speaking of the other, rarely uses the appellation of his nation, but substitutes the more expressive and rancorous term "*bairí*," signifying foe. This sentiment is very strong with the former, as he has suffered from the superior enterprise of his poorer, and more hardy neighbour, who makes war by sudden irruptions, and carries off the flocks of the nearest villages, their best moveable wealth. These incursions are seldom revenged.

The superstition of this people is extreme. Every peak is the residence of some sprite, whose wrath it is deemed dangerous to provoke.

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Polyandry, or the custom of one woman having two or more husbands (relations), obtains among them. It frequently happens that two brothers succeed conjointly to an estate. They cohabit with one wife, and the integrity of the property is thus preserved.

Topography.

With the exception of the *Keardah Dun*, this country is entirely mountainous; for the narrow levels, which partially pervade the banks of the *Giri*, the *Tons*, and the *Jumna*, can scarcely be accounted valleys. The mountains lie in ranges, much indented, and often crowned with peaks, greatly higher than their general level. To give a clear and comprehensive idea of these ranges, they may be classed as primary, and secondary: the secondary being, as it were, the counterforts, or buttresses, to the first. Carrying on the analogy, these counterforts may be considered as minor ranges, which are in like manner buttressed by others, projecting from them, and these again by others, and so on, with invariable uniformity.

One continuous range extends from the mountain, which divides the sources of the *Setlej* and *Tons*, through *Jiser*, to mount *Chpur*, at the head of the *Giri*. It there forms two branches: one stretching irregularly between these two rivers, passes through *Cumharsin*, by the village of *T'helig* and the peak of *Bajghar*, whence it spreads towards the plain, in many diverging ranges, which, with their counterforts, fill up the space between the *Jumna* at *Badshah Wahl*, and the *Setlej* at *Rúper*. The other connects with *Chur*, and continuing by the forts of *Hetipur* and *Chandpur*, divides the streams, which fall into the *Tons*, from those which feed the *Giri*. The peak, called *Chur*, has an elevation, above the plain, of 10,588 feet; and though sixty miles from the nearest summit of the snowy chain, is higher than any intervening point. It is the centre, from which the several ranges radiate, that lie between the *Tons* and the *Giri*.

Between the rivers *Tons* and *Jumna*, a grand central range is to be traced from the snowy mountains, projecting its huge buttresses, on either side, with little uniformity. At the head of the *Cumlo*, this elevated ridge divides, and forms the basin of the stream, running, by *Kalsi*, into the *Jumna*. The most elevated land of this tract is from *Karom* peak, south to *Debún*, and crosswise from *Lakandi* to *Bagru*.

Two snowy peaks are conspicuous, one of which, 17,574 feet high, is

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said to give rise to the *Tons*, and to furnish tributary streams to the *Jumna*, and the *Bhagirathi*, one of the main branches of the Ganges. The other, about ten miles to the eastward, is 18,775 feet in height.

Climate, Productions, and Commerce.

A line drawn transversely along the range, separating the *Bajehi* and *Mashuc Nalki*, to *Chur* peak, and thence S. E. by *Chandpur*, to the *Tons*, and continued through *Lakandi*, *Deban*, *Bogra*, and *Bartam*, to the *Jumna*, divides the mountainous region into two climates, distinguished by their productions, and a sensible difference of temperature. In the division contiguous to the plain, the harvest occurs towards the latter end of April, and beginning of May; whereas, in the more distant highlands, the barley was still unripe on the 20th of May, and the wheat frequently does not ripen at all.

The low land, on the banks of the rivers, is the most fertile and productive; and in parts of *Jounsar*, affords a revenue to the proprietor, amounting to one-half the produce. Other lands do not afford more than one-fifth, and the back districts probably even less. It is evident, that an invading force should not place much reliance on the resources of such a country.

The cultivation, in general, is carried on upon the surfaces of the secondary ranges, and upon their slopes, which are formed into terraces, for the convenience of the plough. The small breed of black cattle, peculiar to the mountains, is well adapted for this species of labour. The crops are scanty and poor, from the quantity of stone which is mingled with the soil. The stubble of the corn, in reaping, is left very long. The grain is separated from the ear by the trampling of oxen, in circular enclosures, paved with slate.

Besides wheat and barley, a small black grain, called *Marwa* (*Eleusine Coracana*), is reared, and constitutes the chief food of the people, and generally, all the frumentaceous and leguminous herbs, common to the plains, are grown. Rice is more attended to, and earlier sown, in the colder climate. It is generally cultivated along the banks of the torrents, for the convenience of irrigation. The water, for this purpose, is conducted with much ingenuity, and often carried across a deep glen, by a rustic aqueduct, consisting of the hollow trunk of a fir tree. Other varieties of rice are produced on the highlands, which do not require this labour.

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The surplus produce of the country is conveyed to *Nahun* and *Kalu*, whence it is exported to the plains. Turmeric, ginger, and capsicum, form articles of export from the lower to the upper highlands, and also to the plains. Excellent honey and walnuts, are conveyed from the hills to the low country. Tobacco of an inferior kind, and poppies, are partially cultivated, and require much care and attention. Cotton is grown, equal to the consumption of the country, which is not great, especially in the farther highlands, where woollen clothing is in use, for the greater part of the year. Salt is the chief import.

The climate of such a country, as may well be conceived, is very various. In the depths of the glens, and on the banks of the rivers, the sultriness is extreme, and a current of hot wind may be experienced, in the month of May, on the borders of the *Tons* river, offering a strong contrast to the delicious coolness of the highlands. The traveller, in the summer months, would do well to avoid the low ground, and direct his course, as much as possible, along the crests of the ranges. The thermometer, on the 26th of May, at noon, at *Pangoá*, in *Kandu*, stood at 94°, on the 27th, near *Sangrá Ghat*, on the *Tons*, at 102°. Snow falls in *Jabal*, and lies two to three feet deep, on the elevated ranges, projecting from *Chur*, and on the central land, between the *Tons* and *Jumna*, as late as the middle of March. That lofty peak is enveloped in snow, till the month of June. It is said that rain never falls there. The musk deer, the denizen of eternal snow, is sometimes found on the side of this mountain. It is strangled by the snare laid for it, and is seldom caught alive.

The productions of the woods and forests are as various, as the climate. The farther side of the boundary line, above described, and of the contiguous mountains, is covered with several species of the finest fir trees, whereas the oak, and a beautiful tree called the *Boras* (*Rhododendron punctatum*) prevail on the warmer face of this elevated region. The sources of the *Rámur*, and the neighbourhood of *Karara* peak, produce a vast variety of valuable forest trees, of immense growth, among which is observed the horse-chesnut. Strawberries, and raspberries, grow on the mountain sides, and barberries, cranberries, cherry trees, the dog-rose, the weeping willow, and other plants and trees, familiar to Europeans, frequently occur on the road side, and in the woods and glens. Apples, pears, peaches, and apricots are seen near the villages. The pears and peaches never arrive at perfection.

Seven distinct species of fir are observed in *Sirmór*. 1. The *Dúp*, or

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Surú, with the large cone, found in abundance near *Nálun*; 2. the *Chír*, another long-leaved fir, very common; 3 the *Rú*, bearing a small oval cone; 4. the *Kelú*, whose cone is from six to eight inches long, and of a delightful fragrance, the wood of this tree is the most valued of all the firs 5. the *Morinda*, 6. the *Thelúnar*, and 7 *Luur*, complete the enumeration. The five last reach the greatest perfection, on the ranges projecting from *Chír*, and those between *Kardm* and *Lákandi*. The *Dúp*, and *Chír*, are long-leaved. The turpentine, pitch, and tar, which the fir forests would yield, are alone sufficient to render them worthy of attention. Their value, as timber, is much diminished by the difficulty and labour, which must attend their removal, and on account of their distance from any dock-yard, where they would be most prized. Roads might, however, be opened to the nearest points of the *Tons*, and *Jumna*, from the banks of which it would be easy to float them down, at a moderate expense.

Mines.

Sirmór is not productive in mines, as they are at present wrought. A copper mine near *Kalu*, was formerly productive; but has, for some time, been abandoned. Abundance of iron ore is found on the slopes of the hills, near the great *Lákandi*. The ore yields one-fourth of its weight of impure iron, which scarcely affords the labourer his bread. It is procured by smelting in a small clay furnace, in the form of the frustum of a cone, from which it runs out, imperfectly liquified, at an orifice beneath. The coarse iron is sold at twenty-four sers for a rupee; and is chiefly used at the neighbouring lead mine of *Lódi*. This is a more profitable concern, and gives employment daily to one hundred men. From twenty-five to thirty maunds of ore are collected in a day, which yield six maunds of metal, valued at ten rupees per maund.

In *Jounsar*, and the country lying between the *Sain* range and *Chír*, are some slate quarries. This material, clumsily wrought, is used for roofing, in those districts where timber is scarce. It is difficult to say, what stores of mineral wealth may be contained in such a country. They offer an ample field of research to the mineralogist, as the vegetable productions do to the botanist.

Sand-stone prevails in the low ranges, contiguous to the plains, and in the *Jaitak* range; and calcareous incrustations are occasionally observed, in the beds of the torrents, which here have their birth. Sections of pudding-stone

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appear alternating with strata of soft and imperfect sand-stone, which the passes into these ranges disclose, inclining at an angle of 15° with the horizon. Primitive lime-stone rock, projecting in awful and fanciful forms its craggy pinnacles, discovers itself to be the basis of the *Sain* range. The schistose rock, which prevails in the regions beyond, and in *Jounsár*, contains iron, as is occasionally indicated, to the mortification of the surveyor, by the deviation of the magnetic needle.

Roads.

The communications through the country are very imperfect, and totally unfit for the marching of bodies of troops, exceeding a few companies. A path of a foot and a half in width, with the mountain rising precipitously on one side, and a deep glen on the other, if not very rugged, is esteemed by the natives a good road. Beasts of burthen are never used beyond *Nahen* or *Kalsí*, and it is with difficulty that a led horse, even of the indigenous breed, accompanies the traveller. The roads, such as they are, suffice for the limited commerce of the country. It would neither be difficult, nor expensive, to render them more commodious, and to open new ones, suited to the extended and more ready intercourse, which is now required. This is evident from those which have been made, in the mountainous districts, that have lately been under military occupation. Generally, a direct distance of ten miles, measured on the map, will give fifteen of road distance.

Passes.

The two principal débouches into *Deera Dún*, are sufficiently known. They have been much improved by the late frequency of ingress and egress, and are passable for every species of carriage. The one leading to *Nahen* might, with a little labour, be made practicable for loaded camels. The other passes, from the plain to *Sirmór*, by the valleys of *Deera* and *Keardah*, are less known and less frequented.

Fords.

From *Onwri*, a place of great sanctity, to *Heripár*, the *Tons* has six fords: the three upper ones practicable until the middle of May, and the other three, only during the winter months. The map exhibits ten fords, on the *Jumna*, above its union with the *Tons*, and four below. The former

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are passable, until the commencement of the rainy season, and the latter only till the melting of the snow, in March. The access to the fords of both rivers, above their junction, is extremely difficult, and easily to be defended against a very superior force. The *Giri* is almost always fordable.

Besides these fords, the mountaineers have a contrivance, called a *Jola*, by which they cross the *Tons* and *Jumna*, at all seasons. The narrowest part of the river is chosen, and four or five ropes, called a *T'hovan*, are thrown across, and made fast to upright stakes, rendered firm by being let into the rock, and strengthened by loose stones, piled around them. To these ropes is attached a piece of wood, called the *Jola*, (made to fit the small of the back), by the assistance of which the passenger glides across the river, with his back to the water, flowing perhaps thirty or forty feet beneath him. If loaded, his load is suspended on a ring of wood, sliding over the rope, and easily drawn across by means of a small cord, doubling through the supporting stakes. The traveller who does not chuse to trust himself to his own exertions, may avail himself of this resource. The *T'hovans* vary from sixty to one hundred and thirty feet in length.

Rivers.

The *Jumna*, before it is precipitated into the plains, is swelled by two large streams, the *Giri* and the *Tons*. The *Tons*, *Jumna*, and the *Bhagirathi*, one of the main branches of the *Ganges*, are said to rise from the same group of mountains as the *Giri*, but this information should be received with caution.

The appearance of the two first, from *Bustah*, and *Chamriya*, and their gradual approximation, render it probable that their sources cannot be very remote. When the snow begins to melt, the waters of these rivers are discoloured, those of the *Tons* are of a greenish grey (similar to the *Setlej* at *Beláshir*), while those of the *Jumna* are of a brownish red. The *Setlej* has a longer course, through the mountains, than either the *Tons*, or *Jumna*. The snowy chain, coming from the east to the peak of *Jamnotri*, thence trends northerly.

Forts.

Many forts, or more properly castles, are scattered through *Sirmór*. Their strength consists in their position, which is generally on peaks, com-

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manding all the neighbouring heights. They are built of stone, connected with wooden binders. The want of water is their chief weakness, and must ultimately cause their surrender to an investing force, unless covered by an army from without, to secure a supply of this necessary article. An army, in this situation, fortifies itself with wooden stockades, and the fort, which they are intended to cover, becomes no more than a point in the position; and its fall must necessarily follow a successful attack on the covering force.

G. R. B.

Delhi, 18 *February* 1816.

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VI. *Essay on the Bheels.** By Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B. and V.P.R.A.S.

Read January 17, 1824.

The four divisions of Hindus, viz. the Priests, Soldiers, Merchants, and Labourers,† appear to have existed in every human society, at a certain stage of civilization, but in India alone have they been maintained, for several thousand years, with prescriptive rigour. The mixture of races, caused by the operation of human passions (beyond the power of rules to control), which in most countries has tended to destroy such distinctions among the four primitive classes, has in India only extended to an indefinite number of tribes, or castes, exclusive customs and privileges, of which the lowest are as tenacious as the highest.

The institutions, the arts, and even the language of the Hindus, appear, at the earliest times, of which we have any general history, to have been more perfect than at present, but it is evident, that so artificial a state of society must have been, for many years, progressive towards that point, at which, in a very remote period, we find it had arrived, and it must have been grounded upon some prior structure of society, of which we have now no distinct knowledge. It therefore becomes an object to discover, if any fragments of that structure yet remain; and if they do, they are only to be traced by a minute investigation into the history, usages, and rites, of such tribes and families, as are now accounted among the lowest and most despised inhabitants of India. We may conclude, that, when the *Brâhmans* had established their superior rights and privileges, numbers of the inhabitants of India, who adhered to their own superstitious practices, would be deemed outcasts, and, as such, would be condemned to the most degrading occupations in society, or be compelled to fly to woods and mountains, in order to find refuge from persecution and oppression, in a life of poverty and privation. Similarity of condition, and the care of providing for their security, would produce union among men thus situated, and they would divide, according to circumstances, into separate families and tribes, who,

* *Bhîla* (vulgarly *Bheel*) is noticed in *Hémachandra's* Sanscrit Vocabulary, as the name of a tribe of barbarians. Wilson's Sanscr. Dict. ad voces.

† *Brâhmans, Chatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sûdras.*

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though contemned by the higher classes of Hindus, might in course of time be expected to amalgamate, in some degree, with those impure tribes, who, though sprung from the four privileged classes, have been subsequently degraded, on account of their spurious birth.

As we have no distinct account of the establishment of the Brahmenical institutions, we are ignorant of the origin of the pre-existing tribes, to which I have alluded, but of the illegitimate races, descended from the four primitive classes, we find frequent mention in the Hindu records. The *Chandála*, which includes many of the spurious classes, is stated by Menu* to have sprung from a *Sudra* father and a *Brahmení* mother, while a *Nishéda* or *Párasava* (both of which terms mean an outcast) is descended from a *Brahmen* and a *Sudra* mother. Menu calls the *Chandála* the lowest of mortals, because he seems to have considered it a greater crime for a woman of rank to debase herself, by an impure connection, than a man.

Other authors† have noticed these general classes of outcasts, all of whom, though degraded, have continued to observe the rites, and to cherish the superstitious faith, of those from whom they are descended.

The chief difficulty in distinguishing, at this period, the tribes and families, which never formed a part of the Hindu system, from those which its temporary rulers have degraded or ejected, arises from the mixture which time, and the similarity of situation and habits, have produced between these two classes, whose original usages and rites were probably not very remote; for, from the construction of the Brahmenical system, it is evident, that the attainment and preservation of worldly power must have been the primary object of those, by whom it was established, and such motives would prevent them making any great change in the polytheism of India.

But even supposing this change was effected, men driven into a base or savage condition of society, deprived of all instruction, and born and bred in habits of toil and warfare, would naturally adopt and imitate the superstitions of tribes, which appeared to their rude imagination so far above them, in all intellectual attainments, as well as worldly enjoyments.

Menu terms the forbidden or spurious offspring of the four primitive classes of society "*Dasyu*" (or plunderers), a term which implies their

* Menu's Institutes, Book X. v 12.

† Mr. Colebrooke, on the authority of the *Jétanéda*, assigns the same origin for the *Nishéda* or *Párasava*, as has been quoted from Menu.

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having adopted that life. It is agreed that these men, driven to despair, by being placed beyond the pale of the privileged castes, would naturally become the enemies of the society from which they were expelled. But it is not consistent with the art and wisdom, so evident in the whole frame of the Hindu system, to suppose that its authors would unnecessarily establish hostile communities, to disturb the general peace, and the allotment of trades * and professions to several of these spurious classes, contradicts the supposition. There must have been a distinct class existing in the community, upon whom these outcasts grafted themselves, before they were stigmatized by the lawgiver as plunderers, and it is singular, that, in the remarkable verse † of the RAMAYANA (which claims to be the most ancient of Hindu poems), the *Lyadh*, or fowler, is particularly denounced by its author, the sage VALMIKI, for his inhumanity in killing one of two herons,‡ which the sage observed enjoying themselves on the margin of a pure stream, in which he was bathing.

Enough has been said to shew, that we may expect to throw light upon the ancient history of India, from minute enquiries into the origin of the

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* The goldsmiths, the workers in cane, and many other castes, are of spurious origin, and are noticed by MENU.

† "Oh, NISHADA (VALMIK exclaimed), mayest thou never acquire long enduring renown, "For, of this pair of herons, thou hast slain one, at the very moment it was intoxicated with "love."

This is asserted, in the poem, to have been the first stanza ever composed in the Sanscrit language; as we read, that, when "VALMIKI had pronounced these words, it struck him that he "had uttered a very remarkable sentence: and reflecting on its structure, he observed to his "disciple BHARADWAJA, that it consisted of four feet of equal syllables, and then directed him "to call it a *sloka*, or verse. The obedient disciple acquiesced, and they both returned to the "hermitage: the sage pondering in the way on the nature of his couplet. On his arrival, while "absorbed in deep reflection, arising from this event, he was honoured with a visit from BRAHMA, "the Lord of creatures. VALMIKI arose, and after duly reverencing the God, he exclaimed, "'By this depraved and ignorant fowler, has so much misery been caused! how wantonly has "he killed the sweetly plaintive heron.

"BRAHMA smiled, and addressing VALMIKI directed him to write the history of RAMA, in "such measured words as he had just uttered in grief for the unfortunate heron. BRAHMA then "vanished from his sight, after declaring that the RAMAYANA, he was about to write, should "remain current amongst men, as long as the earth should endure, and that VALMIKI himself "should be rewarded, for its composition, by an abode in heaven, as long as height and depth "could be predicated of that region."

‡ The bird, mentioned in the original, is the *Ardea torra*, familiarly known, in India, by the name of *Paddy-bird*, from its frequenting the fields of that grain.

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usages and superstitions of the lowest classes of its population; but this subject requires still more of our attention, from such knowledge being essential to give success to our efforts to maintain the peace and promote the prosperity of our Eastern empire. These classes are at once the most ignorant and most barbarous of the community, and we may rest assured, that all attempts towards their permanent reform will fail, unless grounded on an intimate acquaintance with their past and present condition.

I shall, after these prefatory observations, proceed to contribute my mite towards the accomplishment of an object which I deem so important, by stating what I know of the fabulous and real origin of the *Bhills*, a race of men inhabiting the mountainous tracts of *Candeish*, *Malwa*, and *Rajpootana*.

The *Bhills* are, and deem themselves, a distinct people. There are so many different tribes among them, that it has been conjectured by some, that the general name of *Bhill* only denotes a confederacy of mixed and degraded races of Hindus, associated by political events and local circumstances: but, though there can be no doubt, that their strength has been increased, and their consequence raised, by recruits sprung from the prohibited intercourse of the primitive Hindu castes, there is every reason to believe that the original race of *Bhills* may claim a high antiquity, and that they were once masters of many of the fertile plains of India, instead of being confined, as they now are, to the rugged mountains and almost impenetrable jungles. There are authentic records of the *Rajput* sovereigns of *Joudhpur* and *Odeypur* having subdued large tracts from the *Bhills*, and the countries now under the *Rajput* princes of *Dongerpur* and *Banswara*, may be termed recent conquests from the same tribe, who, though they have no longer their own chiefs, still form the mass of the population. The same may be said of all the *Rajput* territories, in the woody and hilly tract which separates *Malwa* from *Guzerat*, and the latter province from *Mewar*.* But it is in that wild and uncultivated country which stretches along the left bank of the *Nermada*, from the plains of *Nemar* to those of *Guzerat*, amid the *Satpurah* and *Adjunti* ranges, and among the hills of *Baglanah*

* The countries, above mentioned, extend from 20° to near 25° North latitude, and from 73° to 78° East longitude, but this is only in part inhabited by *Bhills*, whom we find in the neighbouring hills, whence they extend in one line along the mountains to the furthest limits of *Dongerpur*. They are also to be found in many of the smaller ranges of the hills of *Guzerat* and *Mewar*; but their favourite abodes are the woody and rugged banks of the *Tapti*, the *Mahi*, and the *Nermada*.

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in *Candeish*, where this race have been least disturbed, that we may expect to find their usages most distinct from those of other classes.

The extraordinary custom, common to almost all the countries that have been mentioned, of the *tika*, or mark that is put upon the forehead of the *Rajput* prince or chief, when he succeeds to power, being moistened with blood taken from the toe or thumb of a *Bhill*, may be received as one among many proofs of their having been formerly in possession of the principalities, where this usage prevails.

The *Munahs*,* another degraded tribe, whose princes, till within the last nine hundred years, ruled over the country of *Joypur*, are as tenacious, as the *Bhills*, in maintaining a ceremony, which, though declaredly meant as a pledge of allegiance, appears to be cherished as a memorial of former power. The right of giving the blood for this ceremony is claimed by particular families, and the belief, that the individual, from whose veins it is supplied, never lives beyond a twelvemonth, in no degree operates to repress the zeal of the *Bhills* to perpetuate an usage, which the *Rajput* princes are, without exception, desirous should cease. The feeling of the latter is often accounted for by their fear of being polluted with the blood of an impure person; but it no doubt proceeds from a dislike, in some of these proud rulers, of being reminded, by this recurring ceremony, of the short date of their authority, and of the implied necessity of its being sanctioned and confirmed by the lowest of their subjects.

I found, on enquiry, that, though the above usage still existed in many principalities, it had in several been discontinued for one, two, and three generations. A minute investigation into the prevalence of it, or similar customs, that recognise the possession of the rights of these degraded tribes, would be useful in determining the degree of power they had formerly enjoyed.

There are many circumstances, which would authorise the conclusion,

* The mode in which the present rulers of *Joypur* gained possession of this great and rich principality, is remarkable. An expatriated *Rajput*, of the *Kachwaura* tribe, was adopted as his heir by the reigning *Munah* Prince of *Narwar* and from him the *Joypur* family is descended.

† The Princes of *Udeypur* are stated not to be desirous of the discontinuance of this usage, which they refer to a sense of gratitude to a *Bhill*, who saved the life of a prince of their family a tradition, which prevents the pride of this high family being hurt, by a recollection, that the throne, they now possess, had ever a manner occupant.

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that the *Bhills* come from the countries N.W. of *Malwa*.* One of the strongest is, that the principal *rawuls* and *bhats* (priests and minstrels) of *Rath* and *Nemar*, and I believe those of *Candesh*, come once or twice a year from the countries of *Udeypur* and *Jaudhpur*, to visit the tribes settled in the more southern districts.

The *Bhills* have a fabulous tale regarding their origin, which I have elsewhere stated.† This ascribes their descent to an intercourse between a celestial and terrestrial being. Mahadéva (we are told) became enamoured of an earthly beauty, and had a family by her. One of his sons, alike remarkable for his deformity and vice, slew the sacred bull of his father; for which sacrilege he was banished to the mountains, where he became the founder of a race inheriting his vices and his turbulence, which took the name of *Bhills*, an appellation that has been, in course of time, indiscriminately applied to the *Chandala* and *Nishéda*‡ (outcasts of spurious birth),

* Dr. Drummond, of Bombay, is of a different opinion. He considers the *Bhills*, as well as the *Kólis*, to be originally inhabitants of *Guzerat* and the south of India. In the latter part of this conjecture I do not coincide; and I am confirmed in my opinion by that of Captain Tod, an officer distinguished by his general attainments in Hindu literature and antiquities, and whose minute local knowledge of the country of *Rajpootana*, and its inhabitants, exceeds that of any other individual. Captain Tod observes, in reply to my query upon this subject, "We can trace the *Bhills* as powerful communities so far back as the *Mahabharat*; for even Indr (to which the five *Pandavas* were banished) formed part of that grand forest the *Heramber* (area) which comprehended both *Surashtra* and *Gujurashtra* from the world's end (*Jugat Khur Dwarka*) to the *Malwa* frontier, along the *Narmada*, and embracing *Eadur* and *Dongerpur* *Abu*, and the tracts anciently called *Dandhar*, comprehending Ambeera and tracts up the *Lunawadi* and the western *Bunas*, an immense tract of country. *Heramber* was the titular appellation of these forest lords, and there are legends without end of Bhéma's pranks with the fair Bhilini in the *Malwa* frontier and at *Girnar* in the centre of *Surashtra*. The name of Bhil is immortalized by his giving the death-blow to the head of the powerful *Rakshas* (*Jadus*) tribes. The deified Krishna, who mixed in the fight of *Kuru-cshétra*, had a character to his friend Arjuna, when the Poet says, 'He crimsoned the yellow mantle in the red-stained field.' The curse of the sage Durvasas, and the *Bhill* slaying the Indian Apollo (*Muralidhar*, the flute-holder) is well known to all the lovers of Hindu legendary tales."

† Vide Central India, Vol. I. p. 518.

‡ I am informed by Mr. Haughton, of the East-India College, to whose knowledge of Sanscrit literature I am much indebted, that the term *Nishéda*, which signifies an outcast race, is radically different from *Nishadha*, a country of which Nala (whose misfortunes are so beautifully described in the *Mahabharata*) was sovereign. This episode has been translated into Latin by the learned Professor Bopp, who is one among the many distinguished men of his country, that have of late made a great proficiency in oriental literature. The European public are promised a complete

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many of whom dwell among them. The *Bhills* also dwelt, and still dwell in the country of *Nushada*, whose localities are geographically discussed in the *Agni Purán*. It is the modern *Nerwer* or *Nalwer*, and, amongst its inhabitants, the tribe of *Lauriyah* is accounted one of the finest and oldest of the *Bhil* race. This was the country of the Prince Nala, whose name is in chronological tables as one of the *Suryavans*, or children of the Sun and from him the *Jeypur* family trace their descent.

Besides the general pretensions of all *Bhills* to a celestial origin, we find in every district some fable which ennobles their local chiefs, by tracing their descent from demi-gods, princes, and heroes. But before entering upon a description of the different classes of this people, I must shortly notice their religion, their superstitions, and their usages.

The *Bhills*, with the exception of a few tribes (who were converted to the Mahomedan religion) must be classed with the Hindu population; although they are in appearance, and in many of their habits, distinct from the other races of India. They worship the same gods, but their religious ceremonies are, in a great measure, limited to propitiatory offerings, and sacrifices, to some of the Hindu minor infernal deities,* particularly

a complete translation of the *Ramayana* by the able and eloquent Schlegel, Professor at Bonn and his published translation of the *Bhagvad Gita* is a proof of his competency to the arduous task.

* It is impossible to describe all the gods that are worshipped, by this rude race for every tribe has different objects of adoration, arising from local superstitions and legends. The following is a list of the principal deities of the *Bhills* in *Jobuah* and its vicinity, and the occasions on which they deem it necessary to propitiate their favour:

Kali. On many occasions.

Hatipowa. At the *Dewáli* and *Dasehará* feasts, as presiding over village cultivators.

Wagracha Kurwer. To protect them against the ravages of wild beasts.

Hale Mata. For success in their predatory journies and undertakings.

Khorial Mata. For protection to the cattle from sickness and plundering.

Devi Kawail. For a good ripening of their corn, and for plenty

Bahru Bajl. For rain.

Ghora Raja. Against attacks and plunderers.

Hallam. Worshipped by the *Mahoa Bhills*, at the annual pilgrimage to the large hill of *Ratna Wás*, in *Bariya*.

Chamconda Mata is the goddess of harvest, and the first of every grain cut is offered to her.

Howis Wasa Mata. Against murrain or lameness amongst their cattle.

Sita Mata. The goddess of small-pox.

Bhulwas

the *goddess of small-pox*, Sita Mata, whom they invoke under various names, in the hope of averting its dreadful ravages. They pay great reverence to Mahadéva, from whom (as has been stated) they boast their descent.

The *Bhills* often make small mud figures of horses, which they range round their idol, to whom they promise a fine charger if he will hear their petition; and it is not unusual to place the image upon one of these figures. The extreme reverence of this rude race for the horse is very singular; and in many of their legends the principal event depends on the assistance, or advice, of an enchanted horse.

The *Bhills* neither build, nor frequent, pagodas or temples; but in general select for a place of worship some particular tree, which is consecrated by a few large stones put on an elevated terrace of mud, which is constructed at its root. In some places, however, a small open shed is erected for some particularly sacred image.

At the *Dasahara** many of the *Bhills* resort to the principal neighbouring towns to celebrate that feast, and sacrifice at the outside of the village to Durgá, a goddess to whom they at all times pay adoration. But the most singular, and perhaps the original worship of the *Bhills*, is that which they pay to their deceased ancestors, or chiefs of note. On the death of one of these, a brass bull or horse is formed and delivered to the *Bhat*,† who makes an annual circuit of the hamlets, with this image, performing the requisite ceremonies, and commemorating, in songs, the fame of the deceased; for

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Bhulbar Mata. In times of epidemic sickness, cholera, &c. &c.

Bhadul Bar. Small-pox.

Ghoda. Small-pox.

The sacrifice or offering to Hatidowa and Waghacha Kunwur, is a bullock to the others, fowls and he-goats. a male bird to the male deities and a female to the female ones. Their usual ceremonies consist in merely smearing the idol, which is seldom any thing but a shapeless stone, with vermilion and red lead, or oil; offering, with prostrations and a petition, an animal and some liquor; casting a small portion of each, with some pulse, into the fire, and then partaking of the flesh and remaining liquor after giving the presiding *Rawul*, or *Bhat*, his share.

* The *Dasahara* begins on the tenth of *Assun* September.—October), on which, after the worship and religious ceremonies have been performed nine nights, they throw the image of the goddess Devi (Kali) into the river. On this day Rama marched against Ravana, King of Ceylon; for which reason it is called the victorious tenth.

† The *Bhat* is both the bard and chronicler of the *Bhills*, as of all the low tribes. This class, have been described in the Memoir of Central India, Vol. II. p. 181, &c.

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which service he receives, as his dues, a piece of cloth, and the vessels, and other articles, used in the sacrifice. It is also common for the *Bhills* to raise, on such occasions, a cairn, or rude pile of stones, to the chief who is beatified, and the top of this pile is, at particular periods of worship, covered with oil, red lead, and vermilion.

I cannot better illustrate the belief and usages of the *Bhills*, regarding their sainted heroes, than by giving a legend of the tribes inhabiting the mountainous tract, situated between the *Nermada* and the *Tápti*, and lying to the west of the level parts of *Nemar*. The demi-gods and heroes of other tribes differ in their names and qualities, and in the fables relating to their origin, from those described in the legend, but the miracles, which attended their birth and progress, are all of similar character and construction.

According to the traditions, and written records, of some of the oldest and best informed of the *Rawels*, or holy men, of these *Nemar Bhills*, "A "youth of the mercantile class, named OLIA, of *Toran Mall*, who had "left his own family, came to the house of a *Brahmen* school-master, called "KHOJA, who took him under his protection, and educated him, along "with his own daughter, named BARMA. One day, the two young scho- "lars were assisting each other in their lessons, when the girl proposed "casting their nativity, in order to discover whether they were born under "the influence of the same star, and consequently capable of being united "in marriage or not. They were employed in this task, when the *Brahmen* "arrived, who, perceiving in what they were engaged, was very angry, "and taxing the young *Banya* with ingratitude, in aspiring to the hand "of his daughter, struck him several blows. The *Banya*, irritated by "such usage, lifted up his writing-board, and gave the *Brahmen* so severe a "blow, that it killed him. Alarmed at what he had done, he prepared to "flee, when the girl entreated him to take her with him. He agreed to "this, and after having performed the funeral rites of the deceased *Brah-* "*men*, they departed, and went to *Toran Mall*, where they lived as man "and wife.

"Some time after this, BARMA, leaving her husband to take care of the "household affairs, accompanied the *Jatra*, or annual concourse of pilgrims, "going to worship SEWASIVA, who was then passing his time in *tapasya*, or "mental abstraction, on the hill of *Dhawalagiri Parvat* (or the White Moun-

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" tain) in *Gondwara*.* Barma', on her arrival, performed her devotions " to Sedásiva, with such assiduity that, when that holy being awoke from " the trance, in which he had been plunged, she attracted his attention, and " he desired her to mention her prayer, and it should be granted Barmá " replied, that her only wish was to be blest with children, that her name " might remain in the land of her nativity Sedasiva, on hearing this, " gave her a club, or staff, which he directed her to throw against the " branches of a mango-tree, and to pick up the fruit that fell. She obeyed, " and obtained five mangoes, but not being satisfied, she again threw up " the stick, when, to her surprise, it adhered to the tree, and at the same " time, the mangoes she had already obtained, vanished from her hand. " Mortified by this disappointment, she imposed upon herself, as a penance " for her avarice, the task of sweeping with the long dishevelled tresses of " her hair, the spot on which Sedasiva lay reclined in *tapanya*, hoping " that her humility and devotion would appease that anger, to which she " attributed her disappointment. Barma had performed this task for the " space of seven years, when Sedásiva again opened his eyes, and, perceiv- " ing the same votary standing before him, enquired why she had not de- " parted with her fruit Barma related what she had done, and the " consequence. ' It was a just punishment,' said Sedasiva, ' for your " cupidity. Take the stick, and try again; but learn to be satisfied with " what fate grants you, and seek no more.' Barma, thus warned, took " the stick, and knocking down five mangoes, departed with them to *Tirun* " *Mull*. During the journey, she happened to lodge at the house of a " *Komár*, or pot-maker, whose daughter ate one of the mangoes, and be- " came immediately pregnant. In the same manner, three other mangoes " were eaten by the respective daughters-in-law of the different house- " holders who gave her lodging They were, a *Banyá* (a merchant), a " *Rajput* a soldier), and a *Gówlá* (a cowherd). Their daughters-in-law, " becoming all pregnant from eating the mangoes, were, in due time, de- " livered of sons. The *Komár's* daughter-in-law's son was called Dha- " kunghi, the *Banya's* was called Gensi; the *Rajput's* was called Wang " Sáman; and the *Gówlá's* was called Vélan

* Probably the *Mahádéo* hills, where the pilgrims still continue to pay their adoration to Sa nafseva, or Mana'deva.

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"Barmá proceeded with the only remaining mango, till she came to "a part of the country that was overgrown with long grass, in which her "feet getting entangled, she fell, and dropt her mango. On missing it, "she turned to look for it, and perceived it change into an egg, which as "suddenly became transformed into a serpent. She conjured the reptile, "if subject to the power of Sedasiva, again to become an egg, which "having taken place, as she desired, she took the egg in her hand, and "proceeding on her journey, reached *Tóran Mall* in safety. The egg "afterwards produced twins, a boy and a girl, who were called Kónda "and Kúndan."

After this the story becomes defective. No further mention is made of Otla and Barma; and the five brothers, with their sister, are introduced as grown up, and living together at *Toran Mall*. They are represented as being in a state of indigence, and obliged to labour for their food, or procure it by hunting. Being, however, the children of Sedasiva, they are under the protection of divine power, and, in one of their hunting excursions, they find a horse, which proves to be of celestial breed. This animal, which has the gift of speech, tells the brothers, that they are destined to rise, from poverty and obscurity, to wealth and power, by one of them marrying Kajel Rani. Kónda (who appears to be the recognised head of his brothers), enquires who this Kajel Rani is, and how she is to be obtained. The horse replies, that she is a *Gandharba* (a fairy, or celestial being), and that she resides at her father's court, in a distant region, called *Meghpuri* (or the city of the cloud), from whence she is in the habit of descending, with seven other celestial nymphs,* to bathe in the river *Sipra*.† The horse offers to conduct Kónda to the spot, and to assist him in concealing himself from view, while the nymphs bathe in the river, when Kónda is instructed to seize Kajel Rání's garments, and not to restore them till she promises to become his wife. In short, Kónda gains the Rani by following the advice of the horse. After he had obtained her,

* There are a great many nymphs at Indra's court, and, as it is believed that the demi-god can be dispossessed of his sovereignty by any mortal who can exceed him in the austerities, by which he obtained his present power, he generally despatches one of these charming and alluring damsels, to tempt the ascetic, and to interrupt and destroy the efficacy of his self-imposed penance.

† The *Sipra* is a river in *Malwa*, which flows past the sacred city of *Ujayen*. For description of its course, vide Central India, Vol. II. Index, p. 513.

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she is much distressed at the idea of the calumny, to which she would be exposed, for having eloped, especially as her father had already betrothed her to a prince. She therefore advises KÚNDA to allow her to return to her native sphere, to which she recommends him to ascend, and carry her off publicly, as his doing so would save her reputation. KÚNDA, after consulting his oracle, the horse, who promises him success, agrees to this proposition, and KAJEL RANI, with her attendants, wings her flight into the upper regions. When the period fixed for the celebration of her nuptials with the Prince, to whom she was betrothed, arrives, KÚNDA and his brothers mount the horse, which carries them to *Meghpur*, just as the marriage-ceremony commences. KÚNDA prays for aid from SEBASIVA, and is consequently endowed with the strength of twelve elephants. He approaches KAJEL RAS, and seizing her intended spouse, annihilates him with one blow; and then bearing off the bride, from the midst of surrounding hosts, he mounts her on the horse, which bears them in safety to *Toran Mall*.

From the date of this event, KÚNDA, who is now called KÚNDA RÁNA (or prince), lived happily with KAJEL RANI, to whom he was married, and in course of time (according to the prediction of the horse*) obtained wealth and dominion, by conquest, it is said, but no further particulars are known. KÚNDA RANA, and his brothers, are reported to have possessed the kingdoms of *Malwa*, *Guzerat*, and *Candeish*, but this probably means no more, than that they plundered these countries.

The era of KÚNDA RANA is subsequent to that of any of the Rájas and Princes, celebrated in the *Maha-bharat*, in which, however, mention is made of *Toran Mall* a Raja of that place, named YUVANASWA, being there represented as fighting with some of the *Pándava* race.

The following is an account of the progeny of KÚNDA RANÁ, and his brothers.

BALLA RAJEL, son of KÚNDA RANA, by his wife KAJEL RANI.
BHILLET, son of VÉLAN GOWALA, by his wife MERENDA GÓWALIN.
LAHAC, son of DURKUMBHI, by DÁBHI.
KUÁÁ, son GÚNJI BANYÁ, by RANDANI.
SODUL, son of WANGNAMER, by LARHAC.

There were altogether seven sons, but their names are not known. They

* No further notice is taken of the horse in the story.

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were called *Kákas*, and their offspring (with their relations by marriages) formed a family of sixty, who were called the sixty *Rawuts*, or knights, of whom Kunda Rána was the chief. This race has been extinct for ages, and the sixty *Rawuts* are now exalted to as many *Dongri Devus* (or hill-gods), who are worshipped by the *Bhillalas* and *Bhills*, as well as by almost all the Hindus of the lower classes, of Aemar. Of all the sixty *Rawuts* (or hill-gods) Bhillet, son of Vejan Gowala, is the most revered; and this arises from the skill he possessed in magic, and from the success, he was, in consequence, enabled to obtain during an expedition, in which he accompanied the god Bhairava (another son of Sadasiva). They both went (it is said) to *Cámrup*, where the latter fell a victim to the arts of the sorcerers and sorceresses of that country, who transformed him into a beast; but he was rescued by Bhillet, who, by his superior skill in necromancy, subdued all the magicians and sorcerers, and restoring Bhairava to his natural shape, brought him away in safety.

This tissue of superstition and fable has given rise to a race of men, called *Barwás*,* who are supposed, through the influence of the hill-gods (whose votaries they are), to be endowed with the hereditary gift of inspiration. Their powers are, however, dormant, till they are excited by music; and for this reason, they have a class of musicians connected with them, who are proficient in numerous songs, in praise of the hill deities. When the recitation of these songs has kindled the spark of spiritual fire, they begin to dance with frantic gestures, and loosening their hair, toss, and whirl round their heads, whilst their whole frame becomes agitated, as if under the influence of strong convulsions. In this state of phrenzy, they give utterance to oracles, which are attentively listened to by those, who come to consult them. The *Barwás* are of various castes, and admit disciples. The novices are required to perform daily ablutions, in warm water, for nine days, and to allow their hair to grow, to as great a length as possible. They then undergo a probation; and if music does not stimulate them to a state of extatic phrenzy, they are rejected, as not being favoured by the gods with a requisite portion of spiritual grace.

The *Barwás* act also as physicians, and cure trifling complaints, by means of simples, which the jungles produce. When the disease is serious, and

* The *Barwás* of the *Bhills* appear to be nearly similar to the *Bhópás*; for an account of whom, vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 218.

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of a nature beyond the reach of their skill to discover, they invariably attribute it to the evil influence of a *Dhákan*,* or witch. In such cases, it is their duty to detect this *Dhákan*, which is effected by the performance of various ceremonies sometimes by music, and at other times by a bunch of peacock's feathers, made into a broom, being waved round the head of the patient. In some cases, more cruel means are used to compel the *Dhákan* to declare her name, and the motives which have compelled her to afflict her victim, and the terms on which she will be appeased.

The belief in witchcraft is common to almost all classes in India; but the *Bhills*, from their wildness and ignorance, are deeply tinctured with this superstition. They are, consequently, never without *Barwás* of their own tribe, with whom they consult on all occasions, but particularly when about to undertake a plundering expedition, and they almost invariably abide by the advice of these oracles. The *Barwás* of the poorer *Bhills* differ, in some respects, from the others. They do not require, for their excitement, any music, beyond "the clashing of stones."

It has been stated, that almost every tribe of *Bhills* has an account of its origin, of similar character to the one before mentioned, but I have remarked one important fact, that these traditions, which have been evidently fabricated to minister to the pride of chiefs, whose ancestors have been degraded from the higher and privileged orders, on account of their spurious birth, or some impure habit of life, have always a reference to *Bhills*, who existed previous to the date of the fable, and thus evidence tends, beyond all others, to prove the title of the latter to antiquity, as an original tribe. I select from my papers the following short account of a class, termed the *Mehwa Bhills*, from their being settled on the banks of the river *Mehi*.

"Jagdeó (Yajnyadeva), one of the former Rájas of *Dhar*, was a Lunai des-
"cendant of the ancient family of the *Puars*. He had four brothers, with
"whose aid he attempted to build a fort at *Mándú*: but all their efforts were
"unsuccessful, for, as soon as a portion was built up, it fell to the ground.
"This had happened several times, when one night the goddess Hallasa
"Devi appeared to Jagdeó in a dream, and said, that unless one of the bro-
"thers would make a sacrifice of the head of his son, and his son's wife, they
"would never accomplish their object. Jagdeó, on waking next morning,
"repeated the dream to his brothers, whom he assembled for the purpose

* For a full account of the *Dhákan*, vide Central India, Vol II. p. 218, &c.

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" of deciding what was to be done. One of them said, ' Assuredly, we " have not that urgent occasion for a fort, that we should sacrifice the lives " of one of our sons, and his wife, to obtain it.' Jaoneé, after hearing this " speech, in which all his brothers acquiesced, said, ' I will give the head, " of my son and his wife;' and did so the same night. Hallaka Dévi told " him, that the fort should be completed before the next morning, which " was done accordingly. After this extraordinary event, only one of the " brothers would remain with Jaoneé. The other three left him, observ- " ing, that he was, from having made the sacrifice, sole master of the fort, " and that they had, by their hesitation, forfeited all right to share in that " possession, or to participate in his power, as Prince of *Mándu* and *Dhár*. " They continued wanderers, for some time, principally occupying them- " selves with the chace. The *Mehi* river, being informed of their depar- " ture, appeared before them in the shape of a wild hog, in order to allure " them towards a part of the country, where she desired they should settle " The brothers gave chace, but, after a long ride, lost sight of their game. " One of them, named Uncharawad, being thirsty, went in search of " water. He came to a hut, where he found some brass pots, ready filled; " and from seeing the spot quite clear of wood, he concluded that it must " belong to some person of high caste, and drank of the water. Another " brother came, for the same purpose, but, previously to drinking, he asked " to whom the pots belonged. Uncharawad said, he did not know, but " having enquired of some children, who were playing, they were informed " that the house belonged to a *Bhill*. The brother who came last, said to " Uncharawad, ' As you have drunk the water, you have lost your caste, " and become the same as a *Bhill*, therefore we cannot live together as " formerly.' Uncharawad, being, by this accident, degraded to the condi- " tion of a *Bhill*, adopted their usages, and became their leader, and in " commemoration of his having been brought by the *Mehi* river, he and " all his followers adopted the name of *Mehwa Bhills*, by which they are, to " this day, distinguished. Shortly after this event, he built a fort, which " was called *Uchángher*, or the fort of *Uchánge*."

The plain fact of this story is, that a brother of one of the former Princes of *Dhar*, fled to the woods, and lost his caste, from associating with *Bhills*, of whom he became a leader.

The same pride, which has given rise to this fable, has led to the establish- ment of different castes, and distinctions, among the *Bhills*. The *Uffeeas*

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and *Kala*, or white and black *Bhills*, are general terms, not applying to a difference in the shade of complexion, but in the habits of the tribes that these terms distinguish, and the words (which are used metaphorically) imply "pure" and "impure." Indeed, the word "*Mana*," which literally means unclean, is often used to denote the latter tribe. The *Ujwala*, or pure *Bhills*, trace their descent from the *Rajputs*, and are, in several parts, called *Bhilalas*. Many of these not only preserve the names of their forefathers, but the clan name of the peculiar tribe to which they belonged, before their degradation. In writing a list of the different tribes of *Bhills*, settled in the principality of *Jabuah*, the names of many of the Hindu military caste were found. This induced a query as to the cause of *Bhills* being distinguished by family names, such as *Rhatore*, *Chohan*, *Solanki*, &c. The answer from a chief, skilled in their legends, was the following short fable:

"In former times, when Parasu Rama (*Avatara*) declared a war of "extirpation upon the *Rajputs* (in revenge for an offence against his father), "numbers of that tribe were obliged to save themselves, by denying that "they belonged to it, professing to be members of other classes of the "community. To punish this evasion, Parasu Rama insisted that every "individual should eat the food of the tribe, to which he declared himself "to belong. Those *Rajputs*, who did so, lost their caste, and were obliged "to adhere to the tribes of their adoption, but retained their former name;" and this (said the old man) accounts for your finding men who call themselves *Rhatores*, *Solankis*, &c. amongst the *Bhills*, and many other low castes,* with whom their ancestors, when in dread of extirpation, associated.

The pure *Bhills* (as they term themselves) pretend to keep up a distinction from others, on many points, and particularly in diet. They refrain from carrion, and animals that have died a natural death, which impure *Bhills* eat, and many families amongst them will not partake of the flesh of the cow. The consequence of this abstinence is, that some *Rajputs* will drink water from the vessels, and eat in the houses, of these *Bhills*, and the latter, flattered by this approximation, assume, as far as their condition permits, the habits and customs of other Hindus. On these, therefore, it is

* Some of these degraded *Rajputs* are found among the *Telis*, or oil-men, and the *Baleiyas*, or guides, and even, I am informed, among the *Chamars*, or shoe-makers, who are deemed the vilest and most unclean of the Hindu community.

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not necessary to dwell. My chief purpose is, to describe the usages of the original and unmixed *Bhills*, but of these also there are many tribes, and classes.

Near *Adyanti*, and on part of the *Sátpúrá* range, there are many Mahomedan *Bhills*, who appear to be a portion of this people, that have been converted to the faith of Mahomed, and were, at one period, probably reclaimed from those plundering habits, into which they relapsed, as the Government became weak and distracted. This tribe would seem, from my information, to know little of their professed religion but the name, and to be as ignorant and superstitious, as the rest of their brethren.

In every province, where *Bhills* are established, I have found the names of tribes, or rather families, increase in the ratio that enquiry was pursued. The slightest circumstances with them, as with other unsettled races of men, give rise to such a distinction. The name of an ancestor, a dispute in the tribe, which causes the separation of a branch of it, a favourite spot of residence, a wonted signal, any thing, in short, gives rise to a name, which is perpetuated, and forms a tie of brotherhood, long after its origin is forgotten. I heard of a small tribe, known by the name of *Kókú Bhills*, which, I was told, had been adopted from their established signal, on plundering expeditions, being like the crowing of a cock. After this explanation, it is unnecessary to give a list of these tribes, though I obtained several of those that inhabited the different countries under my charge, as I deemed such minute knowledge useful, in the exercise of local administration.

There are, even among the *Mana*, or impure *Bhills*, some essential distinctions. Those settled on the *Nermada*, speak with detestation of other classes (particularly that denominated *Náik**), which dwell in the *Sátpúrá* ranges.

I made every effort to obtain some written record of the *Bhills*, that might throw light upon their origin, and peculiar habits, but without success. Several heads of tribes on the *Nermada*, assured me, that such records existed, as they had heard their chief *Rawels*, or priests, who come from *Marwar*, read accounts from books; but enquiry led me to conclude, that the books referred to, were no more than those genealogical accounts †

* An intelligent *Bhill* assured me, that some of the *Sátpúrá Bhills* had a language peculiar to themselves, but I have doubts of the fact. It is, however, a subject that merits enquiry.

† I have given a particular account of these genealogical works, in the Memoir of Central India, Vol. I. p. 516—550.

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which are kept by the priests and minstrels of the *Rajputs*, of every tribe of Central India, to gratify the pride, and regulate the marriages, of the principal families.

The language of the *Bhills*, of the *Vindhya* range, and those of *Nemar*, differs, in no material degree, from that of the peasantry of the country; but from their being uneducated, and living (with the exception of the village *Bhills*, who are described in the Memoir of Central India) amid wilds and mountains, they speak a very rude dialect. The images of this race merit particular notice. The following account * of the ceremonies at the births, marriages, and funerals, of the tribes on the banks of the *Nermada*, is believed to be accurate.

Ceremonies at the Birth of a Child.

When a *Bhill* child is born, it is bathed in warm water, and a name is immediately given it, by the women who have acted as midwives on the occasion. On the fifth day after the delivery, a great rejoicing takes place, among the members of the family, and their relations. During the day, the child and its mother are bathed in warm water, and in the evening, all the relations assemble. Wheat, flour, arrack (distilled from the *Mahua*† tree), some red lead, a mixture called *kunkú*, turmeric, and cocoa-nuts, are previously prepared. The ceremony commences by the mother of the child plastering a part of the floor, immediately outside of the threshold of the hut, with cow-dung and turmeric, on which she places five small pebbles, corresponding with the number of days, since the infant has been born, and to these pebbles she performs *puja*, or worship, by sprinkling them with red lead, *kunku*, and grain, and breaking a cocoa-nut in pieces. She next places some of that fruit near the five pebbles, on which a libation of arrack is poured. After this, a repast of bread and cakes is prepared, of which all partake, and the night is passed in carousing and rejoicing. During this festivity, the sexes do not intermingle, but remain separate; the men smoking and drinking, in one place, and the women singing, beating the *d'hol* (a small drum), and drinking, in another, till morning ends the merriment of the fifth day.‡

* I am indebted for this account to Capt. R. Shears (the officer who had the superintendance of these tribes).

† Bassia latifolia.

‡ This account of the women joining in the ceremony, at so early a period after her confine-

On the twelfth day, another ceremony takes place. On this day, the mother of the infant, with her female relations, proceeds to a river, stream, pool, or well, where rites are performed to the water-god, or spirit *Jaladéva*, as he is called. The ceremonies are as follow. In the hut, where the woman has lain in, a dish called *khichri* is prepared, made with *jowaree*,* or *bájra*,† boiled with *múng-dáll*.‡ Some of the *khichri* is then put upon a brass dish, on which are also placed twelve lighted lamps, to correspond with the number of days, since the birth of the child. These lamps are made of wheat-flour, kneaded into paste, and of the same paste twelve small cakes are also made. In addition to these, red lead, *hánsa*, cocoa-nut, and a mixture, made of five different kinds of grain, and of turmeric, beaten into a powder, which is dissolved in water, are placed upon the brass dish, which, with its contents, forming, what is called in *Nemar*, the *arti*, is carried by one of the women, the whole of whom, with the mother of the child, go in procession, singing, and beating the *d'hol*, and accompanied by any other instrumental music that they can procure, towards the appointed stream, at the edge of which, when the party arrives, the mother of the child arranges the lamps. The cakes are placed in a second line, parallel to that of the lamps, and a little of the *khichri* is put on each of them, after which, the mother performs worship to the water-god, in the following manner. Red lead, and *hánsa*, are thrown by her into the water, and also on the twelve lamps, upon which some of the five different kinds of grain, mixed with turmeric and water, is also thrown. A fire is then kindled before the lamps, and oil poured on it. The party afterwards proceed home, where they feast upon *khichri* and oil, after which they break up, and this finishes the business of the twelfth day.

Marriage Ceremonies of the Bhills.

The fixing of a marriage between a young couple is managed entirely by their relations. When the parents desire to marry their son, they send some friends to the parents of the girl, whom they wish to become their son's bride. These make proposals, and present some *gur*, raw sugar and arrack, which (if partaken of) shows, that the proposals are accepted.

ment, may appear extraordinary to an European, but not to any one who has been in India, and witnessed the rapid recovery of females after child-birth.

* Holcus sorghum. † Holcus spicatus.

‡ *Mudga-dala*; Phaseolus mungo.

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After this, the parents of the intended bridegroom, taking with them five or six sers of sugar (*gur*), or as many pots of arrack, a new petticoat, a cloth, a rupee, and a cocoa-nut, proceed on a lucky day,* accompanied by the intended bridegroom himself, and all the male and female members of the family, to the house of the bride, where, in expectation of their coming, an entertainment has been prepared, according to the circumstances of the parties. If rich, the food consists of boiled rice, *dal*,† and *ghi*,‡ and if poor, of bread made of *jowara* flour, *dal*, and oil of *til* (sesamum). The mother of the girl, then carries to her daughter the presents brought for her, and attiring her in the petticoat and cloth, puts some *kanku* on her forehead. The whose party then assemble in the girl's apartment, where they partake of the entertainments prepared for them, and after quaffing large potations of the arrack, return to their respective dwellings. The young couple are, from that day, considered as regularly betrothed. The celebration of the marriage is afterwards fixed, according to circumstances, and opportunity. The commencement of these ceremonies always takes place on Sunday, previous to which the bridegroom and bride have, for several days, their bodies well rubbed with oil,§ and perform ablutions with warm water. During the whole of this week, till next Sunday, the bridegroom and bride, with their respective relations, male and female, in two distinct parties, go every night to pay visits to their neighbours. After these visits, one of the females of both parties, carries a brass plate, in which are a lighted lamp, some *kánkú*, and grain. The master of each house, or hut, gives to the bridegroom or bride, as they respectively happen to come, presents of a cocoa-nut, or money amounting to a few *pice* (a copper coin), and taking from the brass dish some *kánkú*, put it on their foreheads. On the last day (Saturday), a *mandha* (or booth) is erected at the houses of both the bridegroom and bride, by their parents. The *mandha* of the bridegroom must be erected on nine posts, and that of the bride upon twelve. In each of these *mandhas*, the bridegroom and bride's male relations bathe in warm water, and partake of victuals and arrack. At night the men retire, and

* The *Bhat*, or minstrel, is always acquainted with the lucky and unlucky days, but these seldom possess the almanacks, used by the Hindu priests of villages, in which they are all inserted.

† A species of Indian vetch.

‡ Clarified butter.

§ This word is, in the original, *chontra*, which signifies a particular oil.

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make room for the women, who pass the night in drinking and singing. On these occasions, it is thought a great disgrace, if there should be any deficiency of arrack.

On the Saturday morning, the bridegroom, if he can afford it, is dressed in a red turban, of the value of two or three rupees; a jacket of white cloth, of the value of one or two rupees; and a pair of short white trowsers, of the value of eight or ten *annas*.* When dressed, he is conducted by his parents and relations, accompanied by vocal music, to the *mandha* of the bride, whose parents meet the bridegroom's party about half-way, and conduct them to the *mandha*. As this, however, is never made large enough to contain all the company, separate places are assigned to them, where they pass the day in eating and drinking. At night, they all assemble, and seat themselves, in distinct groupes, around the *mandha*: the bridegroom's party being on one side, and that of the bride on another; leaving a space in the middle, where the bridegroom and bride are afterwards seated, opposite, but nigh to each other. A piece of painted pasteboard, with tassels appended to it (of the value of about four rupees), is then tied on each side of their foreheads, by their respective female relations, the nearest of whom unite the hands of the young couple, which completes the ceremony. The whole of the company pass the night in singing and drinking, as usual, and the next morning, the bridegroom conducts to his house his bride, who is then separated from her own family.

Inferior Marriages, called Natra.

When a man wishes to contract a marriage with a widow, without incurring trouble and expense, he sends some of his friends to urge his suit with the woman, or with her parents, or relations. If his proposals are accepted, the suitor is desired to bring to the house of his intended bride, such presents as he can afford; which are, usually, a petticoat of coarse chuntz, a cloth, a sort of bodice, a necklace of beads, two pots of arrack, sixteen *sers*† of roasted pease, and two *sers* of *gur*, or raw sugar. The match is then considered settled. The visit must be made on a Saturday night. The man takes with him friends, and requisites to form an entertainment, of which the woman's friends, and his own, partake. The woman dresses herself in the clothes brought to her, and she and her new spouse, after the departure

* *Anna*, one-sixteenth of a rupee. † A *Ser* is nearly two pounds.

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of the guests, pass the night together. According to long established custom, the new married pair are obliged to leave the house before day-break, and pass the next day in the fields, in some solitary place, about the distance of three or four miles from the village, and they must not return till the dusk of the evening. Their friends, however, send them meat and drink. The necessity of the new married couple passing the first day of their marriage, like outcasts, at a distance from any human habitation, is to mark that sense of degradation, which all the natives of Hindustan entertain against a woman, marrying a second husband. That even the wild and ignorant *Bhills* should be affected by this fastidiousness, would appear somewhat like a proof of the sentiment being less allied to a feeling of delicacy, than to some ancient national usage, for it is not likely, that the modern *Bhill* could have copied this extraordinary custom from the Brahmenical institutions.

These second marriages are, most frequently, preceded, amongst the *Bhills*, by an elopement of the parties, which, generally, ends in the pardon of the parents and relations, who are appeased by the seasonable application of some presents. When such connections are formed by the inhabitants of villages, a fixed fine is paid to the *Patels*, or head men, and this constitutes part of their dues.

Funeral Ceremonies of the Bhills.

The *Bhills* always bury their dead (a very marked distinction from the Brahmenical practice of burning). The corpse is wrapt in a shroud of new coarse white cloth, and borne on a bier made of bamboos, or any kind of sticks. This is carried by some of the relations of the deceased to the usual burying-ground, which is always on the bank of a stream. Here the shroud is taken off, and the body (if that of a woman) is washed, and the shroud being again put on, the corpse is interred in a grave, three or four feet deep. The head of the corpse is laid to the south. The bier, and the clothes worn by the deceased, before his death, are thrown away, as being impure. All the family, and such of the tribe as are in the vicinity, attend the funeral, and after the body is interred, they purify themselves by ablutions. It is the custom for the female relations of the deceased, to observe a course of lamentations for five days. They commence their wailings in the mornings, keep them up for about a quarter of an hour, and then resume their domestic occupations. On the fifth day, ceremonies are

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performed to the memory of the deceased. On this occasion, some wheat flour (not less than two sers), half a ser of rice, a small quantity of *ghi*, and some arrack, are prepared by the male relations of the deceased, and carried by them to a stream. Two of the relations perform the ceremonies of ablution, a third toasts cakes, while a fourth arranges, along the bank, five cups, made of the broad leaves of the *Palas** tree; and by the side of these cups, which are filled with water, are placed, in a parallel line, five cakes of bread. On the latter, rice is strewed, and arrack is sprinkled upon the rice. A small fire is afterwards kindled, and set in a blaze, by *ghi* being put in it. The water is then thrown out of the cups, and things being left in this condition, the party partake of the food, drink the arrack, and then return home.

Another ceremony, exclusive of the above, generally takes place to the memory of the deceased. It ought, properly, to be on the twelfth day; but in case of that being inconvenient, it may be performed at any time, within the twelvemonth. It is a feast to guests, who are invited, in the name of the deceased, to partake of the best fare that their entertainers can give.

Settlement of Disputes.

Disputes, of a trifling nature, amongst the *Bhills*, are, in general, amicably settled by the heads of families. Should a *Bhill* kill another, of a different tribe, or family, he must be adjudged by a *Panchdyat*, or Court of Arbitration, of the most respectable of the different *hatis*, or *Bhill* villages, near the place where the murder was committed. Efforts are always made to compound every crime, even murder, by fines, and the price of blood is generally given to the family of the man that has been killed. The sum is proportioned to the circumstances of the offender; sometimes, it does not amount to more than ten or twelve rupees, at others, several head of cattle are given. There is, however, often great difficulty in compounding for a murder; and as it is deemed against usage, to put a man to death, in cold blood, the cause of revenge is left to the relations of the man that has been murdered; and, in such cases, blood-feuds are often commenced, which continue for many years, and, sometimes, for generations. Consequently, one murder, amongst this wild race, is usually attended with the loss of many lives, beyond that of the individual by whom it was perpetrated.

* Butea frondosa.

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The mountain *Bhills* live in small clusters of rude huts, which are to the north of the *Nermada*, termed *párás*,* and to the south, *fatis*. They are under the authority of a *Nayaca*, or *Tarwi*, whose power resembles that of the *Patel*. A number of these small colonies are often united in general obedience to one chief, who has a title according to his class, and the usages of the country. Almost all the *Bhill* leaders, immediately south of the *Nermada*, are termed *Nayacas*, while those on its north bank, are called *Bhúmyas* but in these titles, there is an endless variety, dependent on family, rank, local circumstances, and ancient usages.

There is a natural spirit of independence in the mountain *Bhills*, which compels chiefs, who have a desire to establish an authority that supersedes that of the *Tarwis* of small colonies, to entertain followers from a distant country. Besides, when the sphere of plunder is extended to any distance from their native wilds, the *Bhills* are not so fit for such enterprises, as many others of the predatory tribes. Their arms, and their habits, are more suited to the ravines, the woods, and the mountains, amid which they live. The *Bhill* is small of stature, but active, and capable of enduring great fatigue. He has seldom any clothing, but a small piece of cloth round his waist. His arms are a bow and a quiver of arrows, in the use of which he is very expert, but he seldom faces his enemy. His arrows are shot from behind bushes and rocks, and his acquaintance with the country, makes him almost always successful in eluding pursuit. If he descends into the plain, it is at night, to thieve and plunder, or if in the day, to drive away unguarded cattle, or to attack defenceless travellers, who (if not killed) are kept, till they are ransomed.

The cultivating classes of *Bhills* have been elsewhere noticed,† as differing in their usages from their brethren, who inhabit the mountains. The latter, however, are always, in some degree, dependent upon the neighbouring villages, in the plain, particularly for tobacco, of which, as well as liquor,‡ they are immoderately fond. They also require grain, for they cultivate little, and that in the rudest manner, merely by breaking the soil to receive the seed, but I found them quite acquainted with the value of

* *Pára* is an Hindustani word, corresponding to the Persian word *Mahal*, a ward, or division, of a town.

† Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 178.

‡ I have often given liquor to *Bhills*, and have invariably noticed, that before they drank it, they poured a libation on the ground. When asked the reason, they replied, it was usage.

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ashes, as a manure, which they make of the wood cut down to clear the fields they cultivate.

They often possess cattle, and, when at peace with the inhabitants of the plain, they breed fowls in great numbers, the sale of which is a source of profit.

From a census * taken of the *Bhill* population, of the *Vindhya* range, it appeared, that there were not more than six to the square mile. This calculation may, perhaps, be applied to this race, over all the countries in which they dwell. Their exposure to the elements, the hazards they daily incur, their poverty, and the contagious distempers to which they are liable, have operated against their increase, but the change, recently effected in the condition of many of these tribes, will, no doubt, tend to augment their numbers.

Sufficient has been said to illustrate the habits, and manners, of the *Bhills*. A few words will complete the picture of this extraordinary race, as far as relates to their past, and present, condition. Existing, as they have hitherto done, under despotic governments, which placed them beyond the pale of civil society, and which not only gave them no encouragement, or protection, but authorized the lowest of the fiscal officers to take their lives, without trial, considering themselves a proscribed and contemned race, ignorant to a deplorable degree, believing in witchcraft, blindly obedient to the orders of their chiefs, subject to extraordinary privations, and constantly exposed to danger from their fellow-creatures, and from the ferocity of the wild beasts, with whom they shared the forests, the *Bhills* have, in consequence, become the enemies of order and peace. They have cherished predatory habits, as the means of subsistence, and receiving no mercy, or consideration, they have sought, from natural impulse, to revenge the wrongs they have sustained. Time has interwoven their habits of life, and feelings, with their superstitions, until they actually believe, that they were created to prey upon their neighbours. "I am *Mahadeva's* thief," is the common answer of a *Bhill*, detected in a crime, and his promise of amendment is usually so qualified, as to period,† that it seems more like a truce, than a pact of permanent good conduct. Nevertheless, from what has

* Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 223.

† "I will not rob, during your *raj* (government)," was the invariable answer I received from a *Bhill*, when I desired a pledge of future good conduct.

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occurred, since this tribe became subject to the British Government, we may anticipate a gradual, and, ultimately, a complete, change in their character and condition. The men, though habituated to a life of rapine, are not sanguinary, and the females of the tribe, who possess great influence over them,* are of kind dispositions, and many of them are intelligent and industrious.

To reclaim this race (I speak from much reflection, and considerable experience), they must be treated with great attention to their prejudices and condition. Reform with them, as with all such classes, must commence with their superiors. We cannot break the link, by which they are attached to their chiefs, and if we could, it would not be wise, or desirable, to do so. We must endeavour, by every act, to elevate the *Bhills* in the community, and to raise them in their own esteem, or else we cannot succeed in altering their habits. We must, by making roads through their hills and forests, by employing them in honest occupations, by establishing markets for the produce of the tracts they inhabit, bring this race into daily and familiar intercourse with those, among whom they live. When compelled to punish their outrages, the punishment falls on the leader, and not on the devoted follower, who executes a crime by his command. While we use preventive means to check and eradicate their evil habits, we must temper our firmness with mercy, taking care, however, that certain rules should never be infringed, and that protection and punishment should be alike certain, when merited. But above all, the object should be, to give to this hitherto injured race, a stake in the general prosperity, and then, and not before, we may rest satisfied that they will become the defenders, instead of the disturbers, of the general welfare. These are not idle speculations. The system here recommended has been acted upon,† and the

* The *Bhill* women have better habits than the men; but, in justice to the latter, I must say that I have seen singular instances of affection, and attachment to their families. During the pursuit of some *Bhills*, who had committed a robbery and murder, near *Nalcha*, their wives and children were discovered, by the cries of a child hid in a cavern, under some rocks. They were brought prisoners to me. I received them kindly and having consulted with them what was best to be done, to induce the men to submission, I adopted the suggestion of an elderly female, wife of one of the principal men, and allowed several of the prisoners to join their fathers, and husbands, with whom they soon returned: and a very short negociation produced the unconditional surrender of the whole party.

† Vide Central India, Vol. II. p. 179, &c.

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Bhills, on the right bank of the *Nermada*, as well as in many other parts, are now living in a state of peace and tranquillity, and countries, through which (a few years back) an army was hardly a safe escort from their robberies, are now traversed by unarmed individuals. But we must not deceive ourselves, in thinking the effect will continue, when the cause is removed. Years must pass, before we shall be secure from the relapse of these, and other predatory tribes, into their former habits, if we relax in those measures, by which they have been reclaimed, and by which alone they can be kept in their improved condition.

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VII. *Essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part II. By* Henry Thomas Colebrooke, *Esq. Director R. A. S. F. R. S. &c. &c.*

Read February 21, 1824.

In the preceding essay, the *Sánc'hya*, theistical as well as atheistical, was examined. The subject of the present essay, will be the dialectic philosophy of Gótama, and atomical of Canade, respectively called *Nyáya* "reasoning," and *Vaiseshica* "particular." The first, as its title implies, is chiefly occupied with the metaphysics of logic; the second with physics: that is, with "particulars" or sensible objects: and hence its name. They may be taken generally, as parts of one system: supplying each other's deficiencies: commonly agreeing upon such points as are treated by both: yet on some differing; and therefore giving origin to two schools, the *Naiyáyica*, and *Vaiséshica*.

From these have branched various subordinate schools of philosophy; which, in the ardor of scholastic disputation, have disagreed on matters of doctrine or of interpretation. The ordinary distinction between them is that of ancients and moderns; besides appellations derived from the names of their favourite authors, as will be more particularly noticed in another place.

The text of Gótama is a collection of *sútras* or succinct aphorisms, in five books or "lectures," each divided into two "days" or diurnal lessons; and these again subdivided into sections or articles, termed *pracaranas*, as relating to distinct topics. It is a maxim, that a section is not to consist of so little as a single *sútra*; and to make good the rule, some stress is occasionally put upon the text, either splitting an aphorism, or associating it incongruously.

Canade's collection of *sútras* is comprised in ten lectures, similarly divided into two daily lessons, and these into *pracaranas*, or sections, containing two or more *sutras*, relative to the same topic.

Like the text of other sciences among the *Hindus*, the *sútras* of Gótama and of Canade have been explained and annotated by a triple set of commentaries, under the usual titles of *Bháshya*, *Vártica*, and *Tica*. These (the *Bháshya* especially) are repeatedly cited by modern commentators, as well as by writers of separate treatises; but (so far as has come under my

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immediate notice) without naming the authors; and I cannot adventure, having no present opportunity of consulting the original scholia in a collective form, to assign them to their proper authors, from recollection of former researches.

They are of high authority, and probably of great antiquity: and it frequently becomes a question with the later commentators, whether a particular passage is to be taken for a *sútra* and part of the text, or for a gloss of the ancient scholiast.

Commentaries, which are now at hand, and which have been consulted in the course of preparing the present treatise, are the *Vártica tátparya-parisuddhi* of the celebrated Udayanáchárya, and the *Vártica-tátparya-tíká* of the no less celebrated Vachespati-misra. The more modern scholia of Viswanatha upon Gótama's text, and Sancara-misra upon Canáde's, are those to which most frequent reference has been made, for the present purpose.

Separate treatises of distinguished authors teach, and amply discuss, the elements of the science. Such are the *Nyáya-lílávati* of Ballabha-áchárya, following chiefly Canáde's system.

An easier, and more concise, introduction, than these abstruse and voluminous works afford, is found requisite to the initiatory study of the science. One of the most approved elementary treatises is the *Tarca-bhásha* of Cesava-misra, author of many other tracts. Though adapted to the comprehension of the learner without the aid of a gloss, it has nevertheless employed the labour of many commentators, expounding and illustrating it. Among others may be named, in order of seniority, Govard'hana-mísra in the *Tarca-bhásha-pracása*, Gadádhara (author likewise of the *Sadyuktimallíká*) in the *Bhávart'ha-dípicá*, Mad'havanéva (author of the *Nyáya-sára*) in the *Tarca-bhásha-tara-manjari*, besides Ramalinga-críti in the *Nyáya-sangraha*, whose relative antiquity is less certain, and Balibhadra, who is known to me only from Gadádhara's citations.

Another compendious introduction to the study of Indian logic is the *Padárt'ha-dípicá* by Cónda-bhatta, a noted grammarian, author of the *Vaiyácarana-bhúshana* on the philosophy of grammatical structure. It does not appear to have had any commentator, and it needs none.

Metrical treatises, or memorial verses, comprising the elements of the science, bear the ordinary denomination of *Cáricá*. A work of this description is the *Casumánjali*, with its commentary, by Náráyana-tírt'ha; an-

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other, which likewise is expounded by its author, is the *Nyáya-sanchépa* of Góvinda-bhattáchárya.

Elementary works only have been here spoken of. Distinct treatises, on divers branches of the whole subject, and on various emergent topics, are innumerable. No department of science, or literature, has more engaged the attention of the Hindus, than the *Nyáya*, and the fruit of their lucubrations has been an infinity of volumes, among which are compositions of very celebrated schoolmen.

The order observed both by Gótama and by Canade, in delivering the precepts of the science which they engage to unfold, is that which has been intimated in a passage of the *Vedas*, cited in the *Bháshya*, as requisite steps of instruction and study: viz. enunciation, definition, and investigation. Enunciation, (*uddésa*) is the mention of a thing by its name; that is, by a term signifying it, as taught by revelation: for language is considered to have been revealed to man. Definition, (*lacshana*) sets forth a peculiar property, constituting the essential character of a thing. Investigation, (*parícsha*) consists in disquisition upon the pertinence and sufficiency of the definition. Consonantly to this, the teachers of philosophy premise the terms of the science, proceed to the definitions; and then pass on to the examination of subjects so premised.

In a logical arrangement the "predicaments" (*padárt'ha*), or "objects of proof," are six, as they are enumerated by Canade,* viz. substance, quality, action, community, particularity, and aggregation or intimate relation: to which a seventh is added by other authors, privation or negation.† Thus augmented, they compose a two-fold arrangement, positive and negative, (*bhéva* and *abhéva*) the first comprising six, the latter one.‡

The *Baudd'has*, or followers of Bu'dd'ha, are said to identify the predicaments with knowledge (*jnyána*), and according to the *Vedántis*, who are pantheists, the predicaments are identified with the universal being (*Brahme*) in whom all exists.§

Other categories are alleged by different authorities, as power or energy (*sacti*), similarity or resemblance (*sádrísya*), and many more. But the logicians of this school acknowledge but six, or at most seven, above-mentioned.

* C. L. S.
† *Tarc. Bhásh.* 1.
‡ *Pad. Dip.* 1.
§ *Tarc. Bhásh.* and *N. Sang.* L. 6.

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Gótama enumerates sixteen heads or topics among which, proof or evidence, and that which is to be proven, are chief, and the rest are subsidiary or accessory, as contributing to knowledge and ascertainment of truth. Disputation being contemplated in this arrangement, several among these heads relate to controversial discussion. They are, 1st. proof, 2d. that which is to be known and proven, 3d. doubt, 4th. motive, 5th. instance, 6th. demonstrated truth, 7th. member of a regular argument or syllogism, 8th. reasoning by reduction to absurdity, 9th. determination or ascertainment, 10th. thesis or disquisition, 11th. controversy, 12th. objection, 13th. fallacious reason, 14th. perversion, 15th. futility, 16th. confutation.*

The difference between these two arrangements is not considered to amount to discrepancy. They are held to be reconcileable: the one more ample, the other more succinct, but both leading to like results.

The *Sánc'hya* philosophy, as shown in a former essay, affirms two eternal principles, soul and matter; (for *prácriti* or nature, abstracted from modifications, is no other than matter;) and reckoning with these two permanent principles, such as are transient, they enumerate twenty-five.

The *Nyáya*, as well as the *Sánc'hya*, concur with other schools of psychology, in promising beatitude, or (*nihsreyas*) final excellence, and (*mócsha*) deliverance from evil, for the reward of a thorough knowledge of the principles which they teach; that is, of truth, meaning the conviction of the soul's eternal existence separable from body.

Soul then, as the *Bháshya* affirms, is that which is to be known and proven. Gótama, however, enumerates under this head, besides soul, its associate body, the external senses, things or the objects of sense, (that is, the elements, and his followers here take occasion to introduce Cánáda's six categories), intellect or understanding, mind or the eternal organ, activity, fault, transmigration, fruit or consequence of deeds, pain or physical evil, and lastly, liberation; making, together with soul, twelve (*prameya*) objects of proof, being topics of knowledge requisite for deliverance.

I. Evidence or proof (*pramáña*) by which those objects are known and demonstrated, is of four kinds: perception, inference of three sorts, (con-

* G. I.

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sequent, antecedent, and analogous), comparison, and affirmation (comprehending tradition, as well as revelation). Inference *à priori* concludes an effect from its cause; inference *a posteriori* deduces a cause from its effect: another ground of inference is analogy. One sort is direct and affirmative, another indirect or negative, and the third is both direct and indirect.

Proof (*pramâna*) is defined to be the efficient or especial cause of actual knowledge: and this intends right notion (*anubhava*), exclusive, consequently, of wrong notion, as error, doubt, and reduction to absurdity; and likewise exclusive of memory, for notion (*anubhava*) is knowledge other than remembrance.

Cause (*cârana*) is that which is efficacious, necessarily preceding an effect that cannot else be: and, conversely, effect (*cârya*) is that which necessarily ensues and could not else be.

For the relation of cause and effect, and for distinguishing different sorts of cause, connexion (*sambandha*) or relation, in general, must be considered. It is two-fold: simple conjunction (*sanyóga*), and aggregation or intimate and constant relation (*samavâya*); the latter being the connexion of things, whereof one, so long as they coexist, continues united with the other: for example, parts and that which is composed of them; as yarn and cloth: for so long as the yarn subsists, the cloth remains. Here the connexion of the yarn and cloth is intimate relation: but that of the loom is simple conjunction. Consonantly to this distinction, cause is intimate or direct, producing aggregation or an intimately relative effect, as clay of pottery, or yarn of cloth: or it is mediate or indirect, being proximate to the aggregating cause, as conjunction of yarn serving for the production of cloth: or thirdly, it is neither direct nor indirect, but instrumental or concomitant, as the loom. Of positive things there must be three causes, and the most efficacious is termed the chief or especial cause: of negative there is but one, which is the third abovementioned.

This would be the place for an ample discussion of the several sorts of proof abovementioned. But they are topics embracing too great a scope of disquisition in the Hindu philosophy, to be adequately considered within the limits of the present essay. The subject, therefore, is reserved for future consideration, in a connected view of it, with relation to the various Indian systems of philosophising, after they shall have been severally examined.

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11. 1. The first and most important of twelve objects of evidence or matters to be proven, enumerated by GÓTAMA, is soul.* It is the site of knowledge or sentiment distinct from body and from the senses; different for each individual coexistent person, infinite, eternal, perceived by the mental organ, and demonstrated by its peculiar attributes, intellect, &c. For knowledge, desire, aversion, volition, pain and pleasure, severally and collectively, argue the existence of soul since these are not universal attributes, as number, quantity, &c. common to all substances, but are peculiar and characteristic qualities, apprehended exclusively by one organ, as colour and other peculiar qualities are, yet belonging not to apparent substances, as earth, and the rest, and arguing therefore a distinct substratum, other than space, time and mind, to which universal, not peculiar, qualities appertain. That distinct substance, which is the substratum of those peculiar qualities, is the soul.

This concerns the living soul, (*Jívátmá*) the animating spirit of individual person. Souls then, as is expressly affirmed, are numerous. But the supreme soul (*Paramátmá*) is one: the seat of eternal knowledge, demonstrated as the maker of all things.†

The individual soul is infinite, for whithersoever the body goes, there the soul too is present. It experiences the fruit of its deeds, pain or pleasure. It is eternal, because it is infinite: for whatever is infinite, is likewise eternal; as the etherial element (*ácáśa*).

Being a substance, though immaterial, as a substratum of qualities, it is placed in CANADE's arrangement, as one of nine substances, which are there recognised.‡

It has fourteen qualities: viz. number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition, merit, demerit, and faculty of imagination.

2. The second among matters to be proven in GÓTAMA's enumeration, is body. It is the site of effort, of organs of sensation, and of sentiment of pain or pleasure.§

It is an ultimate compound, the seat of soul's enjoyment. It is a whole, composed of parts; a framed substance, not inchoative associated with

* G. 1. 1. 3. 2. and 3. 1. 1—3. *Vaiç. Bháshá.* 2. 1.
† *Pad. Dip.* 1. 8. ‡ G. 1. § G. 1. 1. 3. 3.

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which, soul experiences fruition; that is, immediate presence of pain or of pleasure, in relation to itself.

It is the site of effort; not of motion simply; but of action tending to the attainment of what is pleasing, and to the removal of what is displeasing.*

It is earthly; for the qualities of earth are perceived in it: (namely, smell, colour, soudity, &c.) and it is expressly pronounced so by more than one passage of the *Vedas*. According to some opinions, it consists of three elements, earth, water, and light or heat: for the peculiar qualities of those elements are perceptible in it, since it has smell, clamminess, and warmth: or it consists of four, since there is inspiration as well as expiration of air: or of five, as indicated by odour, moisture, digestion, breath, and cavities.† Those opinions are controverted by the *Nyáya*. It consists not of five, nor of four, elements: else, as Canade argues, it would be invisible, for the union of visible with invisible objects is so: instance wind. Nor does it consist of three visible elements, nor of two: for there is no intimate inchoative union of heterogeneous substances.‡ This last reason is alleged likewise by Capila: heterogeneous materials cannot enter into the same composition §

Besides human and other bodies of this world, all which are terrene, there are, in other worlds, aqueous, igneous, and aerial bodies. In these, too, there is union with an element, for soul's fruition.‖

Earthly body is two-fold, sexually bred, or not so bred: the first is either viviparous or oviparous, the second results from concurrence of particles by an unseen or predestined cause, and peculiar disposition of atoms. That such beings are, is proved from authority of the *Vedas*, which reveal creation of gods and demi-gods.

Or the distinction is between such as are propagated by sexes, or are otherwise generated. The latter comprehends equivocal generation of worms, nits, maggots, gnats, and other vermin, considered to be bred in sweat, or fermented filth, and germination of plants sprouting from the ground. Accordingly, the distinct sorts of body are five: 1st. ungenerated,

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* *Vaic. Bhásh.* and *Com.* † G. 3. 1. 6. 1—5.
‡ *Can.* 4. 2. 1. and *Com.* § *Cap.* 3. 16—18 and 5. 99.
‖ *Bhásha* on *Ch.*

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2d. uterine or viviparous; 3d. oviparous; 4th. engendered in filth, 5th. vegetative or germinating.*

3. Next, among objects of proof, are the organs of sensation. An organ of sense is defined as an instrument of knowledge, conjoined to the body, and imperceptible to the senses.†

There are five external organs: smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing. They are not modifications of consciousness (as the *Sánc'hyas* maintain), but material, constituted of the elements, earth, water, light, air, and ether, respectively.‡

The pupil of the eye is not the organ of sight (as the *Bauddh'has* affirm); nor is the outer ear, or opening of the auditory passage, the organ of hearing: but a ray of light, proceeding from the pupil of the eye towards the object viewed, is the visual organ; and ether, contained in the cavity of the ear, and communicating by intermediate ether with the object heard, is the organ of hearing. That ray of light is not ordinarily visible just as the effulgence of a torch is unseen in meridian sunshine. But, under particular circumstances, a glimpse of the visual ray is obtained. For instance, in the dark, the eye of a cat or other animal prowling at night.

The organ of vision then is lucid; and in like manner, the organ of hearing is ethereal, and that of taste, aqueous (as saliva), and of feeling, aerial; and of smelling, earthly.

The site of the visual organ is the pupil of the eye; of the auditory organ, the orifice of the ear, of the olfactory organ, the nostril or tip of the nose, of the taste, the tip of the tongue; of the feeling, the skin.

Objects, apprehended by the senses, are odour, flavour, colour, touch (or temperature), and sound — which are qualities appertaining to earth, water, light, air, and ether.§

The existence of organs of sense is proved by inference, from the fact of the apprehension of those objects. for apprehension implies an instrument to effect it, since it is an act, in like manner as the act of cutting implies an instrument, as an axe, or a knife.

The organs are six, including an internal organ, termed *manas*, or mind: not five only, as the followers of Buddh'a maintain, disallowing an internal

* *Pad. Dip.* and *Middh.* on *Chh.* † *Tarc. Bhásh.*
‡ *Gót.* 1. 1. 3. 4—5 and 3. 1. 7 and 8.
§ *Gót.* 1 1 3. 6.

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sense, nor so many as eleven, which the *Sánc'hyas* affirm, comprehending, with the senses, the organs of action, which they reckon five.*

Mind is the instrument, which effects the apprehension of pain, pleasure, or interior sensations, and, by its union with external senses, produces knowledge of exterior objects apprehended through them, as colour, &c. but not independently of those senses, for outward objects.

Its existence is proved by singleness of sensation: since various sensations do not arise at one time to the same soul. They only seem to do so when passing rapidly, though successively, as a firebrand, whirled with velocity, seems a ring of fire.

It is single, that is, for each soul, one, not so many minds as there are external senses. When it is conjoined with any one of the outward organs, knowledge is received through that organ: when not so conjoined, none comes through that sense, but through any other with which it then is associated.†

It is not infinite, being imperceptible to the touch, like the ethereal element, as the *Mímánsa* maintains,‡ but it is minutely small, as an atom. Were it infinite, it might be united with every thing at once, and all sensations might be contemporaneous. It is imperceptible to sight, touch, and other senses, and is inferred from reasoning, as follows: There must be an instrument of apprehension of pain and pleasure; which instrument must be other than the sight, or any external sense, for pain and pleasure are experienced though sight be wanting. Such instrument of painful or pleasurable sensation is termed mind (*manas*).

It is eternal, and is distinct from soul, as well as from body: with which it is merely conjoined.

It is reckoned by Canáda among substances, and is the substratum of eight qualities, none of which are peculiar to it, being all common to other substances: viz. number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, subsequence, and faculty.§

4. Next in Gautama's arrangement are the (*art'ha*) objects of sense: that is, of the external senses, and he enumerates odour, taste, colour, feel, and sound, which are the peculiar qualities of earth, and the rest of the elements respectively.‖

* *Gau. an Cán.* † *Gót.* 1. 1. 3. 8. and 3. 2. 4. ‡ *Pad. Dip.*
§ *Gau. an Cán.* ‖ *Gót.* 1. 1. 3.

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Under this head, Cíkava places the categories (*paddrt'ha*) of Canade which are six; substance, quality, &c.

1. Substance is the intimate cause of an aggregate effect or product: it is the site of qualities and of action; or that, in which qualities abide; and in which action takes place.*

Nine are enumerated, and no more are recognised. Darkness has been alleged by some philosophers, but it is no substance, nor is body a distinct one, nor gold, which the *Mímánsacas* affirm to be a peculiar substance.

Those specified by Canade are,

1. Earth, which, besides qualities common to most substances (as number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, and faculty of velocity and of elasticity,) has colour, savour, odour, and feel, or temperature. Its distinguishing quality is smell: and it is succinctly defined as a substance odorous.† In some substances, as in gems, the smell is latent: but it becomes manifest by calcination.

It is eternal, as atoms, or transient, as aggregates. In either, those characteristic qualities are transitory, and are maturative, as affected by light and heat: for by union with it, whether latent or manifest, former colour, taste, smell, and temperature are in earth of any sort annulled, and other colour, &c. introduced.

Aggregates or products are either organised bodies, or organs of perception, or unorganic masses.

Organised earthly bodies are of five sorts (see body). The organ of smell is terreous. Unorganic masses are stones, lumps of clay, &c. The union of integrant parts is hard, soft, or cumulative, as stones, flowers, cotton, &c.

2. Water, which has the qualities of earth; excepting smell, and with the addition of viscidity. Odour, when observable in water, is adscititious, arising from mixture of earthy particles.

The distinguishing quality of water is coolness. It is accordingly defined as a substance cool to the feel.

It is eternal as atoms, transient as aggregates. The qualities of the first are constant likewise, those of the latter inconstant.

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* *Can.* 1. 1, 4. 1. *Cik.* and *Com. Pad. Dip.*

† *Can.* 2. 1. 1. 1.

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Organic aqueous bodies are beings abiding in the realm of VARUNA. The organ of taste is aqueous witness the saliva. Unorganic waters are rivers, seas, rain, snow, hail, &c.

It is by some maintained, that hail is pure water rendered solid by supervention of an unseen virtue: others imagine its solidity to be owing to mixture of earthy particles.

3. Light is coloured and illumines other substances, and to the feel, is hot, which is its distinguishing quality. It is defined as a substance hot to the feel. [Heat, then, and light, are identified as one substance.]

It has the qualities of earth, except smell, taste, and gravity. It is eternal, as atoms, not so, as aggregates.

Organic luminous bodies are beings abiding in the solar realm. The visual ray, which is the organ of sight, is lucid [see organs of perception]. Unorganic light is reckoned fourfold: earthy, celestial, alvine, and mineral. Another distinction concerns sight and feel, as light or heat may be either latent or manifest, in respect of both sight and feel, or differently in regard to either. Thus fire is both seen and felt, the heat of hot water is felt, but not seen, moonshine is seen, but not felt, the visual ray is neither seen nor felt. Terrestrious light is that, of which the fuel is earthy, as fire. Celestial is that, of which the fuel is watery, as lightning, and meteors of various sorts. Alvine is that, of which the fuel is both earthy and watery: it is intestinal, which digests food and drink. Mineral is that, which is found in pits, as gold. For some maintain that gold is solid light, or, at least that the chief ingredient is light, which is rendered solid by mixture with some particles of earth. Were it mere earth, it might be calcined by fire strongly urged. Its light is not latent, but overpowered by the colour of the earthy particles mixed with it. In the *Mimánsá*, however, it is reckoned a distinct substance, as before observed.

4. Air is a colourless substance, sensible to the feel: being temperate (neither hot, nor cold). Besides this its distinguishing quality, it has the same common qualities with light, except fluidity (that is, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, subsequence, and faculty of elasticity and velocity).

Its existence, as a distinct substance, is inferred from feeling. The wind, that blows, is apprehended as temperate, independently of the influence of light: and this temperature, which is a quality, implies a substratum, for it cannot subsist without one: that substratum is air, different from

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water, which is cold, and from light, which is hot, and from earth, which is adventitiously warm by induction of light.

Air is either eternal as atoms, or transient as aggregates. Organic aerial bodies are beings inhabiting the atmosphere, and evil spirits (*Práchas*, &c., who haunt the earth. The organ of touch is an aerial integument, or air diffused over the cuticle. Unorganic air is wind which agitates trees and other tremulous objects. To these may be added, as a fourth kind of aerial aggregates, the breath and other vital airs.

5. Ether (*ácása*), which is a substance that has the quality of sound. Besides that its peculiar and distinguishing quality, it has number (viz. unity), quantity, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction. It is infinite, one, and eternal.

The existence of an ethereal element as a distinct substance, is deduced, not from distinct perception, but from inference. Sound is a peculiar quality: for, like colour and other peculiar qualities, it is apprehended by only one external organ of such beings as men are: now a quality abides in a substance which is qualified: but neither soul, nor any one of the four elements, earth, water, light, and air, can be its substratum, for it is apprehended by the organ of hearing; the qualities of earth, and the rest, are not apprehended by the hearing, but sound is, therefore it is not a quality of those substances; nor is it a quality of time, space, and mind, since it is a peculiar quality, and those three substances have none but such as are common to many: therefore a substratum, other than all these, is inferred; and that substratum is the ethereal element. It is one; for there is no evidence of diversity, and its unity is congruous, as infinity accounts for ubiquity. It is infinite, because it is in effect found every where. It is eternal, because it is infinite.

It appears white, from connexion with a lucid white orb, as a rock crystal appears red by association with a red object. The blue colour of a clear sky is derived, according to Patanjali, from the southern peak of the great mountain *Sumeru*, which is composed of sapphire. On other sides of *Sumeru*, the colour of the sky is different, being borrowed from the hue of the peak which overlooks that quarter. Others suppose, that the black colour of the pupil of the eye is imparted to the sky (blue and black being reckoned tinges of the same colour), as a jaundiced eye sees every object yellow.

The organ of hearing is ethereal, being a portion of ether (*ácása*) confined

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in the hollow of the ear, and (as affirmed by the author of the *Padart'ha Dipicá*) endued with a particular and unseen virtue. In the ear of a deaf man, the portion of ether, which is there present, is devoid of that particular virtue, and therefore it is not a perfect and efficient auditory organ.

6. Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence, other than that of place. It is deduced from the notions of quick, slow, simultaneous, &c., and is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions.

Young is the reverse of old, as old is of young. This contrast, which does not concern place, is an effect, needing a cause, other than place, &c. That cause is time.

It has the qualities of number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction. It is one, eternal, infinite.

Though one, it takes numerous designations, as past, present, and future, with reference to acts that are so.

7. Place, or space, is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence, other than that of time. It is deduced from the notions of *here* and *there*.

It has the same common qualities as time, and like it, is one, eternal, infinite.

Though one, it receives various designations, as east, west, north, south, &c. by association with the sun's position.

8. Soul, though immaterial, is considered to be a substance, as a substratum of qualities. It is eighth in Canade's arrangement. In Gótama's it is first among things to be proven [see before].

9. Mind, according to Canade, is a ninth substance, and, in Gótama's arrangement, it recurs in two places, as one of the twelve matters to be proven, and again, under the distinct head of organs of sensation, being reckoned an internal sense [see before].

Material substances, are by Canade considered to be primarily atoms, and secondarily, aggregates. He maintains the eternity of atoms; and their existence and aggregation are explained as follows:*

The mote, which is seen in a sun-beam, is the smallest perceptible quantity. Being a substance, and an effect, it must be composed of what is less

* Can. 2. 2. 2. 1. *Cir.* &c.

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than itself; and thus likewise is a substance and an effect; for the component part of a substance that has magnitude, must be an effect. This again must be composed of what is smaller; and that smaller thing is an atom. It is simple and uncomposed, else the series would be endless: and, were it pursued indefinitely, there would be no difference of magnitude between a mustard-seed and a mountain, a gnat and an elephant, each alike containing an infinity of particles. The ultimate atom then is simple.

The first compound consists of two atoms, for one does not enter into composition, and there is no argument to prove, that more than two must, for incohation, be united. The next consists of three double atoms, for, if only two were conjoined, magnitude would hardly ensue, since it must be produced either by size or number of particles; it cannot be their size, and therefore, it must be their number. Nor is there any reason for assuming the union of four double atoms, since three suffice to originate magnitude.* The atom then is reckoned to be the sixth part of a mote visible in a sunbeam.†

Two earthly atoms, concurring by an unseen peculiar virtue, the creative will of God, or time, or other competent cause, constitute a double atom of earth; and, by concourse of three binary atoms, a tertiary atom is produced, and, by concourse of four triple atoms, a quaternary atom; and so on, to a gross, grosser, or grossest mass of earth. Thus great earth is produced, and in like manner, great water, from aqueous atoms; great light, from luminous; and great air, from aerial. The qualities, that belong to the effect, are those which appertained to the integrant part, or primary particle, as its material cause: and conversely, the qualities, which belong to the cause, are found in the effect.

The dissolution of substances proceeds inversely. In the integrant parts of an aggregate substance resulting from composition, as in the potsherds of an earthern jar, action is induced by pressure attended with velocity, or by simple pressure. Disjunction ensues; whereby the union, which was the cause of incohation of members, is annulled; and the integral substance, consisting of those members, is resolved into its parts, and is destroyed, for it ceases to subsist as a whole.

II. Quality is closely united with substance, not, however, as an in-

* *Ibid.* † *Prod. Dip.*

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timate cause of it, nor consisting in motion, but common: not a genus, yet appertaining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction; not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities.

Twenty-four are enumerated. Seventeen only are, indeed, specified in Canada's aphorisms,* but the rest are understood.

1. Colour. It is a peculiar quality to be apprehended only by sight; and abides in three substances, earth, water, and light. It is a characteristic quality of the last, and, in that, is white and resplendent. In water it is white, but without lustre. In the primary atoms of both, it is perpetual, in their products, not so. In earth it is variable, and seven colours are distinguished: viz. white, yellow, green, red, black, tawny (or orange),† and variegated. The varieties of these seven colours are many, unenumerated. The six simple colours occur in the atoms of earth, and the seven, including variegated, in its double atoms, and more complex forms. The colour of integrant parts is the cause of colour in the integral substance.

2. Savour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of taste, and abides in two substances, earth and water. It is a characteristic quality of the last, and in it is sweet. It is perpetual in atoms of water, not so in aqueous products. In earth it is variable, and six sorts are distinguished: sweet, bitter, pungent, astringent, acid, and saline.

3. Odour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of smell, and abides in earth alone, being its distinguishing quality. In water, odour is adscititious, being induced by union with earthy particles, as a clear crystal appears red by association with a hollyhock, or other flower of that hue. In air also it is adscititious: thus a breeze, which has blown over blossoms, musk, camphor, or other scented substances, wafts fragrant particles of the blossoms, &c. The flowers are not torn, nor the musk diminished, because the parts are replaced by a reproductive unseen virtue. However, camphor and other volatile substances do waste.

Two sorts of odour are distinguished, fragrance and stench.

4. Feel, and especially temperature. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the skin or organ of feeling. It abides in four substances, earth, water, light, and air, and is a characteristic quality of the last.

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* Can. 1. 1. 5. 5. and 7. 1. 6. 8.

† One commentator (*Mádh.*) specifies blue in place of orange; another (*Can.*) omits both, reducing the colours to six.

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Three sorts are distinguished, cold, hot, and temperate. In water, it is cold; in light, hot; in earth and in air, temperate. Divers other sorts, likewise, are noticed, as hard and soft, and diversified, &c.

These four qualities are latent in minute substances, as atoms and double atoms; manifest to perception in products or aggregates of greater magnitude. A mote in a sunbeam may be seen, though not felt. The colour of the visual ray, or organ of sight, is ordinarily imperceptible.

5. Number. It is the reason of perceiving and reckoning one, two, or many, to the utmost limit of numeration. The notion of number is deduced from comparison. Of two masses seen, this is one, and that is one: hence the notion of two, and so of more.

It is an universal quality; common to all substances, without exception.

It is considered to be of two sorts, unity and multitude; or of three, monad, duad, and multitude. Unity is either eternal or transient: eternal unity regards eternal things: that, which is uneternal, concerns effects or transitory substances.

6. Quantity. It is the special cause of the use and perception of measure.

It is an universal quality, common to all substances.

It is considered to be fourfold: great and small; long and short.

Extreme littleness and shortness are eternal, as mind, or as atoms, whether single or double, &c. Extreme length and greatness (termed infinite) are likewise eternal, as ether.

Within these extremes is inferior magnitude or finite quantity, which is uneternal. It is of various degrees in length and bulk, more or most, from the mote or tertiary atom, upwards, to any magnitude short of infinite.

The finite magnitude of products or effects results from number, size, or mass. Multitude of atoms, bulk of particles, and heap of component parts, constitute magnitude. The latter, or cumulation of particles, concerns a loose texture. The others, close or compact.

Infinity transcends the senses. An object may be too great, as it may be too small, to be distinguished.

7. Individuality, severalty, or separateness, is a quality common to all substances.

It is of two sorts, individuality of one or of a pair; or it is manifold, as individuality of a triad, &c. Simple individuality is eternal, in respect of eternal things; transient, in regard to such as are transitory. Individuality

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of a pair or triad, &c. is of course transitory: it results from comparison, as dual or triad does.

8. Conjunction is a transient connexion.

It is an universal quality, incident to all substances; and is transitory.

It implies two subjects, and is threefold: arising from the act of either or of both, or else from conjunction, being simple, or reciprocal, or mediate. The junction of a falcon perching, which is active, with the perch whereon it settles, which is passive, is conjunction arising from the act of one. Collision of fighting rams, or of wrestlers, is conjunction arising from the act of both. Contact of a finger with a tree occasions the conjunction of the body with the tree, and thus is mediate.

9. Disjunction. It is the converse of conjunction, necessarily preceded by it, and, like it, implying two subjects. It is not the mere negation of conjunction, nor simply the dissolution of it.

The knowledge of this quality, as well as of its counterpart, is derived from perception.

It is an universal quality, incident to all substances, and is simple, reciprocal, or mediate. A falcon, taking flight from a rock, is an instance of disjunction arising from the act of one of two subjects: the active from the inactive. The parting of combatants, rams or wrestlers, is an example of disjunction arising from the act of both. Disjunction of the body and the tree, resulting from the disunion of the finger and the tree, is mediate.

10.—11. Priority and posteriority. These qualities, being contrasted and correlative, are considered together. They are of two sorts, concerning place and time. In respect of place, they are proximity and distance; in regard to time, youth and antiquity. The one concerns (*mûrta*) definite bodies, consisting of circumscribed quantity; the other affects generated substances.

The knowledge of them is derived from comparison.

Two masses being situated in one place, nearness is deduced from the conjunction of one with place as associated by comparison: referring primarily to the person of the spectator, or, secondarily, to other correlatives of place. Where least conjunction of conjunct things intervenes, it is nearness; where most does, it is remoteness. Thus, *Prayaga* is nearer to *Mat'hurá*, than *Cási*; and *Cási* remoter from it, than *Prayaga*.

In like manner, one of two masses, not restricted to place, is young, as deduced from the association of the object with time, by comparison dis-

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criminating that which is connected with least time. Another is old, which is connected with most time. Here time is determined by revolutions of the sun.

12. Gravity is the peculiar cause of primary descent or falling.*

It affects earth and water. Gold is affected by this quality, by reason of earth contained in it.

In the absence of a countervailing cause, as adhesion, velocity, or some act of volition, descent results from this quality. Thus a cocoa-nut is withheld from falling by adhesion of the foot-stalk, but, this impediment ceasing on maturity of the fruit, it falls.

According to Chayana Acharya, gravity is imperceptible, but to be inferred from the act of falling. Ballabha maintains, that it is perceived in the position of a thing descending to a lower situation.

Levity is not a distinct quality, but the negation of gravity.

13. Fluidity is the cause of original trickling.†

It affects earth, light, and water. It is natural and essential in water; adventitious in earth and light, being induced by exhibition of fire in molten substances, as lac, gold, &c.

Fluidity is perceptible by the external senses, sight and touch.

In hail and ice, fluidity essentially subsists, but is obstructed by an impediment arising from an unseen virtue, which renders the water solid.

14. Viscidity is the quality of clamminess, and cause of agglutination. It abides in water only. In oil, liquid butter, &c., it results from the watery parts of those liquids.‡

15. Sound is a peculiar quality of the ethereal element, and is to be apprehended by the hearing. It abides in that element exclusively, and is its characteristic quality. Two sorts are distinguished articulate and musical.§

To account for sound originating in one place, being heard in another, it is observed, that sound is propagated by undulation; wave after wave; radiating in every direction, from a centre, like the blossoms of a Nauclea. It is not the first, nor the intermediate wave, that is the sound heard but the last which comes in contact with the organ of hearing. and therefore it is not quite correct to say, that a drum has been heard. Sound origi-

* *Tarc. Bhâsh* and *Padârth. Dîp.* † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. and *Siddhâ. Sarag.* § Ibid. and *Gaut.* &c.

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nates in conjunction, in disjunction, or in sound itself. The conjunction of cymbals, or that of a drum and stick, may serve to exemplify the first. It is the instrumental cause. The rustling of leaves is an instance of disjunction being the cause of sound. In some cases, sound becomes the cause of sound. In all, the conformity of wind, or its calmness, is a concomitant cause for an adverse wind obstructs it. The material cause is in every case the etherial fluid and the conjunction of that with the sonorous subject, is a concomitant cause.

The *Vrudhas* affirms the eternity of sound. This is contested by the *Naiyáyicas*, who maintain, that were it eternal, it could not be apprehended by human organs of sense.

16. 23. The eight following qualities are perceptible by the mental organ; not by the external senses. They are qualities of the soul, not of material substances.

16 Intelligence (*buddhi*) is placed by Canáda among qualities, and by Gótama, fifth among objects of proof. It will be noticed in that place.

17 and 18. Pleasure and pain are among qualities enumerated by Canáda. Pain or evil is placed by Gótama among objects of proof where (under the head of deliverance) it will be further noticed, with its converse.

19 and 20. Desire and aversion are the two next in order among qualities. Desire is the wish of pleasure and of happiness, and of absence of pain. Passion is extreme desire it is incident to man and inferior beings. The supreme being is devoid of passion. Neither does desire intend God's will, nor a saint's wish. Aversion is loathing or hatred.

21 Volition (*yatna*), effort, or exertion, is a determination to action productive of gratification. Desire is its occasion, and perception its reason. Two sorts of perceptible effort are distinguished that proceeding from desire, seeking what is agreeable, and that which proceeds from aversion, shunning what is loathsome. Another species, which escapes sensation or perception, but is inferred from analogy of spontaneous acts, comprises animal functions, having for a cause the vital unseen power.

Volition, desire, and intelligence, are in man transitory, variable, or inconstant. The will and intelligence of God are eternal, uniform, constant.

22 and 23. Virtue and vice (*D'harma* and *Ad'harma*), or moral merit and demerit, are the peculiar causes of pleasure and of pain respectively. The result of performing that which is enjoined, as sacrifice, &c. is virtue the

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result of doing that which is forbidden, is vice. They are qualities of the soul; imperceptible, but inferred from reasoning.

The proof of them is deduced from transmigration. The body of an individual, with its limbs and organs of sense, is a result of a peculiar quality of his soul, since this is the cause of that individual's fruition, like a thing which is produced by his effort or volition. The peculiar quality of the soul, which does occasion its being invested with body, limbs, and organs, is virtue or vice. for body and the rest are not the result of effort and volition *

24. The twenty-fourth and last quality is faculty (*sansedra*) This comprehends three sorts.

Velocity (*vega*), which is the cause of action. It concerns matter only; and is a quality of the mental organ, and of the four grosser elements, earth, water, light, and air. It becomes manifest from the perception of motion.

Elasticity (*st'hitist'hapaca*) is a quality of particular tangible, terrene objects, and is the cause of that peculiar action, whereby an altered thing is restored to its pristine state, as a bow unbends, and a strained branch resumes its former position. It is imperceptible, but is inferred from the fact of the restitution of a thing to its former condition.

Imagination (*bhavana*) is a peculiar quality of the soul, and is the cause of memory It is a result of notion or recollection, and being excited, produces remembrance and the exciting cause is the recurrence of an association, that is, of the sight or other perception of a like object.

III. The next head in Canade's arrangement, after quality, is action (*carma*).

Action consists in motion, and, like quality, abides in substance alone. It affects a single, that is, a finite substance, which is matter. It is the cause (not aggregative, but indirect) of disjunction, as of conjunction. that is, a fresh conjunction in one place, after annulment of a prior one in another, by means of disjunction. It is devoid of quality, and is transitory.

Five sorts are enumerated. to cast upward; to cast downward, to push

* *Tarc. Bhash.*

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forward; to spread horizontally, and, fifthly, to go: including many varieties under the last comprehensive head.

IV. Community (*sámánya*), or the condition of equal or like things, is the cause of the perception of conformity. It is eternal, single, concerning more than one thing, being a property common to several. It abides in substance, in quality, and in action.

Two degrees of it are distinguished: the highest, concerning numerous objects, the lowest, concerning few. The first is existence, a common property of all. The latter, is the abstraction of an individual, varying with age, in dimensions, yet continuing identical. A third, or intermediate degree, is distinguished, comprehended in the first, and including the latter. These three degrees of community correspond nearly with genus, species, and individual.

In another view, community is two fold: viz. genus (*játi*) and discriminative property (*upádhi*), or species.

The *Baudd'has* are cited as denying this category, and maintaining that individuals only have existence, and that abstraction is false and deceptive. This, as well as other controverted points, will be further noticed at a future opportunity.

V. Difference (*viseshe*), or particularity, is the cause of perception of exclusion. It affects a particular and single object, which is devoid of community. It abides in eternal substances. Such substances are mind, soul, time, place, and the ethereal element; and the atoms of earth, water, light, and air.

VI. The sixth and last of Canáda's categories is aggregation (*samaváya*), or perpetual intimate relation. It has been already briefly noticed.

VII. To the six affirmative categories of Canáda, succeeding writers add a seventh, which is negative.

Negation or privation (*abhává*) is of two sorts, universal and mutual. Universal negation comprehends three species, antecedent, emergent, and absolute.

Antecedent privation (*prágabhává*) is present negation of that, which, at a future time, will be. It is negation in the material cause, previous to the

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production of an effect, as, in yarn, prior to the fabrication of cloth, there is antecedent privation of the piece of cloth which is to be woven. It is without beginning, for it has not been produced, and has an end, for it will be terminated by the production of the effect.

Emergent privation is destruction (*dhwansa*), or cessation, of an effect. It is negation in the cause, subsequent to the production of the effect: as, in a broken jar (smashed by the blow of a mallet) the negation of jar in the heap of potsherds. It has a commencement, but no end; for the destruction of the effect cannot be undone.

Absolute negation extends through all times, past, present, and future. It has neither beginning nor end. For example, fire in a lake, colour in air.

Mutual privation is difference (*bhéda*). It is reciprocal negation of identity, essence, or respective peculiarity.

5. To return to GOTAMA's arrangement. The fifth place, next after objects of sense, is by him allotted to intelligence (*buddhi*), apprehension, knowledge, or conception; defined as that which manifests, or makes known, a matter.

It is two-fold: notion, and remembrance. Notion (*anubhava*) includes two sorts: right and wrong. Right notion (*prama*) is such as is incontrovertible. It is derived from proof, and is consequently fourfold, viz. from perception, or inference; or comparison, or revelation: for example. 1st. a jar perceived by undisordered organs; 2d. fire inferred from smoke; 3d. a gayal * recognised from its resemblance to a cow; 4th. celestial happiness attainable through sacrifice, as inculcated by the *Vedas*.

Wrong notion deviates from truth, and is not derived from proof. It is threefold: doubt, premises liable to reduction to absurdity, and error (for example, mistaking mother-o'-pearl for silver).

Remembrance (*smarana*), likewise, is either right or wrong. Both occur, and right remembrance especially, while awake. But, in sleep, remembrance is wrong.

6. The sixth place among objects of proof, is allotted to mind. It has been already twice noticed, viz. among organs of sense, and again among substances.

7. Activity (*pravritti*) is next in order. It is determination, the result

* Bos gavæus s. frontalis. *As. Res.* 9. 467. Linn. Trans.

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of passion, and the cause of virtue and vice, or merit and demerit; according as the act is one enjoined or forbidden. It is oral, mental, or corporeal; not comprehending unconscious vital functions. It is the reason of all wordly proceedings.

8. From acts proceed faults (*dósha*), including, under this designation, passion or extreme desire; aversion or loathing, and error or delusion (*móha*). The two first of these are reckoned by Canada among qualities.

9. Next in Gotama's arrangement is (*pretya-bhába*) the condition of the soul after death, which is transmigration: for the soul, being immortal, passes from a former body which perishes, to a new one which receives it. This is a reproduction (*punar-utpatti*).

10. Retribution (*phala*) is the fruit accruing from faults which result from activity. It is a return of fruition (*punar-bhógu*), or experience of pleasure or pain, in association with body, mind, and senses.

11. Pain, or anguish, is the eleventh topic of matters to be proven.

12. Deliverance from pain is beatitude. It is absolute prevention of every sort of ill, reckoned, in this system of philosophy, to comprehend twenty-one varieties of evil, primary or secondary: viz. 1. body, 2—7. the six organs of sense, 8—13. six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation, 14—19. six sorts of apprehension and intelligence (*buddhi*), 20. pain or anguish, 21. pleasure. For even this, being tainted with evil, is pain; as honey drugged with poison is reckoned among deleterious substances.

This liberation from ill is attained by soul, acquainted with the truth (*tattwa*), by means of holy science, divested of passion through knowledge of the evil incident to objects, meditating on itself, and, by the maturity of self-knowledge, making its own essence present; relieved from impediments; not earning fresh merit or demerit, by deeds done with desire, discerning the previous burden of merit or demerit, by devout contemplation; and acquitting it through compressed endurance of its fruit; and thus, (previous acts being annulled, and present body departed, and no future body accruing,) there is no further connexion with the various sorts of ill, since there is no cause for them. This, then, is prevention of pain of every sort, it is deliverance, and beatitude.

III. After proof and matter to be proven, Gótama proceeds to other categories; and assigns the next place to doubt (*sanśaya*).

It is the consideration of divers contrary matters, in regard to one and

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the same thing; and is of three sorts, arising from common or from peculiar qualities; or merely from contradiction: discriminative marks being in all three cases unnoticed. Thus an object is observed, concerning which it becomes a question whether it be a man or a post: the limbs which would betoken the man, or the crooked trunk which would distinguish the post, being equally unperceived. Again, odour is a peculiar quality of earth: it belongs not to eternal substances, as the etherial element, nor to transient elements, as water: is then earth eternal or uneternal? So, one affirms that sound is eternal; another denies that position; and a third person doubts.

IV. Motive (*prayójana*) is that by which a person is actuated, or moved to action. It is the desire of attaining pleasure, or of shunning pain, or the wish of exemption from both: for such is the purpose or impulse of every one in a natural state of mind.*

V. Instance (*dríshṭánta*) is, in a controversy, a topic on which both disputants consent. It is either concordant or discordant, direct or inverse as the culinary hearth, for a direct instance of the argument of the presence of fire betokened by smoke; and a lake, for an inverse or contrary instance of the argument, where the indicating vapour is mist or fog.†

VI. Demonstrated truth (*siddhánta*) is of four sorts; viz. universally acknowledged; partially so; hypothetically; argumentatively (or, *a concessis*).‡

Thus, existence of substance, or of that to which properties appertain, is universally recognised; though the abstract notion of it may not be so, for the *Bauddhas* deny abstraction. Mind is by the *Naiyáyicas* considered to be an organ of perception; and so it is by the kindred sect of *Vaiséshicas*. The eternity of sound is admitted in the *Mímánsá*, and denied in the *Nyáya*. Supposing the creation of the earth to be proved, omniscience of the creator follows. In Jaimini's disquisition on the eternity, or the transitoriness, of sound, it is said, granting sound to be a quality.

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* *Gót.* I. 1. 4. 1–3. † *Gót.* I. 1. 5. 1–8. ‡ *Gót.* I. 1. 6. I &c.

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On the appositeness of some of these examples, in the cases to which they are here applied, as instances of divers sorts of demonstration, there is a disagreement among commentators, which it is needless to go into.

VII. A regular argument, or complete syllogism (*nyaya*), consists of five members (*avayava*) or component parts. 1st. the proposition (*pratijnyá*), 2d. the reason (*hetu* or *apadesa*), 3d. the instance (*uduharana* or *nidarsana*), 4th. the application (*upanaya*), 5th. the conclusion (*nigamana*). Ex.

1. This hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. What smokes, is fiery: as a culinary hearth.
4. Accordingly the hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

Some * confine the syllogism (*nyaya*) to three members, either the three first, or the three last. In this latter form it is quite regular. The recital joined with the instance is the major, the application is the minor; the conclusion follows.

VIII. Next, in this arrangement, is (*tarca*) reduction to absurdity. It is a mode of reasoning, for the investigation of truth, by deduction from wrong premises, to an inadmissible conclusion which is at variance with proof, whether actual perception or demonstrable inference. The conclusion, to which the premises would lead, is inadmissible, as contrary to what is demonstrated, or as conceding what is disproved.

It is not to be confounded with doubt, to which there are two sides, but to this there is but one.

Five sorts are distinguished by the more ancient writers, to which the moderns have added six, or even seven more varieties. It is needless to enumerate them: one or two examples may suffice.

Ex. 1. Is this hill fiery, or not? On this question one delivers his opinion, that it is not fiery. The answer to him is, Were it not fiery, it would not smoke.

* The followers of the *Mimansá*. *Pand. Dip.*

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Ex. 2. If there be a jar in this place, it must look like the ground.

Fallacy of the same form, termed *tarcabhása*, comprises the like number of sorts and varieties.

The designations, by which they are distinguished, are familiar to the Indian scholastic disputation. It would be tedious to enumerate and explain them.

IX. Ascertainment (*nirnéya*), or determination of truth, is the fruit of proof, the result of evidence and of reasoning, confuting objections, and establishing the position in question.

X.—XII. Disputation (*cat'há*) is conference, or dialogue of interlocutors, maintaining adverse positions; whether contending for victory, or seeking the truth. It comprises three of the categories.

X. One is (*jalpa*) debate of disputants contending for victory: each seeking to establish his own position, and overthrow the opponent's.

XI. Another is (*váda*) discourse, or interlocution of persons communing on a topic in pursuit of truth, as preceptor and pupil together with fellow-students.

XII. The third is (*vitandá*) cavil, or controversy wherein the disputant seeks to confute his opponent, without offering to support a position of his own.

XIII. Next in Gótama's enumeration is fallacy, or, as it is termed, semblance of a reason (*hétvabhása*), it is the *non causa pro causa* of logicians. Five sorts are distinguished, embracing divers varieties or subdivisions. They need not be here set forth.

XIV. Fraud (*ch'hala*), or perversion and misconstruction, is of three sorts: 1st. verbal misconstruing of what is ambiguous; 2d. perverting, in a literal sense, what is said in a metaphorical one; 3d. generalizing what is particular.

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XV. After all these is (*játi*) a futile answer, or self-confuting reply. No less than twenty-four sorts are enumerated.

XVI. The sixteenth and last of Gótama's categories, is (*nigraha-st'hána*) failure in argument, or (*parájaya-hétu*) reason of defeat. It is the termination of a controversy. Of this, likewise, no fewer than twenty-two distinctions are specified which are here passed by, as the present essay has already been extended to too great a length.

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VIII. *Account of the* BANYAN-TREE, *or* FICUS INDICA, *as found in the ancient Greek and Roman Authors. By* GEORGE HENRY NORDEN, *L.L.D Secretary R.A.S. F.R.S. &c.*

Read March 6, 1824.

AMONG the objects of Natural History, which attracted the attention, and excited the wonder of the followers of Alexander the Great, when that illustrious conqueror carried his victorious arms across the Indus, was the BANYAN, or INDIAN FIG-TREE. It is well known that that extraordinary man, whose talents, as well as achievements, have certainly no parallel in history, was generally imbued with a love of science, and, as Pliny expresses it, inflamed with a passion for Natural History * To his great preceptor, ARISTOTLE, he had delegated the care of digesting, and elucidating, the vast materials that were collected, in the king's progress through a quarter of the globe, which, to the inhabitants of Europe, was absolutely a new world. It is to be presumed that, by the orders of Alexander, not only specimens of natural productions were looked for, but that observations were also made, on the spot, by competent persons, on such objects as could not be removed. Both the one and the other were placed at the disposal of Aristotle, who by dint of his powerful mind, and with the assistance of an immense fund of knowledge, brought the rude materials, furnished to him, into a system of scientific arrangement. According to Pliny, as

* Pliny speaks, in particular, of one branch of natural history namely, zoology, in the cultivation of which, he says, Alexander had taken a warm interest but no remarkable object could be indifferent to such a mind. Nat. Hist. VIII. 17 Vol. II p. 79. ed. Bip. *Alexandro Magno regi inflammato cupidine animalium naturas noscendi, delegatâque hac commentatione Aristoteli, summo in omni doctrinâ viro, aliquot millia hominum in totis Asiæ Græciæque tractis parere jussis omnium quæ venatus, aucupia, piscaturæque alebant quibusque vivaria, armenta pascuntur, aviaria in curâ erant ne quid usquam gentium ignoraretur ab eo quæ pernotuisse quinquagiuta ferme volumina illa prodidere de animalibus condita.* The immense sums of money which the king, besides bestowed upon Aristotle for the prosecution of his researches, are mentioned by Athenæus IX. p. 398. &c Casaub. IX c 15. T III p. 447 ed. Schweigh.) The grant of money Ælian (Var Hist. IV 18.) by a mistake, attributes to Philip, the father of Alexander See Buhle in Aristotelis Vita (Vol. I. Oper Aristotel., p. 98, and Schlegel's Indische Bibliothek. Vol. I. p. 160.

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quoted below,* he wrote about fifty volumes on the History of Animals, or, as we should say, on Zoology alone; and we know from other sources, that he also composed a work on Plants,† or on Botany. In the latter, the mention of such a production as the Banyan-tree, could not have been omitted. It is our misfortune to lament, that of these interesting writings comparatively very little has been preserved to us. Of the work on Animals, a certain portion remains; and there, indeed, also exists a book on Plants, attributed to Aristotle, but unquestionably spurious. His researches, however, may be traced in authors that wrote after him, and who enjoyed the advantage of the information which he had gathered. Thus Pliny‡ declares, that the greatest part of what he himself has written on zoology, is taken from the works of Aristotle; and we may justly conclude, that Theophrastus, an author to whom our attention will be presently directed, has built on the same foundation.

Whatever passed through the hands of Aristotle, on subjects of Natural History, must be allowed to have had a value beyond that which any other writer could have given it, both on account of his acuteness and intellectual superiority, and of the channels, through which his information was derived. It is not possible to conceive, as has before been intimated, that among the natural curiosities of India, of which, through the interposition of Alexander, he obtained a knowledge, such a phenomenon in the vegetable world, as the Banyan-tree, should have escaped him; more especially, when it is considered, that even writers, as will be shown afterwards, who merely employed themselves in recording the military and political achievements of Alexander, could not forbear noticing that remarkable object.

Hence it appears probable, that Theophrastus, who was the favourite and most distinguished pupil of Aristotle, and who succeeded him in the Lyceum, as head of the Peripatetic school, gained, in substance, what he has left recorded of the Banyan, from the literary stores of his master, to

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* N. H. VIII. 17. Bip. The passage has been transcribed in the foregoing note.

† Περὶ φυτῶν α β, *de plantis libri duo*, two books on plants. See the Life of Aristotle, by Diogenes Laertius, in the 1st volume of Buhle's edition of Aristotle's works, p. 22. Also his life by an anonymous author; ib. p. 64.

‡ Nat. Hist. VIII. — Vol. II. p. 79. ed. Bip.—*quinquaginta ferme volumina ille præclara de animalibus condidit, quæ a me collecta in arctum, cum ea quæ ignorarentur, quatuor ut legentes hoc consilium in universa rerum naturæ operibus, medioque clarissimus regum omnium desiderio, curâ maximâ brevitate peregrinantes.*

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which, undoubtedly, he had access; and this circumstance will recommend the passages, which I am about to introduce, to our particular regard.

We are in possession of two botanical works of Theophrastus, one inscribed the *History of Plants*,* and the other rather unintelligibly entitled *On the Causes of Plants*.† In this last work, he treats of the peculiarities of different plants, of which peculiarities he endeavours to assign the reasons, or causes; hence that laconic and awkward denomination. It is a sort of Botanical Physiology. In both works, the Banyan-tree is mentioned, and altogether very fully, and accurately described. Theophrastus calls it the *Indian Fig*, an appellation which was given to it, by the followers of Alexander, on account of the resemblance, as he states, which the form of the fruit has to the common fig. It is singular to observe, that the name, which this plant bears in modern botany, *Ficus Indica*, should have been bestowed upon it, more than three hundred years before our era, perhaps at the very first moment that it was seen by the eye of an European. But modern science classes it with *Ficus*, not merely for the reason which Theophrastus alleges, but because it is marked with all the characters which belong to that genus.

I now shall cite the passages themselves, from Theophrastus. The first occurs in the first book, the twelfth chapter, of the *History of Plants*. He there speaks of the curious mode of its rooting, and says thus:‡ "The "nature and property of the Indian Fig, with regard to its rooting, are "peculiar, for it sends forth roots from the young branches, which roots "are lengthened, till they come in contact with the ground, and strike into "it. There is thus formed a continuation of roots, in a circle, round the "tree, which does not approach the stem, but remains at a distance."

The next, and principal passage, is in the fifth chapter of the fourth book, in the same work, and to this effect §: "The country of India produces

* Historia Plantarum. † De Causis Plantarum.

‡ Historia Plantarum, lib. I. c. 12. p. 13. (ed. Heinsii. Lugd. Bat. 1613.) Ἡδὲ Ἰνδικὴ ῥίζα ἴσως καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει τοιαύτην. Ἰνδικὴ συκῆ· αὕτη γὰρ τοὺς βλαστοὺς ἀφίησι μικρούς· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὰν τῇ γῆ πλησιάσωσι καὶ γένωνται πέραν τοῦ ὕδατος πολλὰ συνεχὴς τὸ τῶν ῥιζῶν, οὐχ ἁπτόμενον τοῦ πτελέχους, ἀλλὰ ἀφεστηκός.

§ Historia Plantarum, lib. IV. c. 5. p. 77. Ἡ δὲ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα τήν τε καλαμώνην ἔχει συκῆν, ἡ καθήκουσι μὲν τῶν κλάδων τὰς ῥίζας οὐ πολὺ ἔνθεν, ἄνωθεν ἄρχονται φύεσθαι· ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἴσην, καὶ ἔστι καλλιστήριον· ἅπτεται δὲ συνεχὴς τὸ γε πεπτωκὸς κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν δένδρον, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι καθάπερ φραγμόν, οὐχ ἁπτόμενον τοῦ πτελέχους· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ῥιζῶν φυόμενοι

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" what is called the *Indian Fig*, which every year sends out roots from its " branches, as before has been mentioned; it emits them not from the " young shoots, but from those of the year before, or even older ones. " These, coming in contact with the ground, form a sort of inclosure, in " a circle round the tree, so as to have almost the appearance of a tent (or " arbour) under which the people are also in the habit of dwelling. The " roots, when produced, may be distinguished from the shoots, or young " branches, by being whiter: they are thick and twisted, and furnished " with two leaves. The tree has a great deal of foliage above, assumes " altogether a well rounded form, and is of extraordinary size. For it is " said, that it throws its shade over a circumference of two *stadia* (or more " than twelve hundred feet). The thickness of the stem is in some more " than sixty paces, and in the general ty forty paces. It has a leaf not " less than a *pelta*, or Thracian shield, and fruit very diminutive, about " the size of a large pea, or small bean, and resembling a fig, for which " reason the Greeks have called it a *Fig-tree*, the fruit is extremely small, " not only in proportion to the size of the tree, but considered of itself. " This tree grows near the river Acesines."

The third passage, in which Theophrastus speaks of this tree, is in the work, *On the Peculiarities of Plants, and their Causes*, in the second book, the fourteenth chapter.* " Those plants," he says, " which tend to a great " size, are apt to have small fruit, as, for instance, the tree called the " *Indian Fig*. For being of wonderful magnitude, it has, by nature, its " fruit extremely small and insignificant, as spending all its nourishment " upon the leaves and branches, for it has very large foliage. And to the " same cause of superabundant nourishment seems to be attributable the

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διὰ τὴν τροφὴν τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν. Διαστήματα γὰρ, καὶ βάσεις, καὶ σκιὰν, ἄφθονον ἔχει δι' ὅλου τοῦ μεγέθους· καὶ τὸ ὅλον δένδρον ἐστὶν εὐσκιώτατον· καὶ τὸ μεγέθει μέγα σφόδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ δύο σταδίων τὴν φασὶ τὴν σκιὰν· καὶ τὸ πάχος τοῦ στελέχους ἔνια πλείονα ἑξήκοντα βήματα, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τεσσαράκοντα· τὸ δὲ φύλλον ἐστὶ πέλτης οὐκ ἔλαττον ἔχει πλάτος· καρπὸν δὲ σπέρμα μικρὸν, ὅλκιον ἐρέβινθος, ὁμοιον δὲ συκῇ· διὸ καὶ συκῆν αὐτὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες καλοῦσι· διόπερ δὲ διαφανῶς τὸν καρπὸν, ὅτι σπάνια τὰ τοῦ δένδρου μεγέθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὅλον φυτὸν ἐστὶ τὸ δένδρον περὶ τὸν Ἄκεσιν τὸν ποταμόν.

* De Causis Plantarum, Lib. II. c. 14. p. 248.—Τὰ εἰς μεγέθους ὑπερβολὴν αὐξανόμενα μικροκαρπότερα, οἷον ἡ τε Ἰνδικὴ συκῆ καλουμένη· διαφανὴς γὰρ οὖσα τῷ μεγέθει, μικρὸν ἔχει φυτὸν σπέρμα τὸν καρπὸν καὶ ἄχυρον· ὡς ἐς τὸν βλαστὸν ἐξαναλισκόμενον πᾶσαν τὴν τροφὴν· καὶ γὰρ σπέρμα μεγαλόφυλλος· ἀφ' ὧν ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν καὶ ἡ τῶν ῥιζῶν εὐθηνοῦσα ἴσως γένοιτ' ἂν ἐπὶ τούτων καταμερίζεται, διὰ τοῦτο οὐ δενδρώδεις ὅτι καὶ βλάστου ὀλίγου

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" production of the roots, which are emitted from the branches; or, per-
" haps, the nourishment being divided between the roots and the branches,
" the fruit is, for this reason, weaker and smaller."

Such is the description which Theophrastus gives of the Banyan. It is full and detailed, clear and accurate. In commenting upon it, I shall advert to such parts as differ from modern accounts, or otherwise require explanation. The author uses a cautious mode of expression, when speaking of particulars, which might easily be liable to exaggeration. Thus, where the extent is mentioned, to which the shadow of the tree reaches, he employs the phrase, *they say*, or, *it is said*: " It is said that the tree throws its shade over a circumference of two stadia." A stadium may be reckoned at six hundred English feet; the shade of the tree, therefore, is said to cover about twelve hundred feet, in circumference. If we compare this statement with modern accounts, for instance, that given by Mr. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra,* we shall hardly think it magnified. That gentleman, in speaking of the Banyan-tree at Mangee, in Bengal, computes the circumference of its shadow, at noon, at eleven hundred and sixteen feet, between which, and the measure of two stadia, rated by us at twelve hundred feet, there is no great difference. Mr. Marsden gives the diameter of the stem of the tree at Mangee, three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-five feet. Theophrastus estimates the thickness † of the stem, by which likewise the diameter must be understood, at sixty paces, or scarcely one hundred and eighty feet, in some trees, and at forty paces, or under one hundred and twenty, in the generality. If there is an exaggeration as to this point, I should suspect it to be in the modern account.‡ Theophrastus probably

* Third edition, p. 168.

† Τὸ πάχος τοῦ σώματος.

‡ There may perhaps have been some inaccuracy in the calculations with which Mr. Marsden was furnished; for it does not appear that he measured the tree alluded to himself. I find it difficult to reconcile some of the dimensions, as they are given. In the text, Mr. Marsden expresses himself thus: " It (the Banyan-tree) possesses the uncommon property of dropping " roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which, when they touch the earth, become " new stems, and go on increasing to such an extent, that some have measured, in circum-" ference of the branches, upwards of a thousand feet, and have been said to afford shelter to a " troop of horse." To that passage a note is subjoined to this effect: " The following is an " account of the dimensions of a remarkable banian or bur-tree, near Mangee, twenty miles east " of Patna, in Bengal: Diameter, three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-

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came nearer to the truth. The roots, that shoot out from the branches, are no where so accurately described. They are thick * and twisted, he says, and distinguishable from the branches, from which they proceed, by a lighter colour. And he adds a particular circumstance, namely, that they are δίφυλλοι, two-leaved, that is, furnished with two leaves, or *stipulæ*, as modern botanists would call them, probably at the spot where the roots issue from the branches. I have not seen this noticed in any modern description, either botanical or other. The size of the leaf is perhaps the only thing that is overrated: it equals, he says, a *pelta*, that is to say, a small Thracian, or, as it is also called, Amazonian † shield. Modern botanical accounts represent the leaf as of about a span, that is to say, nine or ten inches in length, whereas the *pelta* must have been more than double that measure. The fruit is by modern botanists said to be of the size of a hazel-nut, and Theophrastus compares it to an ἔρεβος, which seems to have been a large pea, or a sort of kidney-bean. The river *Acesines*, near which, he says, the tree grows, is supposed to be the *Ravi*, one of the four or five streams that, flowing from the eastward, unite their waters with the Indus.

The account of Theophrastus is the foundation of Pliny's description, which shall now follow. In speaking generally of India, this author remarks that that country produces the largest animals, and then he goes on to say,‡ "There also grow, according to report, trees of such extraordinary

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" five feet. Circumference of shadow at noon eleven hundred and sixteen feet. Circumference " of the several stems, in number fifty or sixty, nine hundred and twenty-one." Now if some trees, as is said in one place, have measured in circumference of the branches upwards of a thousand feet; or if, as is stated in the note, the circumference of the shadow at noon is eleven hundred and sixteen feet: it is not to be conceived how the diameter of the stem alone can be from three hundred and sixty-three to three hundred and seventy-five feet, or its circumference nine hundred and twenty-one. The whole computation, I confess, is not clear to my view; and perhaps some error in the numbers may have taken place.

* Mr Marsden speaks of what Theophrastus calls the roots, in this manner, p. 169: "The tree possesses the uncommon property of dropping roots or fibres from certain parts of its boughs, which, when they touch the earth, become new stems. These fibres look like ropes attached to the branches."

† Pliny (Nat. Hist. XII. 11. p. 336. Vol. II. ed. Bip.) says: "*Foliorum latitudo pelte effigiem Amazonice habet.* Milton, in a passage to be quoted afterwards, calls this shield, *Amazonian target.*

‡ Pliny, Nat. Hist. VII. 2. Vol. II. p. 9. ed. Bip. *Maxima in India gignuntur animalia. Arbores*

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"height, that you cannot shoot an arrow over them. It is owing to the "richness of the soil, the temperature of the climate, and the abundance "of water, that (if we may believe it) there is a species of fig-tree, under "whose branches whole troops of horsemen may be concealed." The very high tree, to which Pliny first alludes, may perhaps have been the great *Fan-Palm* (*Corypha umbraculifera*)*: but he has no name for it. The report of it, as of most of the productions of India, came from the Macedonians that composed the expedition of Alexander the Great, and these, though they gave an account of many trees, left most of them without names, as Pliny in another† place has observed‡: which circumstance rendered them indistinct and doubtful objects. The Banyan-tree was exempt from this defect, having, as before noticed, been called *Indian Fig-tree*, from the first moment that the Macedonians saw it. From its being designated as a Fig-tree, in the passage of Pliny, above recited, we know that it is the *Banyan*, of which the author is speaking.

This tree was among the objects, which were brought to the knowledge of the western world, by the expedition of Alexander. As such it is mentioned by Pliny,§ who describes it in the following manner:‖ "It has very "small fruit. Continually propagating itself, it overspreads a vast space "with its branches, the lowest of which are in such a manner bent towards "the ground, that every year a portion of them strike into it, and produce "a new offspring around the parent-tree, forming themselves into a circle, "as if it were done by the hand of art. Within this enclosure the shep-

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horum quidem tantæ procerităs traduntur ut sagittæ superjici nequeant. Hæc facit uberias soli, temperies cœli, aquarum abundantia (si tabeat credere) ut sub una ficu turmæ condantur equitum.

* Nat. Hist. XII 13. Vol. II. p. 327 ed. Bip. *Graeci arborum Macedones narravere. majora ne parvis mirantibus.*

† Nat. Hist. XII. 10. p. 320. *Nunc eas (arbores) exponam, quas mirata est Alexandri Magni victoria orbe in patefacto.*

‡ Nat. Hist. XII. 1 — p. 286. *Ficus ibi exilis poma habet. Ipsa ut semper serena, varios diffundit ramos; quorum imi sulci in terram curvantur, id annuo spatio infigantur. novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem in orbem, quodam opere topiario. Intra sepem eam arbitrant pastores, opacam pariter et munitam ullo arboris, decori specie subter inturnis, procubuc, fornicato ambitu. Superiores quidem rami in excelsum emicant, silvosa multitudine, ceteo matris corpore, ut L.X. passus plerique orbe colligant, umbrâ vero bina stadia operiant. Foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem. Amazonicæ habet. hos vanit fructum integros, crescere prohibet. Harumque est, nec falsa magnitudinem excedens. sed per falsa salubri cocto, proludice sapore, dignæ miraculo arboris. Gignitur circa Acesinem maximæ amœnæ.*

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" herds shelter themselves, in summer, as it affords them both shade, and " a kind of fenced protection, which presents an elegant appearance, when " you look under it, or view it at a distance, the whole resembling a " vaulted, or arched edifice. The upper branches spring, like a forest, " from the vast body of the mother-tree: most of them measure sixty paces " (nearly one hundred and eighty feet) in circumference, and they cover " a space of two *stadia* (or upwards of twelve hundred feet) with their " shadow. The broad leaves of the tree have the shape of an Amazonian " shield, covering the fruit, they prevent it, by this means, from growing: " the fruit is thinly scattered, and does not exceed the size of a (kidney) " bean. It becomes matured by the heat of the sun, penetrating through " the leaves, is of a very sweet taste, and by its peculiarity adds to the " wonders of the tree. The tree grows particularly near the river " Acesines."

Before I proceed to make any observations on this passage, I will, while the impression of it is fresh in the recollection, subjoin the well-known lines of Milton * relating to the Banyan-tree, which will be found to be copied from Pliny's description. The poet, speaking of our first parents, after the fall, when they felt shame, and sought for means to cover their bodies, continues thus.

" So counselled he (Adam), and both together went
" Into the thickest wood: there soon they chose
" The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renown'd,
" But such as, at this day, to Indians known
" In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms,†
" Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
" The bended twigs take root,‡ and daughters § grow
" About the mother-tree, a pillar'd shade ‖
" High overarch'd, and echoing walks between.
" There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,

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* In Paradise Lost, IXth Book, v. 1099 to 1111.

† *Ficus. Vastæ diffunditur umbræ.*

‡ *Adeo in terram curvantur, et arbore aperte infigantur.*

§ *Novumque sibi propagineum facient circa parentem in orbem;* and afterwards, *superiores ejusdem rami in exclusum cuniculi-modo matris corpore.*

‖ *Decurt specie, subter intextis procubus, fornicato ambitu.*

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" Shelters* is cool, and tends his pasturing herds,
" As leaf-habit, cut through thickest shade. Those leaves
" They gather'd, broad as Amazonian † targe."

Pliny was familiar with the writings of Theophrastus, for he repeatedly refers to him in his work, and it is evident that he almost transcribed the passage, concerning the Banyan-tree, from that author But he has not done it with that accuracy, which ought to be expected, on such a subject. He omits, or alters, some essential points. In speaking of the lower branches striking into the ground, he does not notice the roots that issue from those branches, which are the means of bringing the latter in contact with the earth, yet this is a peculiarity most remarkable From Pliny's account it would appear, as if the branches merely had a tendency to be bent downwards, and thus reached the ground, where they afterwards took root but this is quite a false representation. He is equally incorrect, when he assigns the measure of sixty paces to the circumference of the upper branches, which Theophrastus gives as the dimension of the stems of the different young trees, produced round the parent stock. He expresses himself indistinctly respecting the shade, which proceeds from the tree. Like Theophrastus, he says, that it extends over two stadia, or about twelve hundred feet, but he so places this in the context, that it seems to be the shade of the upper branches of which he is speaking, instead of that of the whole tree, which Theophrastus clearly designs. The leaves Pliny characterizes by their breadth, which, he says, gives the idea of an Amazonian shield, or *pelta* the comparison should be as to the size of the leaf generally, in which acceptation Theophrastus likens it to the same shield. The reason which Pliny alleges for the smallness of the fruit, is not such as an intelligent naturalist ought to have given he says, it is owing to the large leaf, by which the fruit is covered, and its growth impeded. This must mean, that the fruit, being excluded from the influence of the sun, by the intervention of the leaf, is stunted yet he presently talks of the effect of the sun upon that very fruit, in maturing and sweetening it.

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* *Intra septem esse umbrosi pastoris, quorum parvior et viventem valle arborem.*

† *Foliorum latitudo pelta effigiem Amazonicæ habet.*

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Pliny appears to great disadvantage, by the side of such an author as Theophrastus. The information which he collected, upon almost every subject, though vast in quantity, loses much of its value, from the precipitation with which it was taken up. His inordinate desire of reading every thing that could be read, which is admirably described by his nephew,* and the ambition of making extracts from a multitude of authors, left him no time for digesting what he had thus heaped together, much less for exercising any judgment or discrimination. His extreme parsimony of time would naturally induce hurry, in making his extracts, which proved another source of inaccuracy. It is, for these reasons, not to be wondered at, that the correctness of Pliny's statements should, on many occasions, be subject to doubt, and that his authority should be brought into question. It is probable also, that he may have mixed with the account of Theophrastus some other narration, less accurate, such, for instance, as might be found in those historical writers, who had described Alexander's expedition. It has been observed, that Theophrastus likens the size of the fruit of the Banyan to a sort of legume, which he calls φάσηλος, and it has been said that this was either a kind of large pea, or some variety of bean. Pliny uses the expression *faba*, bean, as synonymous with the term φάσηλος, and we shall perhaps be near the truth, if we suppose, that what both authors had in view, was some kind of kidney-bean, approaching the size of a hazel-nut, stated by modern botanists to be about the dimension of the fruit of the Banyan. *Faba*, in classical Latin, does not signify the common garden-bean, but seems to be a general term for both the *phaselus* and the *phaseolus*, which latter is the kidney bean, the former the garden bean.

Theophrastus and Pliny are the two authors who have spoken of the tree, as naturalists. Those which are now to be quoted merely give the popular accounts, such as were to be met with in the histories and memoirs of Alexander's expeds. Of this character is a passage in Quintus Curtius, which undoubtedly refers to the *Ficus Indica*.† "There were woods," (in

* Plin. Epist. III. 5.

† Lib. IX. c. 1. p. 93. Vol. II. ed. Bip. *Hinc Poro amnique superato, ad interiora Indiæ procedunt. Silvæ erant prope in immensum spatium diffusæ, procerumque et in cæruleum nitentium arborum umbrosæ plerique ramis suæ ingentium stipitum flexis in humum, ramos, qui e corporibus erumpunt, erigebantur adeo, ut species esset non ramis revinctis, sed arboris ex alia radice genitæ.*

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India) says this author, "spread to an immense extent, shaded with lofty "and gigantic trees. Most of the branches being, like great stems, bent "into the ground, again rose upwards, at the place of curvature, so as to "afford the appearance, not of a branch that had sent forth fresh shoots, "but of a tree produced from its own root." This description, though far from accurate, cannot be applied to any other tree, than the Banyan. It was evidently derived from a superficial observer. Nor does the account given by Strabo, to which we now proceed, although more in detail, differ much in character. Strabo was a writer of great learning, and diligent research; but he has drawn his information, in this instance, not from the best source. We can hardly suppose him to have been unacquainted with the writings of Theophrastus, and it may be wondered that, upon such a subject, he should not have had recourse to this authority. The passage alluded to is in the fifteenth book of his Geography, and to this purpose:* "Among other things, India produces also many extraordinary trees, of "which there is one species that has branches bending downwards, and "leaves not less than a shield. Onesicritus, in detailing the natural pro-"ductions of Musicanus, which, he says, is the most southern part of "India, relates, that there are certain large trees of India, the branches "of which grow to the length of twelve cubits, then take the remainder of "their growth downwards, as if they were bent, till they reach the ground, "and having penetrated into the earth, they strike root, like layers. After

* Lib. XV. p. 694. ed. Casaub. (p. 1016. ed. Almelov.) Πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα παράδοξα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ τρέφει, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ κατὰ πίτυος ἔχον τοὺς κλάδους, τὰ δὲ φύλλα ἀσπίδος οὐκ ἔλαττον. Ὀνησίκριτος δέ φησι περιέρχεσθαι τὰ ἐν τῇ Μουσικανοῦ ἴδια. ἃ φησι κοινότατα εἶναι τῶν ἐνδοτάτω, ὄντων μεγάλων δένδρων ἐστὶ τῶν, κλάδους ἐκβάλλοντας ἐπὶ σταθμὸν δώδεκα πηχῶν, ἔπειτα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκτείνειν καταφερῆ, ὡς ἂν κατακεκαμμένους, ἕως ἂν ἅψωνται τῆς γῆς· ἅψαντα δὲ κατὰ τὸ διαβιβάζειν ῥιζοῦσθαι, ὅμοιον τοῖς καταφυτοῖς, ἐπὶ δυσβάτους τοποχώρους· εἶθ' ὑπὸ τούτου φυόμενον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν καταπεφυτευκὸς ἄλλο κατέφυκε τοιοῦτον, εἶτ' ἄλλον· καὶ ἄπειρος ἄρθρος, ἂν μὴ τοῦ δένδρου σκιάδιον γένηται ἀκριβὲς στρογγύλον ἅπαν. Λέγει δὲ καὶ μεγίστου δένδρου, ὃν σκιὰν ἀνδρῶν δισχιλίων ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ πάχους· Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν συμβάντων τοῦ τε Πώρου καὶ Ἀριστόβουλος ἔφησε περὶ τῶν καταπεφυτευκότων ἔχειν τοὺς κλάδους, καὶ περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου, ὑπὸ ᾧ τὸν δένδρον καταφεύγειν τετρακισχιλίους ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς ἐπὶ πλείους· ἔστι δὲ τετρακοντόργυιον· Ἀνάπτειν δὲ καταβιβάζοντας, περὶ τὸν μεγίστου τῶν δένδρων, ὃ φασιν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δένδρον πλησίον τοῦ Ἰωμάνου ποταμοῦ. So this passage ought to be connected: but in the text of the editions (which, generally speaking, is very corrupt) the following sentence is interposed, between the words τετρακοντόργυιον and Ἀνάπτειν, being evidently out of its place. Λέγει δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος καὶ ἄλλο δένδρον—παρεκὸς ἦχον ὡς ἐ πυκνὸν ὂν διατείνειν τὸ μέσον, στοὰς μακρὰς· τοὺς δὲ φυομένους ἐκ βάθους συζῆν.

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" thus, rising upwards, they are metamorphosed into stems, from which, " in the progress of growing, branches issue again in like manner " These, similar to those before, bend downwards, and form other layers, " and again others so that from one tree, there arises a large bower, re- " sembling a pillared booth, or tabernacle. He (Onesicritus) likewise " speaks of the magnitude of the trees, which, he says, is so immense, that " five men can hardly fathom the stems. Aristobulus, when speaking of " the Acesines, and its junction with the Hyarotis, also makes mention of " the trees with down-bent branches, and of their great size, which, he " asserts, will afford shelter to fifty horsemen, the other writer (Onesicri- " tus) even says, to four hundred But those go beyond all the rest, who " report, that on the farther side of the river Hyarotis, a tree was seen, " which, at noon, made a shade of five stadia."

This account of Strabo, as I have before stated, rests upon the authority of writers, whose business it was not to be very exact in matters of this nature it incidentally formed a topic in their narration, and even if they wrote to the best of their knowledge, without a wilful design of misrepresenting the truth, yet, as it was not incumbent on them to investigate, with great nicety, the reports which they had heard, erroneous details were unavoidable. Among other misnomers, they seem to me to have confounded different trees. Perhaps some particulars, which we do not find applicable to the Banyan, may have belonged to the Great Fan Palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*) hence many points of difference, between this passage of Strabo, and the accurate description of Theophrastus, may be explained. The size of the leaf is, in the former, magnified to a large shield (ασπις, *scutum*),* while the latter limits it to a small *pelta*. On the other hand, the circumference of the stem, or trunk of the tree, said to be scarce fathomable† by five men, is much below the estimate which we have before noticed. In other instances, the spirit of exaggeration must be supposed to have operated, as in this, when it is related that the shade of the tree, at noon, covered five stadia, which is a space of more than three thousand feet. The emission of the roots from the branches,‡ which is a very important

* Το δε φυλλον ασπιδος δικην πλατυ

† Ουκ αν ειεν ανδρες πεντε περιβαλειν ουδε τη πυθεσθαι

‡ It is peculiar to several species of the genus *Ficus*, among others to the *Ficus virens*, a large tree, which is a native of South America.

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fact, in the natural history of the tree, and most carefully set forth by Theophrastus, is not adverted to by Strabo.

I have hinted that, in some particulars, the *Corypha umbraculifera*, or Great Fan Palm, may have been confounded with the *Ficus Indica*, or Banyan. In a passage of Diodorus Siculus, where a large kind of Indian tree is spoken of, the Fan Palm seems to have been intended by the author. It is in the seventeenth book of his History, where the exploits of Alexander are related.* "The king," he says, "having with his army passed "the river, proceeded through a country extremely fertile. For it pro- "duced different species of trees, of uncommon size, some having a height "of seventy cubits, and such thickness in the stem, that four men could "not fathom it, and making a shade of three acres." Neither the height (about one hundred and twenty feet), nor the circumference of the stem (about twenty-four feet), nor the extent of shadow (about three hundred feet), can be reconciled with particulars, which have before been adduced as characteristic of the Banyan-tree.

The Banyan-tree, however, is undoubtedly alluded to in the following passage of Arrian. It is in that portion of his works, which is entitled *Indian History*. He is speaking of the Indian sophists, the wise men, or Fakirs, of ancient India, and continues thus †: "These sophists go naked, "and live in the open air, in winter, exposed to the sun, and in the "summer, when the sun is overpowering, they retire to meadows, and "marshy places, under large trees, whose shade, Nearchus says, extends to "five acres in a circle: and ten thousand men may be sheltered under one "tree; of such astonishing dimensions are those trees." From the words of the original it would seem, that the five acres (or five hundred feet) mentioned, are to be taken for the radius of the circle, which would for the circumference give nearly the same measure, that, according to Strabo,

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* Biblioth. Histor. Lib. XVII. T. II. p. 250. lin. 73. ed. Wessel.— Αυτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως περάσας τὸν ποταμὸν, πορεύεται διὰ χώρας ἀγαθῆς διαφερόντως. Φύεται γὰρ αὐτόθι γένη δενδρέων παντοῖα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα πηχῶν ὑπερβάλλοντα, τὸ δὲ πάχος μόνις ὑπὸ τεττάρων ἀνδρῶν περιπαλαίσμασι, τρία δὲ στάδια σκιὰν ποιοῦντα.

† Historia Indica, p. 314 and 315, ed. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1704. Οὗτοι γυμνοὶ διατρίβουσι οἱ σοφισταὶ, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ὑπαίθριοι ὑπὸ τῷ ἡλίῳ, τὸν δὲ θέρος, ὅταν ὁ ἥλιος μεσήρης, ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἕλεσι, ὑπὸ δένδροσι μεγάλοις. Ἃ δὲ τοῦ σκιὰν Νέαρχος λέγει ἡ τοῦτο πλέθρα ἐ πεντε ἐξικνεῖται καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τὴν δένδρου σκιαζεσθαι τοσουτους ἄνδρας τοὺς τυχόντας τὸ δένδρου

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some writers alleged, namely, five stadia, or upwards of three thousand feet. With such an exaggeration, the report of Nearchus, quoted by Arrian, might coincide. But though we cannot precisely ascertain, in what sense the measurement, spoken of, is to be taken, yet there can hardly be any doubt that the tree, which Arrian had in his mind, was the Banyan. In reading what Arrian relates of the naked philosophers of ancient India, one is reminded of the Fakir, mentioned by Mr Marsden, as sitting under the Banyan-tree, at Mangee,* who, it would seem, continued a practice that was known to his wise predecessors, many centuries before.

Thus I have collected all that may be supposed to have a reference to the Banyan-tree, in the remaining works of the classic authors. I do not believe, that any passage, or even any allusion, has escaped me. Perhaps the length, to which these observations have been extended, may require an apology. I was tempted to attribute some slight degree of interest to the subject, as the Banyan-tree has, in a manner, been marked by this Society as its own. It has been chosen for the emblem of the Society, and as the type for its seal. The extraordinary nature of this production, and its locality, being peculiar to the remote East, recommended it as an object that might characterize the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Whether any allegorical sense, in relation to the arts and sciences, their various ramification and extension, their connexion and mutual support, should be combined with it, I leave for others to determine. The motto, joined to our emblem, is "*Quot rami, tot arbores*," or, "Every branch yields a tree" and whether we adopt the allegory, or not, it is to be wished, that the efforts of this Society may contribute to extend human knowledge, and promote that intellectual improvement, which is calculated to constitute the happiness of our species.

* History of Sumatra, 3d ed. p. 168. note. "Under this tree sat a naked Fakir who had "occupied that situation for twenty-five years, but he did not continue there the whole year "through, for his vow obliged him to be, during the four cold months, up to his neck in the "waters of the Ganges."

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IX. *Translation of a Sanscrit Inscription, relative to the last Hindu King of Delhi, with Comments thereon. By Captain James Tod, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 1, 1824

The Inscription, of which I have the honour to present a copy and translation to the Society, is a memorial of an important period in the History of India, especially that part familiarly, though restrictively, denominated *Hindust'hán*. To define the limits of this somewhat vague application, is of no great moment, but I believe it is generally to be understood as denoting the space between the mountains of *Himálaya* and the *Nermadá* river, north and south — a line in the meridian of the source of this river at *Amercantac*, passing through *Prayág*, and meeting the great northern chain, forms the eastern limit, and westward, towards the Indus, it comprehends all the tracts within the limits of cultivation. This is generally understood to be *Hindust'hán* proper. What antiquity may be assigned to such restrictive definition of a word, implying the abode of the whole of the Hindu race, I know not;* nor should I have deemed it worth mention, but from its comprehending the space to which the inscription has especial reference, the greater part of which acknowledged the power of the Prince, whose name it records. This name is Prithwirája, signifying "Sovereign of the Earth."

It was at *Hánsi Hisár*, in the beginning of the year 1815, I obtained the Inscription, when I left my post at *Sindia's* court on a visit to a friend, now no more: one well known, and whose memory is honoured by some members of this Society; whose services were appreciated, and his loss publicly lamented, by the late illustrious Governor-General of India, because talents, zeal, and honour, were synonymous with James Lumsdaine. I need ask no pardon for this digression, when met for the purpose of recording what is worthy in the History, Physics, and Antiquities of India, a passing tribute to one, who, in his own bright example, raised the moral

* *Hindust'hán* proper, contradistinguished from the southern peninsula, and eastern India (*Deccan* and *Púrb*) is the same with the *Mad'hya dés'a*, or central region. See *Menu*, X. 21. The *Nermadá* river is the limit of the *Vind'hya* range of mountains there mentioned. *Vinasana* is the place where the *Saraswatí* river terminates, losing itself in the great sandy desert.—H.T.C.

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estimation, in the minds of the governed, of those to whom the destinies of a great empire are intrusted, cannot be deemed intrusive. I might say, it was due to his memory: but for my visit to him on this occasion, I might not have trespassed on the indulgence of this Society for the remarks I am about to offer.

Hánsí and *Hisár* are two conspicuous and contiguous places in the more remote geography of British India; being on our north-west frontier, touching the commencement of the Desert. ABUL FAZIL, in the Institutes, according to Akber's division, constitutes *Hisár Fírózeh* a subdivision of one of the twenty-two *Subahs*, or Satrapies, of the Empire. The great Emperor Firóz bestowed his own name on this subdivision, which, remote as it was, yet was embraced in his munificent designs for the prosperity of his subjects. The remains of one of his many canals, conducted from the *Jumna*, flowing past *Hisár*, are perfectly distinct; and the *Chutang* river is supposed to be a canal in all its extent. The recent re-opening of the grand canal excavated by this monarch, whereby not only the health and comfort of the great city of *Delhi* is secured, but irrigation afforded to an immense tract of country, is one of the most conspicuous works of national benefit, we have bestowed on our Indian subjects.

Firóz had intended this as a royal residence. The remains of the palace, within the fortress (or *Hisár*), the noble artificial lake into which the canal flowed, with the mausoleums on its banks, are sufficient evidence, that a great mind had there been exerting its action. The natural fertility of the soil is seen in the richness of its pastures, and even in its miniature forests of the grand shrub of the desert, the *Pílú*, an evergreen, if I err not, and in which the lion still finds shelter. To supply the deficiency of water, lying very deep from the surface, these canals were carried on by Firóz, who perhaps contemplated the junction, by these arms, of the waters of the *Jumna* and the *Setlej*, which I believe is not physically impracticable. In establishing *Hisár*, Firóz appears to have had in view the necessity of a more extensive post than *Hansí*, which the Hindus seemed to think the key to the capital of the empire, covering it in the line of the fords of the *Setlej* or *Garah*, by which invasion often came from the west, whether led by MAHMÚD, by SHAHABUDDIN, or by TIMÚR. *Hansí* is one hundred and twenty-six miles nearly W.N.W. from *Delhi*.

According to the Inscription, *Asi* is the proper name. It is a singular place; and if ever fire-worship had been prevalent on those plains, I would

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rather may it had the appearance of a grand fire-temple, than that of being intended for defence. It is in shape the frustrum of a pyramid, from eighty to one hundred feet in height, artificially raised: the exterior slope of each side (faced with brick) forming an angle of about seventy-two degrees with the horizon. Still the terre-pleine at top is considerable, and the palace of PRITHWIRAJA would have been standing to grace it, but for the guns of Mons. Perron, when he put a stop to the schemes of sovereignty of George Thomas, who had established his court in these "Halls of the Cæsars," now a heap of ruins. Nor are there any traces of those erected by KEDARA and HAMMIR, "in which they placed the spoils of the foe."

The Inscription, which I obtained through the kindness of my friend Colonel Skinner, had been saved from the general wreck of these *kulls*, by the materials being taken to erect a small Muslemán place of worship; and this slab was built into the wall in a reversed position. It was afterwards presented to the Marquis Hastings: but, as it reached this nobleman at a very busy period of his career, in 1818, I know not what became of it.

Of the precise import of the term *Asi*,* I am ignorant; but, most probably, it is derived from some ancient tribe now extinct. *Asura* was a very common termination of the names of the princes of the ancient dynasties of India, with probably similar import to that used by the Persian monarchs. The *Assacens* were a nation in the Indies, described by Alexander's historians.

Asigarh, or *Asirgarh*, is celebrated as the scene of contest between the Hindus and early Muhammedans. It was by this route, that most of SHAHÁBUDDIN's attempts were made to wrest the throne of *Hind* from the subject of the Inscription, PRITHWIRAJA; and often did the warriors of the mountains of *Cabul* find their graves before *Asi*. Even now it presents the appearance of a great sepulcure all around, but especially to the west. The route was by *Pacpattan*, the town of Purity, on the *Setlej*, to *Bhatnér* and *Fateh-abad*, to *Asi* and *Delhi*. It was by this route TIMÚR, in the very commencement of the ninth century of the *Hejira*, taking advantage of civil strife, entered India, when the last of the race of KHILJI filled the imperial throne.

The scope of the Inscription is to commemorate a victory obtained by

* *As* (with both vowels short) signifies a sword. *Asi* is a bow.—H.T.C.

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Prithwiraja over the race of *Doda*,* by his vassal chiefs Kelhan and Hamira, names of great celebrity in the contests of that period; and, as a text sufficient to expatiate on, is far beyond the limits which I must prescribe to myself in a paper of this kind, but they shall have some mention, after noticing the foe over whom, in consequence of being victorious, trophies were reared in the halls of *Asi*.

This tribe, *Doda*, with many others of more transcendant lustre, have long ceased to be conspicuous among the nations of *Hind*. Though it never produced independent sovereigns, yet it was a highly respected tribe, even on the invasion of Mahmud of *Ghazni*, and is noticed by the historians, both of the Court of *Nerwala* and of *Delhi*, as one of the thirty-six royal races of India. When the first grand calamity of foreign invasion occurred, involving spiritual as well as temporal change to the Princes of India, all rallied round what appears to have contained the palladium of their liberties and religion, *Chitór*. The *Doda*, from *Kasondi*, is mentioned among the princes who repaired to aid the descendant of Ramachandra on this occasion. But no such place of any consequence now exists, though there are several of the name in different parts of India, and one not a great way to the westward of *Ajamér*.

The race of *Cháhamana*, of which Prithwiraja was the head, as well as sovereign of India, is still one of the most distinguished of the thirty-six royal tribes of India: but to trace its origin satisfactorily, is a task of difficulty; though all the knowledge those belonging to it yet possess, either from books or tradition, is not unfamiliar to me. At what period the limit was fixed to *thirty-six*, or rather amplified to this number, we must also remain in ignorance; but a glimpse is to be obtained, through a long vista of obscurity, of a period when there were not more than six or eight grand races, the same number which, I believe, the Tartar and Chinese genealogists admit. The chief races are those termed *Surya* and *Chandra*, or the Sun and Moon, which probably at one period comprehended the whole, as the greater portion of the *thirty-six* are still resolvable into one or other of these, and have every claim to be termed the most ancient of those belonging to India. From these, however, the *Chahamana* is totally distinct, and, with three other very conspicuous races in the annals of India, the *Solanki*, the *Pramára*, and *Parihára*, form the *Agnicula*, or race produced from the

* Vulg. *Dóra*. [illegible]

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element of fire; as the others have, figuratively given to them, the greater luminous orbs for progenitors. Hereafter I may embody some distinct remarks on the martial races of India, and attempt an approach to the origin of some. It will involve some speculative notions, and without, perhaps, much solid foundation. The restless migratory hordes of Higher Asia, never found the *Attok* to be the Rubicon, which the more modern Hindu wished it to be considered, to keep him from the impure contact of the barbarian (*Mlech'ha*) to the westward, and the plains of *Hindust'hán* have been often trod by swarms of the same race, who deluged Europe under the names of Kimbri, Goths, Huns, Jats, &c. The colony of Getæ, or Juts, led by Odin into Scandinavia, gave their name, Jutland, to what is termed the Cimbric Chersonese. They were still celebrated as a nation in the time of Jangiz Khan, and even in that of Timúr, who carried on successive wars of extirpation against them. A grand colony of them, settled where the Malli opposed Alexander, contested Mahmúd of *Ghizni*, in a novel warfare on the waters of the Indus, but were slaughtered and driven across the *Setlej*. The *Getæ*, or *Juts*, have a place amongst the thirty-six races; and I have an Inscription, in an ancient character, recording the power of a *Jit* prince in the fifth century, his capital, *Sirpur*, doubtless that situated high in the *Punjab*, mentioned in the twelfth century as being amongst the conquests of Cumara-pala, of *Nehrwala Pattan*, and perhaps the *Syalcote* of our modern geography. What I mean to surmise is, that these, and many others of the tribes now assimilated as Hindus, have an appearance (from their manners and mythology, and the unsatisfactory details of their first appearance) foreign to the aboriginal inhabitants of the plains of India. The remark is more particularly extended to the peninsula of *Saurashtra*, which comprehends tribes, with every appearance (though for ages settled there) of foreign and of northerly origin.

Though the tribe, of which Prithwiraja was head, is classically written *Chahamana*, its invariable pronunciation by themselves is *Chahán*.* How-

* The orthography of names of persons and places, purporting to represent the pronunciation, is not uniform in manuscripts of the vernacular language. In the same copy of Chanda's poems, entitled *Prithwiraj Chhan-rás*, the hero's name is generally written Prathiraj, but sometimes Prithiraj; at other times Prithiraj, making, in the last instance, a near approach to the Sanscrit equivalent Prithwiraja. His family appellation is variously written, *Chhán*, *Chauhán*, *Chahmán*, or *Chahán*; the Sanscrit of which also varies, *Chahamana*, *Chahamana*,

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ever much of the Scythian they possess in their ancestry, it might be going rather too far to suppose them a ramification of the *Che-kee* dynasty of China, and one of the most powerful. According to De Guignes, they had penetrated into the Transoxiana, in the second century before Christ, nearly about the period that other tribes overturned the Bactrian kingdom. The Tartar tribe of *Yue-chi** (the Assacens of the Greek writers) is mentioned, in the Chinese histories, as having, after aiding in this event (the overthrow of the Bactrian kingdom) penetrated into India, and settled there in the second century before Christ. To these, De Guignes applies the term Indo-scythian. In the second century after Christ, Gibbon has recorded, from the same authorities, an invasion which even reached Guzzerat, and Cosmas is given as authority for another, in the sixth century. But we have inscriptions, decyphered by a learned member of this Society, which record the *Huns* having even penetrated to Bengal; and I have met with a remnant of them, under their pristine name of *Hún*, in my travels in Guzzerat.

De Guignes adds, that the *Yue-chi* were fixed in sovereignty, in the northern parts of India, touching the Thibet mountains, in the fifth century. The *Jit* of *Sawadra pur*, already mentioned, of whom I possess a memorial of this very period, may have affinity to this branch.

But it is not in mere name, that we are to trace resemblances, but in manners, and religious opinions.

The Hindu genealogist is inferior to none of the class on earth, in giving a "local habitation, and a name," to his kings, hierarchs, and heroes, and of the ancestry of the family under discussion, we have the staple of the chain of pedigree rivetted in the *Agnicunda*, or fire fountain, whence they sprung, on the summit of the Olympus of India, the celebrated *Abu*. I had the pleasure of visiting this classical spot in the mythology of both religions, where *Adindr'h* and *Adiswara*, *Rishabhadéva* and *Nandiswara*, have their primitive shrines, and their common origin in name, and in

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Chitturcote, or Chitterkote. The metropolis of his empire, likewise, is diversely spelt *Dilli, Dhil, Dilli, Dhilli, D'hilli, or D'hilli*. In short, consonants are interchanged, and vowels confounded not always by carelessness of transcribers for the exigence of the metre sometimes supports the variation. There is, consequently, much uncertainty in the proper orthography of names.—H. T. C.

* De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 169.

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symbols. The superior wealth of the ministers of the *Balhara* sovereigns (in whose territory *Á bú* was a tributary fief), following the *Jain* doctrines, has erected, in the splendour of the temples to *Rishabhadeva*, the simplicity of the shrine of Father Adam, as *Mahádeva* is often termed in these countries. He is here also worshipped as *Patáleswara*, or Lord of the Infernal Regions. There are no temples in India, which can for a moment compete with these, whether in costliness of materials, or in beauty of design.

The *Chohán* genealogist has chosen a most celebrated spot for his birth, and has invested it with all the interest of a classical originality. He was, with the three others, created for the express purpose of defending the religion of *Brahma*, when the *Daityas* rebelled and threw down the altars and statues of *Mahadeva*, and defiled the pit of sacrifice. This evidently alludes to a period when probably these two grand sects were contending for superiority: but unluckily we shall never learn who these *Daityas* were, or who the tribes, evidently only spiritually born again for the purpose of fighting the battles of the Brahminical sect. I placed myself on the top of the *Guru-sikhar*, or saint's pinnacle, the highest of all the numerous peaks of this curious mountain, "where European foot had never been," and but one gentleman besides myself has ever been on any part of *Á bú*. Here I had the pleasure, among other discoveries, to meet with some of the fruits of Europe, the nectarine, peach, and citron, indigenous on the mountain, upon the edge of the Indian desert, and on the very verge of the tropical zone. It was a place of wonders, independent of its temples, which, however fine and costly the fabric, were surpassed, in my ideas, as a lover of antiquity, by the gigantic temples of *Girnár*, constructed from the rock on which they stand, and supported by numerous columns of the same dusky granite and sienite.

The height of *Á bú* may be judged by the variation of temperature. In thirty-six hours I passed from that of 108° in the plains of *Marwár*, to 64° on the summit of *Á bú*, under a vertical sun. The barometer indicated a height of near five thousand feet above the sea.

Such is the first acknowledged seat of *Chohán* power, and the *Deóra* tribe, a branch of it, whose capital, *Saroví*, lies about eighteen miles north, has held the sovereignty of *Á bú* for about five hundred years. The *Chohánsána* possessions extended, at very early periods (and when Mahmúd visited India), on both sides of that stupendous chain of mountains, the

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Arabullah, dividing the rich lands of central, from the more sterile of western India, and serving as a great bulwark to the further drifting of the sands of the great desert.

From AGNI-PALA, the first *Châhamâna* (or him who was fostered, or reared by fire), we have a long list, to MANIKYA RAYA,* the sovereign of *Sâmbhur*, or *Sacambhari*, and of *Ajamer*, to whom is allotted the period of S. 740, or A.D. 693. Between AGNI-PALA and MANIKYA RAYA, we have a CHANDRAGUPTA, who would certainly answer much better, as far as locality, for the ally of SELEUCUS, than the monarch of *Raj-griha*, in Bengal. I have an inscription also of a CHANDRAGUPTA, styled *Aswa-Nâth*, or lord of *Ujjayan*, in a very ancient character, and given to me by one of the *Jain* hierarchs, bearing date 427, but whether of the *Hirula* or *Vicramaditya Samwat*, I can but surmise. With this exception, there is but one other name in the list, from AGNI-PALA to MANIKYA RAYA, of whose actions history has kept any record. This one is AJAYA-PALA, the reputed founder of *Ajamer*, or the hill of *Aja*, which interpreted, is a goat,† not the hill of *Ajaya*, victory, as its general acceptance would induce to believe. It is even said, that AJAYA PALA was posterior to MANIKYA RAYA, in whose time this celebrated fortress is called in their poetical legends, *Garh-Bitli*.

MANIKYA RAYA appears to have been one of the first who suffered, when, to use an Oriental metaphor, "the star of Islam first shone on the plains of Hind." Tradition has handed down a very bare outline of the event, and this by the bard, always more solicitous to amuse and surprise, than to instruct: but we have no other guide. He is our sole historian, and we are compelled to follow wherever he leads, though it is unnecessary to repeat all which he says. But even where reason is sacrificed to rhyme, we may be allowed sparingly to glean. This, the first invasion of India, is to be traced, at the same time, in the annals of *Meywar* at the period to which I have already alluded. Upon this invasion, *Garh-Bitli* was captured from the *Chohâns*. On this occasion LÓT, the infant heir of MANIKYA RAYA, was slain by an arrow, while playing on the battlements, and ever since, LÓT PUTRA has been worshipped amongst the penates of the *Châhans*: and,

* Generally written MANICKA RA'I. *Manicya*, in Sanscrit, is a ruby.—H. T. C.

† *Aja*, goat; and *mêr*, hill.—J. T.

Aja is in Sanscrit a goat: and *meru*, the sacred and central mountain of, or towards, the north pole, called *Sumêru*. *Jaya*, signifies *victory*, and *ajaya*, invincible.—H. T. C.

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as he wore a silver anklet at the time, when Hinduism received its first stab, the ornament is forbidden to all *Chóhan* children. The anecdote is in itself puerile, certainly, but to see the fact pursued through so many ages, marks strongly the impression which remained of a great event in their particular history, as well as in that of the nation at large.

Sámbhari was the earliest possession of the *Chohans*. The town stands not far from the celebrated salt lake of the same name, and which supplies a great part of India with salt, and forms a considerable branch of the revenue accruing to the prince in whose territory it lies. PRITHWIRAJA is called by CHAND to the very last, though enjoying the imperial sovereignty, the Prince of *Sámbhari*, "*Sámbhari-Rão.*"

Thirty years ago, when the knowledge of Indian antiquities was first disclosed by Sir William Jones, this distinguished character obtained inscriptions from the celebrated pillar, called *Firúz Lath*, in one of this monarch's palaces at Delhi, and had a transcript of it before the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was of PRITHWIRAJA, and dated only six years posterior to that on which I have been commenting. At this period he (PRITHWIRAJA) was in the very zenith of his power. Major Wilford also made comments on it, but not in a manner to elucidate the subject, indeed, the reverse; for, taking *Sacambhari* to be the *Cambhir*, or *Cambhernere* of *Mewar*, he transferred the actions of the *Chahamanas* to a distinct race. Mr Colebrooke, our Director, gave the most correct version, justly pronouncing *Sácambhari* to be *Sámbhar*. This pillar is mentioned by the bard CHAND, in his works, as the *Jai Khambha* (*Jaya-stambha*), or pillar of victory. But the many very ancient, and still undecyphered characters upon it, give the original erection of the pillar a very remote antiquity. It would be of the highest consequence could they be decyphered, they might, perhaps, have reference to the *Yadava* power, which possessed universal sovereignty, and whose capital cities were placed on the great rivers of India; and I discovered a rock, near *Junagark Girinár* (another great seat of this race), covered with the same characters, likewise a triumphal pillar, in a lake in *Meywár*.

There is another pillar, now prostrate, and in detached masses, with the same characters inscribed on it, to the N W side of the city of Delhi, and one on the site of the ancient Hindu fortress of *Hissar*, but without any

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. I. 270. 7—175 and 311 9—188 and 445.

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characters. Twenty years have elapsed since the march of events conducted British authority to Delhi; but nothing has been done to protect these prostrate monuments from further injury.

Sácambhari-Bhavani is the guardian goddess of the whole *Rajaput* race, yet more especially claimed by the *Cháhamánas*, though *Á'sa-purná* is their immediate patroness, and a most enchanting one to have, "Hope herself."

Sácambhari-Devi had her statue erected on a small island on the *Sar*, or salt lake, to which she gives her name, contracted to *Sámbhar*.

The derivation of the term, as I was led to believe, when the subject first engaged my attention, is, "the Mother of Verdure," from *sáca*, vegetable. But she had chosen too unpropitious a spot to admit its correctness, for the waters of this lake are deadly, as those of Asphaltites, to vegetable life. A more correct etymology is to be had, and which explains the title of this goddess to the general admiration of the *Rajaput* nation. *Sácambhari* is the universal mother of the *Sacæ* (*Sacæ*), a term in classical use amongst the *Cshatriya* races of the northwest of India, meaning distinctively the races. *Sac'ha* is a ramification, or branch:* "I am a *Sác'hi-land* Rajput, says the *Cshatriya* of *Rajast'hán*," that is, one who can trace the affiliation or pedigree of his race. May we not consider the Sacæ of Alexander to have the same signification?

The *Cháhamána* is right in considering *Sacambhari* as deserving more of his adoration than the more benignant deity, Hope; for no race of the sons of Adam is less indebted to *Á'sa-purná*† for "the fulfilment of their wishes," than these her votaries. A sketch of the reverses of the various *Sacæ* of this widely-extended name, would form a history, for their misfortunes were conspicuous, as their renown was splendid. No other of the martial races of India can fill more pages of its heroic history with deeds in arms. They still live in the songs of the bard, and furnish most interesting materials to the wandering minstrel, the *Dholi*, the Jongleur of India, who to the sound of his *dhuboli*, chants the exploits of Googa, who, with fifty sons and nephews, and all his clan, fell on the banks of the Indus, opposing Mahmúd; or those of the romantic Hamira, the theme of eternal plaudits,

* To this etymology it may be objected, that *Sa-ha*, a branch, is written with an aspirated guttural consonant and *Sacæ* in *Sácambhari*, without aspiration.—H. T. C.

† "The fulfiller of desire."

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whenever the *Rájput* instances the sacrifices, which the rights of sanctuary and hospitality demand.

Hammir Chahamana, Prince of *Run-tham-bhór*,* gave asylum to a noble of the great Alla-uddin, when disgraced by his sovereign. This sovereign, who assumed the name of Sikander Sani, or Second Alexander, and who scarcely yielded to him in the rapidity of his conquests, called on Hammir to surrender his suppliant, to whom he thus gives assurance of protection. "The sun will rise in the west—the sandal-tree be changed "into the thorny *Thúr*—the streams will cease to flow—*Sumeru* become "level with the earth—the pledge of Parasu-rama a bye-word, ere Ham-"mira fails in his faith. The walls of *Run-tham-bhór* shall fall, and my head "be crushed in their ruin, but, till these things occur, security is thine."

There are two works, very popular in the poetry of the Hindus, relative to the deeds of this prince—not the Hammir of our Inscription, as he lived a century earlier. These are the *Hammir-Rasa*, and the *Kúrya*, the last is the most esteemed performance, and was composed by the grandson of Chand, the friend and poet-laureate of Prat'hiraj. Hammir did fall in defending his guest, on which occasion the grand sacrifice of the *Jóhurd*† was performed, when all the females were immolated, and the males rushed on the destruction which they could not avert.

Alla-ud-din was the angel of destruction to every tribe in India, but especially to the race of *Chóhans*. During the twenty years (from A.D. 1295 to 1316) he swayed with most absolute power the sceptre, he almost extirpated these, the bravest of his foes. *Jukir*, *Sewana*, *Nadol*, *Ashr*, *Dellgur*, *Pawagurh*, *Gagraun*, all independent *Chóhan* principalities, and though last not least, *Run-tham-bhór*, each fell, and in turn was sacked by Alla.

He was detained, upwards of a year, before the last, from the great difficulty of approach; and it is considered still, in this point, the most inaccessible of the Indian fortresses, being situated in the middle of several ranges. In Ferishta's account of the siege, he mentions the death of one of Alla's generals by a stone thrown by a Balista (from the walls), which he terms *Mungunika*.

* Sometimes written *Run-t'humb-bhúmer*, which is nearer to the Sanscrit *Rana-stambha-bhu-mara*, the hero of the pillar of war.—H.T.C.

† Most commonly a grand funeral pyre, in which the whole are consumed.

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When captured at length, and the prince slain, the unfortunate Moghul chief, M. HAMMER, was brought wounded before ALLA. The King tauntingly asking how he would shew his gratitude, if he caused his wounds to be cured, was answered, in a spirit that showed how worthy he was of the protection which he had received, and which ended so fatally to his friend, "I would put you to death, and make the son of HAMMIR my sovereign."

In 1808 my travels led me by this famed place. I reached the gate of *Mádhópúr*, the fortified city in the mountains, through which a road leads to the fort, but was denied entrance. I marched, through a narrow valley, sixteen miles, between high perpendicular rocks, its breadth seldom, to my recollection, one hundred yards, and which merely brought me to another gate of *Mádhopúr*, three miles opposite the former. At the foot I ascended a rock, from which I was told I should have a view of the walls of the fortress, but was disappointed, and with difficulty descended. I then marched about eight miles to the westward of the hills, and had a sight view of merely the tops of the edifices of *Runthambhór*, which now belongs to *Jayapúr*.

In the most remote parts of India I have found traces of ALLA; and one inscription in Sanscrit, apparently set up at his command. He was one of the greatest of the sovereigns India ever had. He reduced every part of *Hindust'hán*, and while he was constantly engaged in repelling irruptions of the Moghuls, he cultivated, at the same time, the arts of peace. FERISHTA gives an outline of his administration of government, which was then consulted as the *Kanún Alái*.

There are metrical legends of the wars of ALLA with all those principalities, but this paper is already too prolonged to touch even on these. The *Haras*, the *Khichis* of central India, possess all the bravery of the *Chóhán* race, of which they are conspicuous branches; and HAMMIR, mentioned in our Inscription, as having, conjointly with KELHAN, overcome the foe of PRITHWIRAJA, was the great forefather of the *Hara* race, and is mentioned as such in their domestic annals, as well as in the works of CHAND. There are twenty-four ramifications (*sac'hás*), sects, or tribes of the *Chóhan* race, but several of them are now extinct, and others but little known. I possess, however, several memorials of them.

Those brilliant periods in their history, when petty isolated chieftains defied for a time the efforts of the Empire, are recorded, some of them in poems of merit, and are never-ending themes to the erratic scald of

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Rajmahal, though it requires some patience and enthusiasm to listen to the tale, and, from the Doric dialects, transfer any thing like the spirit of the originals into an European dress. I shall presume to embody a few passages from CHAND, which may be listened to from feelings of curiosity, and as belonging to the subject of our Inscription, PRITHWIRAJA.

VISALA DEVA, whose name appears on the pillar at Delhi, was his great grandfather, and lived at a most momentous period in Hindu history, when MAHMUD of *Ghizni*, with his legions from the north, carried his desolating visitations into the most remote part of India. The *Chahamana* annals record victories gained by VISALA DEVA over these his foes, in one of which he lost his life. FERISHTA tells us of the failure of MAHMUD in his attack on the citadel of *Ajamir*, in his route to *Somanat'h*. It may have been on some one of these occasions, that an addition was made to the various inscriptions on the pillar of Delhi, as a memorial of his having delivered *Aryavarte* from the barbarian. SARNGADEVA succeeded him, but he appears to have been driven from *Ajamer*. SOMESA, his son, was the father of PRITHWIRAJA, who was the first and last of the *Chahamana* race that enjoyed the sovereignty of Delhi. His ancestors, however powerful, appear to have become tributary, if not vassals, to the imperial dynasty of the *Tuars*. This (the *Tuar*) dynasty, descending from the ancient *Pandavas* of the *Mahabharata*, still enjoyed supreme power. SOMESA (*Chahamana*, and VIJAYA PAL (*Rhatore*) Prince of *Canouj* (*Canyacubja*, *Canauggia*), had each married a daughter of ANANGA-PAL, the *Tomara* sovereign, but had no male issue. SOMESA had supported the imperial throne, when shook by rebellion, headed by the chief of *Canouj*. This service, and the circumstance of his having married the favourite daughter, obtained for her son, PRITHWIRAJA, adoption to the *Tuar* family, and nomination to the succession, during ANANGA-PAL's life: and at this court he was brought up from infancy, while his father enjoyed his independent sovereignty, and continued to do so after his son's accession, who, at length, united both crowns. This is not the first instance, of what I may (to borrow an appropriate term) call the Salique law of India, being set aside, but the instances are rare. I at present recollect but two which are conspicuous: one was the succession of the *Solanki* successor to the *Chaora* dynasty of *Nehrwala-Pattan*, the other was the *Chahda* heir to the *Solanki*, in the same family. The female is never the medium of the transmission of honours amongst these martial races, though they pay her high deference and respect on all occasions.

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*Sálá** means sister's husband, in these regions. Whether the Franks, or Frisians, had as good a foundation for using the word, which denotes exclusion of female succession, might be doubted. The old German tribes had much in their mythology, manners, and institutions, analogous to these Sacæ of India.

Delhi had ceased to be an imperial residence, from the period of SANC'HANWALA of *Kemaon*, expelled by VICRAMADITYA, until the middle of the eighth century, when a remnant of the old *Pandava* line once more obtained this ancient seat of power, and a dynasty of twenty-one princes filled the throne, until ANUNGA PAL adopted his grand-child, the subject of our inscription.

SOMESA, during his son's minority, gained many victories over his foes; but was at length slain by the Prince of *Guzerat*, which entailed the feud on PRITHWIRAJA, ending in the death of his opponent, and in the annexation of several of his provinces to the empire.

The history of this feud forms one of the most interesting of all the sixty-nine books of the works of CHAND. each book is the subject of some great event in his sovereign's reign, to the last fatal battle, fought on the plains of the *Kaggar*.

It would occupy too much time, to give even an outline of the history of PRITHWIRAJA, following the guidance of this poem. It forms an useful history of the period, and contains much of geographical description. In this, every noble family of India can trace some of his ancestry, amidst the foes or warriors of PRITHWIRAJA. It becomes accordingly the grand volume of faith and knowledge, in every *Rajput's* hands; for he amongst them, who cannot quote CHAND on occasion, must be a dolt. The poem is the authority for every action of his life, and from which he may glean passages applicable to every transaction. The bard, in his introduction, gives the reader to understand and expect this. Grammar, the rules of composition, languages, religion, he promises a little of every thing.

That sort of *mauvaise honte*, which might prevent the modern bard from lauding his own skill, seems not to have been known to the scalds of old, whether of India, or their brethren of Scandinavia and CHAND attributes as supernatural, an effect to the power of his verses, as did the scald with his runes. "I have a song (says one of these) of such virtue, that, were "I caught in a storm, I can hush the winds, and render the air calm."

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* From the Sanscrit *Syala*.

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which is beautifully embodied by Gray (in his bards) from the Edda. So CHAND says, "My poem shall be a sea, and my verses, like waves, shall "course each other. It shall be an ocean, that I may enjoy the bliss of "knowledge. Whoever reads it, will find it to be as a vessel to cross him "over the difficulties of life. Its meaning lies not deeply concealed, nor "yet altogether displayed, but as water whose transparency is hid by the "sea-weed. My words I shall cull and place therein, but they shall be "as the necklace in the breast of bashful beauty, veiled to the sight." But we need not follow the strain of hyperbole of the poet, in lauding himself. He sometimes runs quite riot in the exuberance of his genius, and I recollect on one occasion, when almost raving, he checks himself, and asks in a very ingenuous manner, "but surely the bard has got intoxicated with his "own verses." CHAND also lays claim to prophetic powers: hence his title of *Tri-cala*.*

The actions of PRITHWIRAJA and his heroes, afford fine themes for the bard, for, in peace, this monarch was never idle, and always engaged in some pursuit which led to war: and in those days, when the princesses of India chose their own lords, there were abundant opportunities. The erratic bards made him the general theme of their songs; and his personal appearance and actions, were sounded at every court in India, and he became the beau ideal of every princess of the time. CHAND has embodied, or composed for her, the stanzas sent by the Princess of (*Canouggya, Canouj*, inviting him to come and bear her away from the princes assembled as suitors for her hand; and, in the true spirit of chivalry, he went and bore her off in open day, from her father's court, in the face of the whole of his rivals: but it caused ultimately his own destruction, and that of the monarch of *Canouggya*, though, as CHAND says, "it gained him "immortality in the song of the bard." At least five of his grand battles arose from similar daring acts. He married none of his many wives, whom he did not win by the sword. It was enough to hear of beauty being betrothed, to hazard every danger; and this barbaric chivalry obtained him abundance of support. These daring adventures gave him so much celebrity, that every young and valorous *Rajput* enrolled himself under the banners of PRITHWIRAJA. He had one hundred and eight great leaders, or *Sámants*, some of whom were independent, and many tributary princes.

* As. Res. ix. 77.

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Their names, their pedigrees, and their actions, are all touched on occasionally; nor is there a high family of *Rájwárá*, who cannot point out his ancestors in these volumes. The *Rájput* of the present day, or at least he who has not mixed much with the faithful, has lost none of the feelings of admiration for these actions. When this is the case, it is no longer a question if he could imitate them.

Six invasions by Shahábuddín occurred ere he succeeded. He had been often defeated, and twice taken prisoner, by the Hindu sovereign of Delhi, who, with all the lofty and blind arrogance of the *Rájput* character, set him at liberty. Chand records the terms of release, and the treaties concluded. But Prithwirája lost the chief of his warriors in the plains of *Canouqja*. Sixty-four of the hundred and eight *Sámants* were left dead, in different stages of a succession of battles, which continued from the scene of *enlèvement* to his own frontier. Each chief had the select of his clan for he carried her off in disguise, entering the court of her father, and witnessing all the nuptial preparations in the halls of *Canouqja*, as the attendant of his bard Chand. Prithwirája, on his return, became a slave to the fair, and neglected his government. Shahábuddín invaded him unprepared, and had reached the plains of the *Penjáb*, ere he would rouse himself from his voluptuous sloth; and the *Sultan* might have approached his capital, but for his brother-in law, Samarási of *Chitór*, who came to his aid, and gave up his life, and thirteen thousand of his kin and clan, in his defence. The last general battle was fought on the *Kaggar* river. The inferior forces of Prithwirája, after three days' incessant fighting, were cut to pieces, he himself made prisoner, and carried to *Ghizni*. Thither the bard, like Blondel in pursuit of Richard, followed his royal master, but it was to die with him. He tells us, that they tried to prevent his finding his sovereign; but "the music of his tongue overcame the resolves of the guar-"dian of the prison." But ere he enters, he very artfully introduces the royal captive, deprived of sight by the ferocious *Patán*, lamenting, in a fair strain of soliloquy, the fickleness of fortune, at the same time combining a rapid review of his own follies, which produced this reverse. The subject is good, and is magnificent in the original; nor can the sternest *Rájput* hear it without emotion, for the *Chóhán* sovereign is his model: and indeed the last book, as it records only misfortunes, he is not fond of reading. Prithwirája and the bard perished by their own hands, after causing the death of Shahábuddín.

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The *Rajput* princes of India have been, and still are, frequently poets themselves; resembling many of the princes of Europe about the same period, many of whom were no mean Troubadours. Cœur de Lion, who, with Blondel, bears some resemblance to the "*Long-armed Chéhán*"* and his faithful Chand, was no bad poet. Pratap Singh, Raja of *Bahawur*, was esteemed the first of the non-professional bards of his time. The great Akbar himself, partial to the Hindus and to their literature, was no mean artist in these matters; nor are there any who do not repeat, and few chiefs of intellect who do not compose, as occasion requires, *slócas* or stanzas. The present prince of *Meywár* has them ready for every occasion, and often makes and delivers very happy impromptus.

But it is not in these points alone, that similarity of character exists between the *Rajput* and the rude noble of the dark ages of Europe. The feudal law, which guided both, may be still traced, and several of its chief incidents, except such as disagree with their notions of delicacy, may still be found. But it is time to close these remarks, or I might venture to surmise, that the colony led by Odin into Scandinavia, termed the *Asi*, carried the superstitions, laws, and mythology of higher Asia with it. He, who will compare the heroic poetry of the martial *Rájputs* with the Scandinavian poetical relics, will observe the same imagery, a similar peopling of the celestial regions, the same incitements to glory, and similar rewards. *Odin's Valhalla* is not altogether so spiritual an abode as the *Súrálóka*, or Hindu hero's heaven, nor is the Scandian Hebe, who pours out the mead, so enchanting as the beauteous *Apsaras*, *Rembhá*, and *Meinaká*, though the *Celtarriya* would scarcely refuse the cup he prized so much on earth, from so fair a hand.

The martial *Rájput* would hunt the boar with him on earth, but his system is too refined to have such gross food in heaven. *Serimner*, who afforded perpetual repast to *Odin's* heroes, would have as little chance of admission into *Súrálóka*, as into the paradise of Muhammed. The *Valkyriar* or Destinies, sent by *Odin* to summon the heroes to *Valhalla*, are the twin sisters of the celestial *Apsaras*, who summon the warrior of *Hind* from the field of battle to the mansions of the sun. The Scandian messenger of heaven has more of the attributes of Pallas; the other, more of Venus.

* A necessary sign and qualification of a true hero must be long arms, according to the Hindu ordinances.

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She comes in a blaze of beauty, breathing perfumes, and covered with garlands of flowers, which she throws over, and weds, the hero of her choice, and carries him off in her embrace. The fatal sister of Scania, like the daughter of Jove, descends armed *cap-à-pied*. She is beautifully delineated by Herbert, in one of the most harmonious poems in our language, Helga.

Hialmar, relating to Orvarod his presentiments of approaching death in battle, says:

"I see the stern Valkyriur nigh,
"All arm'd, and pointing to the sky:
"Virgins of fate, that chuse the slain,
"They bid me hence to Odin's train."*

and the apotheosis, thus

"From the frail trunk of mortal clay
"His spirit soars to brighter day;
"And these resplendent Maids of war,
"Through misty regions of mid air,
"Where fleeting motions gleam and die,
"Guide him to where, with fixed eye,
"Odin," &c.

Odin's heroes, even in heaven, do not quit their terrestrial pursuits. They eat of the boar, quaff the mead, and bluster, and riot, as they did on earth.

The bard Chand makes his choosers of the slain to descend with great grace and fascination; and, though their agency is tangibly corporeal, and suitable to the notions of a race of warlike mortals, yet, as the warrior ascends in the celestial cars above mortality, he casts off its grossness, and in proportion to his having lived well, and died nobly, does he approach divinity. They have even grades of celestial felicity; and though Chand has not actually given us a topographical account of the different heroes' heavens, yet we see the gradation from *Indracunt'ha*, the paradise of Indra, which more accords with *Valhalla*, to the abode of the sun, the highest. Indeed, without any great straining of etymology, we might give a Sanscrit derivation of *Odin's* heaven.†

* Helga, canto vi.

† *Vala*, or *Bel*, is strength, whence the common term in Chand for a powerful warrior. *Bala* or

In *Vaicunt'ha*, choristers chaunt his praise; the *Apsaras* dance before him; and he eats from the fabulous *Calpa-vriksha*, which is in eternal fruition: nor is INDRA's heaven free from strife and battle. This is a more refined abode, perhaps, altogether, than *Odin's Valhalla* who however has another of a more exalted order, *Gank*, which is eternal, the other not.

The *Rajput* ascends from that, the most sensual, just described, to the most etherial, *Bhanulóca*, the mansion of the sun, reserved for those, who, to use the poet's words, "spurned life as a vain dream, and, through the "wave of battle, performed the pilgrimage of the sword."

In illustration of CHAND's mode of translating his heroes to heaven, I will give in his own words, as near as my very imperfect version will allow, the death of SULAKHA.

It is in the twenty-seventh book, called the Battle of the *Reve*, because fought on that stream, between PRITHWIRAJA and the King of *Ghizni*.

"The brother of JAIT lay slain in the field, SULAKHA, the seed of *Lakhan*. "Where he fell, MAHAMAYA herself descended and mingled in the fight, "uttering horrid shrieks. Innumerable vultures took flight from the field. "In her talons she bore the head of SULAKHA but the *Apsaras* descended "to seize it from the unclean. Her heart desired, but she obtained it not. "Where did it go? For SULAKHA will have no second birth. It caused "amazement to the gods, for he entered none of their abodes. He was "not seen in YAMA's realm, nor in the heaven of SIVA; nor in that of the "Moon, nor in *Brahma-pura*, nor in the abode of VISHNU. Where, then, "had he gone? To the realm of the Sun!

"The *Apsaras* in vain searched each part of the field. RAMBHA asked "MAINAKA, 'Why thus sad to-day?' 'This day,' said she, 'I expected "guests. I descended in my chariot. The field have I searched, but he, "whom my soul desires, is not to be found, therefore am I sad. Chiefs, "mighty warriors, strew the ground, who conquered victory at every step! "My feet are weary in tracing the paths in which fell the brave; but him "whom I seek, I cannot find.' 'Listen, oh sister,' said RAMBHA, 'He "who never bowed the head to a foe, will not be found in this field. To "convey hence the pure flame, the chariot of the planets descended. He "even avoided the heaven of BRAHMA and of SIVA, his frame has gone to

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or Vala, Bala or Hala, for the initial letters are permutable, is a hall, or abode, thus *Valhalla*, the heroes' abode.

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" be united to the Sun, to be worshipped by INDRANÍ. On earth he will " know no second birth.' "

This was one of the occasions when the sultan was made prisoner. The battle was long and bloody, and many chiefs of the Hindus fell that day. The poet brings the whole of the persons of the drama forward on this occasion, celestial and terrestrial.

He talks of the " crescent array" of the *Chákdas*, and names the commanders of the wings and main body, while the sultan moved in five deep columns.

" As he beheld the red colour of the blood-stained field, BHAIRAVA (the " God of War) danced to the cymbal, beat by the fifty-two of his train. " Above, NÁREDA sounds his lyre. The heavenly *Apsaras* sing. The " *Déwáls* dance with delight at the deeds of the men below. Such the " feats of the heroes of *Gur* and *Sámbhari's* Lord. Their uplifted swords, " swimming in the air, form halos. Mighty chiefs lie on the field, their " bodies floating in the wave of the steel."

In raising the mansion of the Sun above the other abodes, we have some additional reason for surmising a Scythian origin to the *Rájput* race. Absorption in the solar orb, the great God of the Scythians, was the supreme wish. Their general rites, also, have a strong analogy to those, as well as of *Odin's* sons. Herodotus informs us, that the wives, arms, and horses of the Scythian or Gete warrior, were a sacrifice with him, that he might enjoy them in the next world. The same description will nearly answer for the funeral rites of the three countries. Those of the Prince of *Údeyapur* might have been worked into Gibbon's animated description of Alaric's funeral, or might have supplied Mr. Herbert with his description of the bier of Hialmar.

It was in 1818 this prince's obsequies were celebrated. He was carried to " the place of great sacrifice," on a travelling throne, on which he was seated, dressed and armed as when in the vigour of life, the heron's plume adorned his turban, his shield on his shoulder, and brand in hand. On either side of the regal bier rode, on his chargers, richly caparisoned, his three young wives, and a favourite concubine, all under nineteen years of age, their fine countenances, this their last day on earth, unveiled to the gaze of the multitude, who saw them, with sentiments of admiration, respect, and pity, about to offer themselves voluntary and expiatory sacrifices for their deceased lord, to enjoy his society in the regions above. The chiefs headed the procession, unarmed, and on foot.

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Herbert's description of Hialmar's funeral, will suit exactly the young Prince of *Udeyapura*.

" On a rich pall the chief is laid,
" Clad in bright steel, with helmed head,
" The iron gauntlet in his hand,
" And in its grasp the elfin brand;
" He seems like living there to lie,
" Save the wan cheek and rayless eye."

These remarks were unintentionally and incidentally brought in. Our *Ajaigarh* reminded me of the *Asgard*, the first city which the *Asi*, under *Odin*, had, and Chand's mythology has long suggested the ideas of comparison, independent of many other fancies, which afford some proofs, tending to show a common Scythian origin of *Odin's* colony, and of some, at least, of the martial races of India. Our Saxon ancestry brought customs with them into Britain, which belong to the East. But after all, if these be only coincidences, it may not be uninteresting to remark the same train of mind in countries so widely different, as Scandinavia and the banks of the Indus.

But it is time to close these remarks. I will take the liberty of doing so in the words of the son and successor of Chand, and with which the work closes, the sack of Delhi, and death of Prince Raina-si, the son of Prithwirája.

" Glory to Prithwiraja! Renown to the *Chohan*! Renown to Prince " Raina-si, who gave his head for the land, watered with his blood. Un- " fading be the wreath of praise. He, whose wisdom is blind, cannot un- " derstand this story. Should princes not reward you* in reading it, " murmur not, Hinoolaj† will reward you. To hear the renown of " Prithwiraja, the jackall would assume the part of the lion. To hear " the renown of Prithwiraja, the miser would unlock his stores. To " hear the renown of Prithwiraja, the dumb would shake his head in " delight, for its relation is a sea of virtues. The ignorant, on hearing it, " will become stored with wisdom. In hearing it, the coward will become " a hero. It is not the bard who says this, it is Saraswati herself‡ for " Umá delights to hear it, and the lord of the lyre§ dwells in its praise.

* Addressed to his brother, and future bards.
† The patroness of bards.
‡ One of the many names of Durga.
§ Maha.

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" The ills of life it can remove, it will remove even your foe. It can " bestow offspring and riches; and, though death it cannot remove, it can " cause it to be envied."

Substance of an Inscription in Sanscrit on a Stone, from the Ruins of the Palace of PRITHWIRAJA, *at A'su* (*vulgarly Hansi*).

After salutation to DEVI, and an invocation [comprised in one stanza] to MURARI, or CAÏSHNA, it recites, that " PRITHWIRAJA, sprung of the race of *Cháhamána*, was sovereign of the earth (*Mahi-pati*). The brother of his mother was KILHANA, of the *Grahilote* race, a glorious warrior, skilful in archery, and replete with good qualities (profundity, liberality, and beauteousness) as the ocean with gems.

" Considering the valiant HAMMIRA to be, as it were, the pivot of the whole earth, the prince [a string of epithets in the king's praise], pleased with his various good qualities, bestowed on him the strong fortress of *A'su*.

" In that fortress is a gateway of noble architecture, constructed by KILHANA, and, corresponding with it, two extensive apartments, and eastward of it two halls: the victorious treasury of the foe's wealth, and his own abode."

The inscription proceeds, through six more stanzas, to laud PRITHWIRAJA, KILHANA, and HAMMIRA, in a strain of hyperbole, in the course of which there is mention of the DODA race, and it concludes with the date *Samvat* 1224, *Mágha*, light-half, 7th

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X. *Analytical Account of the Panchá Tantra, illustrated with occasional Translations. By Horace Hayman Wilson, Esq. M.R.A.S., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

Read June 5, 1824.

" As the active world is inferior to the rational soul, so Fiction gives to mankind what History denies, and in some measure satisfies the mind with shadows, when it cannot enjoy the substance."—Lord Bacon.

What the profound observer, quoted above, pronounced generally of fiction, is peculiarly pertinent, when applied to the Hindus. The history of their progress, in the arts of civilized life, is so clouded with mythology, and overcast by time, that our efforts to penetrate the obscurity, have been hitherto of little avail. As the mind, therefore, has little substantial gratification to expect, from this branch of intellectual enjoyment, it may be permitted to indulge in the shadows, that are abundantly presented, and dwell with more interest, than the subject would otherwise excite, on the copious materials afforded by the mass of Hindu fable, within its reach.

The elucidation, which such an inquiry promises to afford of the past manners of the Hindus, before they were metamorphosed, and degraded by the influence of foreign subjugation, constitutes an advantage of more than imaginary value. We see what they were, more distinctly, than through the medium of any general description, and can trust to their own pictures of themselves, more confidently, than to any crude and imperfect exhibitions, delineated from present experience, or circumscribed research. In this point of view, therefore, Hindu fable becomes a valuable accession to real knowledge, and serviceably supplies that want of sober history, which all Oriental inquirers have such perpetual occasion to lament.

It is not only with respect to themselves, however, that the fictions of the Hindus are calculated to add to our stock of knowledge; and the influence, which they have exercised on the state of manners in Europe, will only be duly appreciated, when we shall be better acquainted with the extent of the obligations we owe them. By whatever channel they may have been conveyed to the West, the Oriental origin of most of the tales, which first

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roused the inventive faculties of our ancestors, is universally admitted; and the advocates of the Gothic or Arabic origin of romance, agree in referring its birth-place to the East.

It is now too late to inquire, whether we are to consider Persia as the birth-place of fictitious narrative for, if such narrative was cultivated there, it must have been clad in the *Pehlevi* language, and both body and dress are irrecoverably lost. We must, therefore, be content to admit the claims of the Hindus, amongst whom we may trace the original of much that has interested, and amused, our forefathers and ourselves.

The oldest collection of fables and tales, of the class here intended, is the work that passes by the title of the Fables of *Bidpai*, or *Pilpay*. The history of this work is too well known to require any elucidation. Mr Wilkins, and Sir William Jones, brought to light its original, from amongst the hidden stores of Sanscrit literature, and Mr. Colebrooke gave the text itself of the *Hitópadesa* to the public. The learning and industry of the Baron de Sacy have finally traced the work through all its stages, and there are few subjects of investigation, the history of which has been more successfully ascertained, than the Bibliographical adventures of the salutary instructions of *Vishnusarma*, or *Fables of Pilpay*.

Although the stories of the *Hitópadésa* are undoubtedly identical with most of those, which are found in all the forms of Pilpay's fables, yet it has been clearly shown by Mr Colebrooke, that it is not the source from which its successors have been directly derived. It is, in fact, itself but a scion of the same parent stock, and in common with the rest, originates, as it indeed admits, from an older collection, the *Pancha Tantra*. The text of this work is not very rare in India, and it were therefore to have been wished, that it had been selected for translation, in preference to the *Hitopadésa*, but the opportunity has passed. The identity of the two works, for the greater part, renders the translation of both, a work of supererogation and, fully as the topic has been developed, it is likely that a main defect will long continue to mutilate it, at the very outset. The deficiency has, in some measure, been supplied by the sketch, given by Mr Colebrooke, of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra*, but, as his chief object was only to substantiate the greater affinity between it and the *Kalila Damna*, than between the Arabic work and the *Hitópadésa*, he has not prosecuted its details farther than was sufficient to effect his purpose. In the want, therefore, of a full analysis, and in

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the little likelihood that exists, of a translation of the entire work being now published, it has been presumed that a more minute account of the *Pancha Tantra*, than has yet been given to the world, will not be an unacceptable communication to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

In offering a detail of the contents of the *Pancha Tantra*, it was of course desirable to collate them with those of the *Hitopadéśa*, and *Kalila Damana*, which has been accordingly effected, and to relieve the dryness of analytical detail, as well as to convey an idea of the merits of the composition, it has been thought advisable to introduce translations of a number of the stories. Some affinities have also been pointed out between the narratives of the *Pancha Tantra*, and those met with in popular works in Europe, but the want of access to books has necessarily limited this part of the inquiry. Some illustrations of national or literary peculiarities have also been occasionally, but sparingly, added, lest the paper should be rendered too voluminous, and under the impression that many members of the Society are better able to appreciate the extent to which such illustrations may be needed, and better qualified to supply them.

The *Pancha Tantra* is so called from its being divided into five *Tantras*, or sections, and is referred to under that name, in the *Hitopadéśa*. It is better known, however, in common speech, by the denomination of *Panchópákhyána*, which may be rendered the "Five (collections of) Stories," and under this appellation, the work may be met with, in most parts of India.

The ensuing analysis is founded upon an examination of three copies of the work, one of which was procured in Calcutta, the others, in Benares. These copies agree in all essential points, although they present, abundantly, the variations to be expected in compilations of such a character, where stanzas, and even stories, are often omitted or inserted, at the pleasure of the transcriber.

The invocation, with which, like all *Hindu* works, the *Pancha Tantra* commences, differs very importantly from that of the *Hitópadéśa*. In the latter work, it is addressed to Śiva, in the former to Sarasvatí. One manuscript, indeed, calls upon all the *Hindu Pantheon*, on Brahmá, Rudra, Kumára, Hari, Indra, Yama, &c. &c., the elements, the planets, the *Munis*, *Rishis*, and all the other objects of Hindu reverence, to be propitious to the reader, but this is a solitary reading, and a probable interpolation. The homage to Sarasvatí is followed by a tribute of respect to the authors of ethical compositions, of whom are named, Manu, Vácha-

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spati, Uśanas (Sucra), Parásara, Vyasa, and Chanakya.* It is then stated, that Vishńu Sarma, having extracted the essence of all the most celebrated works of this class, composed the *Nîti*† *Sástra*, in five Tantras, or chapters. We are then introduced to the frame work of the whole, the education of the King's sons by Vishnu Sarma, on which occasion the apologues were composed. This is introduced in the *Hitopadésa*, but with some variations; and, as it affords an example of the concurrences and disagreements of the two collections, I shall give it at length from the *Pancha Tantra*.

"There is a city in the Southern country, named *Mahilaropyam*, the king of which, learned, munificent, distinguished among princes and scholars, was named Amara Sacti. He had three sons, youths of no capacity, nor diligence. Vasu Sacti, Bhadra Sacti,‡ and Ananta Sacti. Observing them averse from study, the king called his counsellors, and said to them, "you are aware that my sons are little inclined to application, and incapable of reflection. When I contemplate them, my kingdom is full of thorns, and yields me no pleasure. It is said by the wise, 'Better is a son unborn, better is a dead son, than one who is a fool. The first may cause affliction for a little while, but a fool, as long as life endures.' Again, 'of what use is a cow who has no milk with her calf, of what use is a son who has neither knowledge, nor virtue? Better it is, that a wife be barren, that she bear daughters or dead children, and that the family

* Authors of very different character. The first is the Legislator, whose code has been rendered into English by Sir William Jones. The works of Vachaspati, the teacher of the Gods, and of Sucra, the preceptor of the *Daityas*, Titans, have not, it is believed, been found on earth.* Parásara, the father of Vyasa, is the reputed author of an institute of laws, and the chief interlocutor of the *Vishńu Puráńa*. To Chanakya is ascribed a treatise on *Niti*, regal polity, which, though no longer met with, is cited by authors of some antiquity, as Dandi, in the *Dasa Kumára*. Chanakya was the minister of Chandragupta, and the chief agent in his elevation to the throne of *Magadha*.

† Sir Wm. Jones translated the term *Niti* by Ethics, and he has been followed by all Sanscrit scholars, in the interpretation. This is not, however, the precise import of the term. As applied to a class of writings, or division of science, it would be, more correctly polity, the art of regal administration, both in peace and war, including the moral, as well as political, obligations of a sovereign.

‡ In some copies, Ugra-sacti.—H.T.C.

* Vachaspati is the same with Vrihaspati, as Usanas is identified with Sucra. Institutes of law, ascribed to Vrihaspati and to Usanas, are extant.—H.T.C.

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become extinct, than that a son, endowed with your form, wealth, and family-credit, should want understanding.' If, therefore, by any means their minds can be roused, do you declare it." On this, a counsellor replied' "Prince, the study of grammar alone is the work of twelve years, how then is a knowledge of *Dharma*, *Art'ha*, *Kama*, and *Moksha*,* to be speedily conveyed?" Another counsellor, named SUMATI, observed, "Prince, the powers of man are limited by his transitory existence, but to acquire a knowledge of language alone, demands much time. It is better that we think of some means of communicating the substance of each science, in a compendious form; as it is said, 'The *Sabda Sastra* (Philology) is a boundless ocean. life is short, and the difficulties are many, the essence, therefore, is to be taken, as the swan extracts the milk from the water.'† There is a Brahman, named VISHNU SARMÁ, celebrated for his perfect acquisition of the sciences. To him entrust your sons, and he will render them well informed." On hearing this, the king sent for VISHNU SARMÁ, and addressed him, "Venerable *Brahman*, confer a favour upon me, by instructing these princes in polite literature, and rendering them superior to the youths, their companions; in recompense of which, I promise you lands of large extent." VISHNU SARMA replied, "Hear, O king, my words. I am not a retailer of knowledge for lands and wealth; but if I do not instruct your sons in the *Nati Sastra*, I will forego my own name. There is no need to say more. I do not utter this vaunt, through any desire of wealth, for wealth is useless to any one whose passions are mortified, and subdued: I wish but to gratify you, and to do the will of SARASWATI. Let it be written, therefore, that if, in six months from this day, I do not make the princes more proficient than many people, in various branches of knowledge, it shall not be allowed to me, a *Brahman*, to point out the way of God." The king, highly gratified by this assurance, delivered his sons to

* The four objects or occupations of human life: Duty, Wealth, Desire, and Final Liberation.

† This is a popular notion among the Hindus, originating, probably, in the colour of the bird.‡

‡ Or rather, because the bird earns, as the Hindus apprehend, to extract his food, by suction, from solution in water, wherefore, a bird of this genus is considered to be an emblem of discrimination, as being capable of separating milk from water.—H. T. C.

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him, and retired; and VISHNU SARMÁ, taking the princes with him, repaired to his own house, where, for their instruction, he composed these five chapters—*Mitra bheda*, dissension of friends, *Mitra prápti*, acquisition of friends, *Kákolúkíya*, inveterate enmity, *Labdha prasamana*, loss of advantage, *Aparikshita cáritwa*, inconsiderateness. Reading these, the princes were, in six months, highly accomplished, and the five Tantras became famous throughout the world. Whosoever reads this work, acquires the whole *Nîti Sástra*, and will never be overthrown by INDRA himself."

The commencement of the *Pancha Tantra*, which is thus given, differs materially, in some respects, from the *Hitopadesa*, of which the *Mitrabhéda*, or acquisition of friends, constitutes the first, and the *Mitra bheda*, or dissension of friends, the second book. The arrangement of the *Pancha Tantra* is, no doubt, the original, as the same is observed in the *Kalila Damana of* ABDALLAH MOKAFFAH, exclusive of the avowedly additional prolegomena. It may here also be observed, that in the large collection of stories, made by *Séma-déva* in the eleventh century, and usually known as the *Vrihat Kat'hi*, we have a chapter appropriated to the same stories, that occur in this section of the *Pancha Tantra*, following nearly the same order. I shall, therefore, refer occasionally to this series, also in my remarks; and shall here state, that it begins in the same manner as the *Pancha Tantra*, and its Arabic translation, with the journey of the merchant, and his abandonment of his ox, *Sanjívaka*, in the forests, on the borders of the Jumna.

Many varieties of minor importance occur in this part of the story, not only as related in the *Hitopadesa*, but as told in different copies of the *Pancha Tantra*. They are, however, of no consequence. It is only worth while to observe, that the different copies of the latter agree in naming *Mahilárópya*,* as not only the residence of AMARA SAKTI, but as the city whence the merchant departs. One manuscript has a laboured description the splendour and strength of the town. Now, in general, in both the *Pancha Tantra* and the *Hitopadesa*, the places named are real,† and there seems every reason, therefore, to conclude, that *Mahilaropya* was a city, in the south of

* In some copies the name is written *Mahilárópya*.—H. T. C.

† So Agnolo Firenzuolo, the Florentine translator, has laid the scenes of the several narratives in various real localities, transferred to Italy.

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India, of some celebrity, when these stories were first composed. We need not be much at a loss for its identification, as the name approaches sufficiently to *Mahilapur*, *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé, where our own records indicate a city of some consequence, in the beginning of the Christian era, as the scene of the labours and martyrdom of St. Thomas, occurrences very far from invalidated by any arguments, yet adduced against the truth of the tradition. The *Hitopadesa* changes the residence of the King to *Pataliputra*, on the Ganges, and although it leaves the merchant's residence in the south, it alters the name to *Suvernavati*, that is, the "Golden." Hamilton calls St Thomé, *Mailapur*, "The City of the Peacock," and the import of *Maila*, in the Tamul language, is a Peacock, whilst *pur* is the ordinary *Sanscrit* addition, signifying town. There is no good authority, however, for supposing this to be the original designation of *Meliapur*, and it may be only a vernacular modification of the name, whilst *Mahilaropya* furnishes a much nearer approximation to the *Maiarpha* of Ptolemy, which has been hitherto supposed the same with *Meliapur*, or St. Thomé.

The name of the ox that falls, and is left behind, is in all the books, *Sanjivaka*, whence the Arabic *Shanzebeh*; those of the jackals, *Karataka* and *Damanaka*, altered to *Kalila* and *Damana*. The lion is uniformly termed in the Sanscrit *Pingalaka*, the Arabic leaves him unnamed.

The first story, in all the *Hindu* books is, "the monkey and the timber." It is the second, in the Arabic. The story of "the man, who could not avoid his destiny," related by the merchant's servant, is an addition; being, however, grafted upon a verse, in the original, which inculcates the irresistible force of fate. "What fate protects, is safe, though it be unwatched, and that which is guarded with the greatest precaution, if destiny defend it not, will surely be destroyed. One who is left without a guardian, in a forest, shall escape with life, whilst another perishes in the house, and in spite of every care."

There is a very great variety in the different manuscripts, in the passages that follow. The *Hitopadesa* has also the story of "the Dog and the Ass," which is not found in the *Pancha Tantra*, *Kalila-Damana*, or *Vrihat Katha*, the next story, in all these three, being "the Fox and Drum," which the *Hitopadésa* omits.

The *Hitopadésa* has again the story of "the Cat and the Lion," in which it differs from all the rest, whilst the *Pancha Tantra* has the story of "*Dantila*, a merchant of *Vardhamana*," which does not occur in the Arabic. The

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merchant incurs the displeasure of the sweeper of the palace; who in revenge, mutters insinuations against his character, for the king to overhear. When questioned further, he pretends not to know what he has uttered, and to have talked in his sleep. The insinuations, however, produce their effect. When the merchant has discovered the cause of his disgrace, and reconciled the menial, *Gorabha*, the latter takes an opportunity of venting an insinuation against the king himself, so wholly absurd, that the prince is convinced, his servant prattles unmeaningly, and he acknowledges the merchant's innocence. The object of this story is to shew, that the meanest individuals, about the person of a prince, are not to be offended with impunity.

The story of "the goblin, *Ghantakarna*," is peculiar to the *Hitópadésa*. That of "*Kandarpaketu*," agrees in the general course, although not in the first part, with the adventures of "*Deva Sarma*," in the *Pancha Tantra*, which latter is precisely followed in the story of the *Nanka*, or religious man, in the *Kalila Damana*, and *Tahul*, in the *Anvari Soheili*. One of the incidents of this story has attracted extraordinary admiration, if we may judge by the endlessly varied copies, and modifications of it, which have appeared in the East, and in the West: the loss of her nose by the confidante, and its supposed recovery by the intriguante, for whom she had been substituted, affording a miraculous proof of the wife's innocence, imposing upon her husband, has been retold in a vast number of ways. It is repeated, with different degrees of modification, in the "Roman and Turkish Tales," in the "Decameron of Boccacio," "The *Novelle* of Malespini," "The *Cent Nouvelles*," "The *Cheveux Coupés*," a fabliau, by Guerin, in the "*Contes* of La Fontaine," in the "Women pleased, of Beaumont and Fletcher," and in "The Guardian of Massinger." The story itself, as told in the *Hitopadésa*, has been versified by Hoppner, and, as narrated in the *Anvari Soheili*, it has been rendered into English verse, by Atkinson.

The next story, in the *Pancha Tantra*, is omitted in all the works, derived from this original. It is, however, a well known story, being the same as *Malak* and *Shirin* in the Persian Tales, and the Labourer and Flying Car in the additional stories from the Arabian Nights. It is also narrated, with some variation, in the *Vetala Katha*. The Mohammedan contrivance of a box, and the personification of Mahummed, are rather clumsy substitutes for the fiction of the original, in which the adventurer, in love with a princess, personates *Vishnu*, and rides on a wooden representation of *Garuda*

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guided by a pin, and moving by magic, the prototype of the flying steed of Magellan; "the wondrous horse of brass, on which the Tartar king did ride," and other self-moving machines of celebrity, in oriental and chivalric romance.

The story of "the *Gópi* and her two lovers," is here peculiar to the *Hitópadésa*, but it is familiar to European story-telling. It is the third of the three fabliaux, De la Mauvaise Femme, and occurs in Le Roman des Sept Sages, and the Novelle of Bandello, Boccacio, Sansovino, and other similar collections.

The next story of "The Two Crows," is common to all the collections, as is that, interwoven with it, of "The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab." This portion of the original has been made great use of by the author of the *Bahar Danush*, who has compiled his story of "The Mouse and Prince of Ghilan," almost wholly of extracts from the *Pancha Tantra*. This portion of the latter work contains a quotation of some interest, in the literary history of the Hindus. It is a passage from the astronomical writings of VARAHAMIHIRA, and occurs, without variation, in the two best manuscripts of the original. This citation is justly considered, by Mr Colebrooke, as a proof of the astronomer's priority to the composition of the *Pancha Tantra*, and a satisfactory corroboration of other arguments, favourable to his existence, at the time usually assigned to him, in the fifth century of the Christian era.*

A striking proof occurs here, also, of the more exact correspondence between the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana*, than between the latter and *Hitópadésa*. In the story of "The Two Crows," the interwoven story in both the former works, is that of "The Crane, or Swan, killed by the Crab;" and it is not till the apologue of the Crows is closed, that the "Lion led into a Snare by the Hare," occurs. In the *Hitópadésa* the first is omitted, and the second put in its place, and instead of a Hare, the beguiler of the forest monarch, is an old Stag. The story of "The Crab and (*Jara*) Crane," is not found in the *Hitopadesa* earlier than the last section, or *Sandhi*, to which several of the fables, belonging to this part of the *Pancha Tantra*, are transferred.

The next story, "The Flea, the Bug, and the King," is omitted from the *Hitópadésa*. It occurs in the *Kalila Damana*, but not exactly in the same

* As. Res. IX. 364, and Hindu Algebra, Introd. Also Preface to Sanscrit Dictionary, xiv

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order. The adventures of the Jackall, who falls into the dyer's vat, are not given in the Arabic version. They are told in the *Hitopadésa*, but in a different section, that of *Vigruha*, or war. They are also copied in the *Bahar Danish*.

The next story of "The Lion with his three Ministers (the Tiger, Crow, and Jackall), and the Camel," whom they ensnare and destroy, holds the same place in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is briefly told in the *Hitopadésa*, but in the *Sand'hi* section, or Chapter on Peace.

The ensuing story of the *Tittibha* occurs in all the three works, in the same place, but there is a great difference in its internal arrangements. In the *Hitopadésa*, it includes no other apologue whatever, in the *Kalila Damana*, only one, "The Tortoise and the Geese," in the *Pancha Tantra*, it comprehends five. "The Tortoise and the Geese," "The three Fishes," "The Elephant, destroyed by the Sparrow, the Woodpecker, the Fly, and the Frog," "The Swan, creeping Plant, and Fowler," and "The Ram killed by the Lion." In the *Kalila Damana*, the first, as observed, occurs in the same place, the second somewhat earlier, and the other three are omitted.*

In the *Hitopadésa*, the two first occur in the fourth section, the other three are wanting.

The story of the *Tittibha*, or *Titavá*, is one of the decisive proofs of the Indian origin of these fables. The personified ocean, or *Varuna*, and *Garuda*, the bird of *Vishnu*, are inadequately represented by the *Lamt al Bahr* and the *Anka*, the king and lord of the feathered race. But the name of the bird is alone sufficient. The *Tittwe*, although it is found in the Arabic lexicons, and is said to be a species of the *Katá*,† has very little appearance of an Arabic term, nor can it be resolved to any satisfactory root. It is, therefore, probably only a transcript of the Sanscrit *Tittibha*, Bengali *Titibh*, and Hindi *Tit'hiri*, the names, throughout India, for a kind of Sand-

* They appear to have been wanting in Mr. Sotheby's copy of the *Pancha Tantra*.—H. T. C.

† The *Katá* is described as a bird frequenting watery places. Golius and Meninski explain (the) *Kata* avis columbæ similis magnitudine et formâ, quæ gregatim volat et e longinquo aquam petere novit vocem katâ edens unde et nomen. There are said also to be two kinds, one much larger than the other. Burckhardt, in his Travels in Syria, calls the *Kattá* a species of partridge, and mentions their being met with in the mountains of Belka, Kerak, Djebel, and Thera, in such flocks, that the Arab boys often kill two or three at a time, by throwing a stick at them. The *Tittibha* is encountered in numerous books, but is in size unlike either a pigeon or a partridge, and is a very different bird.

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piper,* very numerous on the sandy banks and shores of rivers. The strutting gait of this bird is supposed, universally, to indicate his inordinate conceit; and thence the appropriate selection of him, in the story, as defying the sea. This characteristic is so commonly attributed to the *Tittibha*, that it is proverbially said to sleep on its back, with its legs upwards, to prevent the sky from falling.

This section of the *Hitópadesa*, or *Mitra Bheda*, contains no more apologues, but follows that of The Birds and Sea, with the engagement between the Lion and the Bull, and the death of the latter. In the *Pancha Tantra*, the *Kalila Damana*, and *Vrihat Kat'ha*, the Jackalls converse together, during the contest, and narrate several stories. The first, in the former work, is that of the Lion tricked out of the Camel's flesh by the Jackall, which is not related in any of the rest, being very like that of The Lion, his Ministers, and the Camel, noticed above.

A small cluster of stories occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, which are all omitted in the other works. They are peculiarly *Hindu*, and, as novelties affording some relief to the dry detail hitherto pursued, we shall translate them.

"In *Ayód'hya*, the capital of *Kosala*,† reigned a monarch of great splendour and power, named Purushóttama. On one occasion, the Governor of the Forests came and announced to him, that the wood-land chiefs were all in a state of rebellion, instigated and headed by Vishnyasa, the Raja of the *Andhras*‡ hills. The king sent his chief minister Balabhadra, to quell the rebels.

"When Balabhadra was gone, there came to the capital, at the close of the rains, a *Sramanaka*,§ or mendicant of the *Baudd'ha* religion, who, by his skill in divination, his knowledge of hours, omens, aspects, and ascensions, his dexterity in solving numbers, answering questions, and detect-

* The *Tuhárí* or *Tuttírí* (Sanse. *Tittibha*) is a Jacana, the Parra Gœnsis of Gmelin, or Tringa Gœnsis of Latham. See Asiat. Diet. p. 125, and Hunter's Hind. Diet. 514.—H. T. C.

† The province of Oude and its capital, the modern Fyzabad, is usually identified with the ancient city, in popular belief.

‡ The authority of the *Kósala* monarch appears to have extended much beyond the limits of the modern province of Oude: an inscription found at *Ratnapur* in the *Chatis-ghar* district, dated *Saliváhana* 784, or A.D. 850, states that province to be dependent upon the sovereign of *Kósala*.

§ From subsequent passages, however, it appears that the usual confusion of *Baudd'ha* and *Jaina* occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*; and that, in fact, the latter alone is intended, whichever be named.

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ing things covertly concealed, and his proficiency in all similar branches of knowledge, acquired such fame and influence, that it might be said he had purchased the country, and it was his own. The report of his reputation at last reached the king who sent for him, and treating him with great civility asked him whether it was true, that sages could tell the destinies of others. The mendicant replied, Your Majesty will know by the result. They then entered into conversation, in which he so entertained the king, that his daily society became indispensible.

'One day he absented himself from court, and on the next, when he made his appearance, he accounted for his absence, by stating that he had been upon a visit to Paradise, and that the deities had sent by him their compliments to the king. The king was simple enough to believe him, and was filled with astonishment and delight. His admiration of this marvellous faculty so engrossed his thoughts, that the duties of his state, and the pleasures of his palace, were equally neglected.

"Things were in this condition, when the valiant BALABHADRA, having reduced the forest chieftains to obedience, returned. To his surprise, he found the king in a close conference with a naked mendicant, instead of being, as usual, surrounded by his ministers. Having ascertained from the latter, the pretensions of the ascetic, he approached the monarch, and inquired, if what he had heard of the mendicant's celestial visit, was truth. The king assured him that it was; and the ascetic offered to satisfy the general's apparent scepticism, by departing for *Swarga* in his presence. With this intent, the king and his courtiers accompanied the *Sramanaka* to his cell, which he entered, and closed the door. After some delay, BALABHADRA inquired of the king when they were to see the mendicant again. He answered, 'have patience; the sage upon these occasions quits his earthly body, and assumes an ethereal person, with which alone he can approach INDRA's heaven. 'If this is the case,' replied BALABHADRA, 'bring wood and fire, and let us burn his cell.' 'Why so,' asked the king. 'So please your Majesty,' answered the general, 'by consuming the earthly body of the ascetic, we shall prevent his re-assuming it, and then your Majesty will always have an angelical personage in your company.' A case of this kind is well known.

"'In *Rájagriha* dwelt a *Brahman* named *Deva Sarma*. He had no children, a subject of bitter affliction to his wife, who could not look upon a neighbour's infant without tears. At last her husband desired her to desist

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from further lamentation, as by the efficacy of some mystic words, he had secured her having a son of eminent beauty, and auspicious destiny. Highly delighted with this prophecy (indications of the fulfilment of which soon began to appear), the *Brahman's* wife anticipated eagerly the period of her delivery. What therefore was her surprise, and the horror of her attendants, when the offspring, so anxiously sighed for, and impatiently expected proved to be a snake. The assistants exclaimed, let the monster be destroyed: but the parent, with maternal affection, interfered to preserve her progeny, and carefully protected and reared the snake.

"After a time, the nuptial festivals of a neighbour's son awoke the envy of *Déva Sarmá's* wife, and she reproached her husband for not having thought of a suitable match for their child. He replied, I would do so, if I could get admittance to *Pátála*, and present my supplications to Vasuki.* I do not think any other so great a fool, as to wed his daughter to a son like mine. Finding, however, his wife was sadly distressed, he proposed, in order to divert her thoughts, that they should travel, and equipping themselves plentifully for their journey, they set out. After some months, they arrived at a city, named *Bhattanagar*, where they were hospitably received and entertained, on the night of their arrival, by an acquaintance. In the morning the *Brahman's* friend asked him why he had come, and whither he was going. The *Brahman* told him he was in search of a wife for his son; on which the other offered him his own daughter, a girl of great beauty, and insisted on his taking her away with him. Accordingly, *Déva Sarmá* returned to his own city, with his destined daughter-in-law. When the people of the city saw her, they opened their eyes in admiration of her grace and loveliness, and asked her attendants, how they could think of sacrificing such a jewel of a girl to a serpent. Their words filled her servants with distress, and they were urgent with the damsel to effect her escape. She refused, saying, It must not be, there are three things, which are final from the first. The command of a king, the vow of an ascetic, and the gift of a maiden. That too which is previously resolved by destiny, cannot fail to be, as it happened to *Pushpaka*, and the Gods.

"The maiden's attendants now asked her, who *Pushpaka* was, and she thus proceeded:

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* The serpent monarch of *Pátála*, the region under the earth, inhabited by the *Nágas*, or snakes.

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"*Pushpuka* was the favourite parrot of INDRA, a bird of wonderful beauty, extraordinary abilities, and prodigious learning. One day he was perched on INDRA's hand, and was repeating the hymns of the *Vedas*, when YAMA arrived. The parrot immediately flew away abruptly. The Deities afterwards asked him, why he had withdrawn; he replied, how could he face the destroyer of life. The Deities, in order to remove his fears, assured him that they would protect him; and, prevailing on him to accompany them, they returned to YAMA, and begged him, at their intercession, to abstain from ever taking away the life of the parrot. YAMA replied, that he knew nothing about the matter, and referred them to KALA (Time), to whom they accordingly repaired. Time referred them to Death, who, he said, was at hand and they hastened to prefer their suit to him. They no sooner encountered the grisly terror, than the parrot fell dead. Exceedingly distressed and perplexed by this accident, they returned to YAMA, and inquired of him what it meant; he replied, that Fate had fixed the parrot's life, and that no care on their parts would have been of any avail.

"Therefore, I say, whatever is foredoomed by destiny, cannot fail to come to pass.

"In this manner she resisted their persuasions, and the marriage took place. She performed her duties diligently, feeding her serpent-husband during the day with milk, and keeping him in her chamber at night, in a spacious basket. One night she was alarmed by the appearance of a man in her chamber, and jumping up in terror, she ran to the door to make her escape. The person called to her to stop, and dismiss her fears, as he was her husband, and, to assure her, reassumed his ophitic form, and crawled into the basket, whence, immediately after, he again issued, in all the bloom and vigour of human adolescence, and glittering with gold and gems.

"In the morning, DANA SARMA, who had observed what was going forward, approached the basket, before his son was risen, and seizing the deserted skin of the snake, threw it into the fire, in consequence of which the youth was constrained to adhere to his natural figure, and continued ever after to constitute the pride of his parents, and the happiness of his family."

"The king of *Ayodhya* having heard this narrative from BALABHADRA, hesitated no longer to follow his advice. The mendicant's cell was therefore immediately set on fire, and he perished in the flames."

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The next story in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, is that of The Monkeys and Fire-fly; and the moral is stated precisely to the same effect in both, that it is absurd to try to bend a stubborn tree, or prove a sword upon a stone.

The story of Dharma Buddhi and Dushta Buddhi, the honest man and the rogue, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, is faithfully followed in the Arabic, with the exception of an interwoven story, omitted in the latter. It is the story of the Vaca, or Crane, who tempted the Ichneumon to destroy the Snake, and was afterwards destroyed by the same. The story occurs in the *Sand'hi* section of the *Hitopadésa*.

The witty story of The Rats who eat iron, and the Hawks that carry off children, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*. It is the last of the section in the latter, but we have a few more stories in the former work, as the story of The Two Parrots who learned respectively harsh and gentle phraseology, according to their natural dispositions, to prove that merits and defects are innate.

The next story agrees, in name, with the last in the *Kalila Damana*, being that of The King's Son and his Companions; the resemblance, however, proceeds no farther, the incidents being quite different, although some, if not all, of those in the Arabic tale, are to be found in other Sanscrit works. In the *Pancha Tantra*, a Prince, a Minister's, and a Merchant's Son, pass their days together in the woods and groves, hunting, riding on horses, or elephants, driving cars, and practising archery. Their fathers reproach them for their neglect of their several duties; and, in resentment, they determine to leave their home. They go to *Rohanachala*, (Adam's Peak in Ceylon), where they find each a gem of great price, and to preserve it, on their way back, through the forests, where lay the *Phellu*, or Villages, of the *Bhillas*, they swallow the gems, and then convey them home in safety, although they narrowly escape being ripped open by the *Pallipati*, or chief of the foresters.

The Prince acquires a sovereignty of his own, and leaving to his two friends the direction of affairs, amuses himself in his palace, after his own fashion. He has a pet Monkey, as it is said "Parrots, Pheasants, Pigeons, Monkeys and their like, are naturally the especial favourites of kings." This Monkey he sets to watch him, as he sleeps in a pavilion, in his garden. A troublesome bee settles on the Prince's face, in spite of the Monkey's pains to drive him off, till the latter, highly incensed, snatches up his master's sword, and, making a blow at the bee, cuts off the Raja's head.

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This apologue, therefore, is a very old acquaintance, the moral is the same a sensible foe is preferable to a foolish friend.* The death of SANJIVAKA, the grief of the Lion, and the councils of the Jackals, close this, the first and longest division of the *Pancha Tantra*, in the same manner as the corresponding sections of the *Kalila Damana*, *Hitópadésa*, and *Vrihat Katha*. This first section, according to the original enumeration, comprehends thirty-one stories.†

SECTION SECOND.

THE ACQUISITION OF FRIENDS.

THE *Mitra Prapti*,‡ or acquisition of friends, is the same as the *Mitra Lábha* of the *Hitopadésa*, with the difference, only, of transposition. It is the same also as the seventh chapter of the *Kalila Damana* the sixth being a probable addition of the translator, who, in his idea of poetical justice, has put *Damana* upon his trial, and condemned him to death, occurrences not hinted at in the Hindu work. Neither have we the few narratives that occur in his section, nor are the moral remarks, or the judicial proceedings, of a Hindu complexion.

The *Mitra Prapti* opens like the *Mitra Lábha*, with the description of the scene of action, placed by both in the South, with this variety, that the one states it to lie on the banks of the *Godavari*, and the other, that it was not very far from the city *Pramadarópyam*. The Crow, or Raven, *Laghupatanaka*, opens the business in all the copies. The fowler is very minutely described in the *Pancha Tantra*, as an inhabitant of the city, living by bird-catching, of an uncouth figure, with splay feet, and clumsy hands, round as a ball, sturdy, though advanced in years, clad in red garments, with his hair bound into a knot on his head, carrying a net and staff, and followed by dogs in short, he looked like Destiny with the fatal noose;

* The form familiar to us is the story of the Gardener, the Bear, and the Fly, in which it occurs in the *Anwari Suhaili*, and *Ayar Danush*.

† In Mr. Sotheby's copy, only twenty-six.—H.T.C.
It is also read *Samprápti*, which has the same import.

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like the personification of Sin; like the heart of iniquity, like the monitor of the wicked; like the friend of Death." This description is reduced to "like fate," in the *Hitopadeśa*, and in the Arabic, to "it looks, and the net and the staff."

The *Hitópadésa* is singular in the story told by *Chitragríva*, of "The Traveller and the Tiger," to dissuade the Pigeons from descending on the grain. The *Pancha Tantra*, again, is alone in the story, told by the same, to recommend unanimity, of "the *Várunda*," a bird with two necks, one of refusing to part with a share of nectar, the other swallowed poison, and the bird died.

The other circumstances of this story are continued, alike in all, to the formation of the friendship between the Rat, and the Crow, but the discussion is much more protracted, and contains much more matter, peculiarly Hindú, in the *Pancha Tantra*, than in either of the other works. The Rat replies to the Crow's protestations, "I have no faith in your oaths, as it is said, 'Put no faith in a foe, who even has vowed friendship to you. VRITRA was killed by INDRA, in spite of his reiterated oaths.'* Again, 'An enemy of the Gods is not to be destroyed until he places trust in them. The embryo of DITI was destroyed by INDRA, only when she ceased to fear him.' "

In another passage we have allusions to some traditions, which are but little known.—

"He that observes, 'I might say, I abound with amiable qualities, and no one can be inclined to do me harm,' speaks that which is ridiculous. It is related that the valuable life of PANINI, (the grammarian,) was destroyed by a hog, and an elephant demolished the sage JAIMINI, though he composed the *Mímánsá*, an alligator killed the harmonious PINGALA (the first writer on Prosody), on the sea-shore. Of what estimation is genius, with irrational and ferocious brutes."

Although the arguments, on either side, are continued for several pages, they are not intermixed with any narrative illustration in the *Pancha Tantra*, or *Kalila Damana*. On the contrary, the *Hitópadésa* inserts here

* The story is narrated in several of the *Puranas*, and is alluded to in the *Rig Veda*. As. Res. vol. viii. p. 389.

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the stories of the Antelope and the Jackall, and the Crow, the Cat, and the Vulture. Afterwards, the several works proceed in a similar manner, to the visit of the Rat and the Crow, to *Mantʻhara*, the Tortoise; to whom, and the Crow, *Hiranyaka*, the Rat, related his adventures.

The commencement of this story is the same in all, but the Arabic version here is singularly close. The *Hitopadésa* alone inserts the story of the young wife, who took her husband by the hair, and embraced him, to favour the retreat of her lover, a story well known in Europe, from its version by Marguerite of Navarre, in her "Stratagème d'une femme qui fit evader son galant, lorsque son mari, qui étoit borgne, croyoit le surprendre avec elle," and she borrowed it from the first story of the Mauvaise Femme. It was made a similar use of by the Sieur D'Orville, Malespini, Bandello, and other *raconteurs*. In place of this, the original, and the *Kohla Damana* have the story of the woman, who exchanged picked for unpicked *sesamum* seeds, including that of the "Forester, Wild Boar, and Jackall," which occurs a little farther on, in the *Hitopadésa*. A long train of adventures, told of a merchant's son, follows this, in the *Panchu Tantra*, only to shew that a man must obtain the wealth that is designed for him by fate. The close of this story is followed by one, narrated by *Mantʻhara*, of Sonuttaka, a weaver, who is taught by some Spirits, that wealth is to be enjoyed, not hoarded; and this includes a story of the "Bull and the Jackals," to inculcate the folly of absurd expectations. These two last stories have, however, but little merit, and do not occur in the Arabic, any more than in the *Hitopadésa*. The latter story, with some variations, has given rise to an idiomatic compound in the Bengali language, and *Bokándapratyáśa*, indulgence in unreasonable expectation, comprises the pith of this story, the *Boka*, or *Vaka*, a crane, being substituted for the Jackall of the original. A verse of interesting resemblance follows the stories. *Mantʻhara* says to the Rat, "Dismiss all anxiety regarding your lost wealth, as it is said, 'He, to whom the Swan owes her white feathers, the Parrot his green hue, and the Peacock his variegated plumage, He will provide me sustenance.'"

The addition of the Antelope to the friendly society, occurs here, in the same manner, in all. The story of "the Elephant, liberated from his bonds by the Rat, of which we have a familiar version in the apologue of the Rat and the Lion, next occurs in the *Panchu Tantra*. In its place, in the

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Hitópadésa, we have the double story of the Prince, the Banker's Son, and his Wife, and of the Elephant and Jackall. There is none in the *Kalila Damana*. The three works conclude with the same incident, the liberation of the Antelope from the hunter's snare, by the united efforts and devices of the Tortoise, the Crow, and the Rat.

This *Tantra* contains, in the original, eight stories. It is more amply illustrated in the *Hitópadésa*, than in either of the other two works.

SECTION THIRD.

INVETERATE ENMITY, OR WAR BETWEEN CROWS AND OWLS

The third section of the *Pancha Tantra*, corresponds with the eighth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*; and the third chapter of the *Hitópadesa* In the last work, however, the belligerent powers are the peacocks and the geese. The choice of the *Pancha Tantra* is the genuine one, no doubt, not only from the character of the work itself, but its connection with a particular grammatical rule. The *Sútras* of PA'NI. afford a precept for the use of a particular affix, to form derivatives from compound terms, when enmity is implied,* and this rule is exemplified by the form *Kákólúkika*, in which *kaka*, a crow, and *ulúka*, an owl, are compounded, to signify the natural antipathy that subsists between these birds. Now as language precedes grammar, this rule was invented to explain the purport of a word already in use, and as in all probability, this word expressed a popular notion of great antiquity, its established currency influenced the author of the fables to select the owl and the crow, for the purpose of his narrative. We can scarcely suppose, that it was an accidental choice, which afterwards gave rise to the popular expression, and the introduction of the compound term; and which, consequently, would make the *Pancha Tantra* take precedence in date of the *Sutras* of PA'NI. I may also add, that the substantive term *Kákólúkika*, which PA'NI's affix (*Ran*) could form, appears very rarely, if ever, in the *Pancha Tantra*. The form used by the author of that work is more usually the attributive, *Kákólúkíya*, which is formed by a different affix (*Ch'ha*).

* *Pán.* 4. 3. 125.

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The introductory matter of this section, descriptive of the quarrel between the Crows and Owls, and the consultations of the monarch of the former, with his five ministers, correspond very closely in the *Pancha Tantra* and *Kalila Damana*, although they extend to a greater length in the former, and contain some matters curious in themselves, and reflecting light on several Hindu peculiarities: amongst these, the following enumeration of the officers of state, who are, or are not, to be relied upon with confidence, is quoted from the *Mahábhárat* the *Sabhá Parva*, in which Nárada, it is said, communicated their names to Yudhishthira. The full detail is, however, not given in that work, but the passage does occur, and the reference indicates, at any rate, the existence of the *Mahábhárat*, prior to the date of the *Pancha Tantra*.*

The Officers to be distrusted, are eighteen.

1 Mantrí	The minister.
2 Puróhita	The royal chaplain, or priest.
3 Senápati	The general.
4 Yuvarája	The young prince, associated in the empire, and designated as successor.
5 Dwárika	Warden, or chamberlain.
6 Antarv'ansika	The superintendant of the inner apartments.
7 Samnidhátryupadhávika	A sort of master of the ceremonies.
8 Juyápaka	A master of requests.
9 Aswád'hyakcha	Master of the horse.
10 Gajád'hyakcha	Master of the elephants.
11 Kóshád'hyakcha	Superintendant of the treasury.
12 Balád'hyakcha	Ditto of the forces, or perhaps the stores.
13 Durgapála	The governor of the fort.
14 Karapála	The ruler of the prisons.
15 Simápála	The superintendant of the boundaries, or lord of the marches.
16 Párishadya	A companion.
17 Prádwáka bhritya	A courtier.
18 Atavikádhya	The forest chiefs, and others.

The fifteen, naturally attached to the monarch's cause, are

1 Janani	The queen mother.
2 Dárá	The queen.
3 Kanchuki	The confidential attendant.
4 Málika	The chaplet weaver or florist.
5 Sayyapála	The bed-maker.

* A similar list occurs in the *Bhárávi Tantra*.

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6	Sayyád'hyáksha	The superintendant of the beds.
7	Sámvatsaka	The astrologer, or time-keeper.
8	Bhishak	Physician.
9	Jalaváhaka	The cup, or water-bearer.
10	Támbúlaváhaka	The betel-bearer.
11	Ácháryu	The preceptor.
12	Anga-rakshaka	The captain of the body guard.
13	Sthána-chintaka	Quartermaster.
14	Ch'hatradhára	The umbrella-bearer.
15	Vilásiní	Female attendant and stager, &c.*

Besides these, spies were a very efficient part of the ancient Hindú regime. We have no particular enumeration of these, except its being observed, that for what is going on amongst his own party, the king's best spies are the physician, the astrologer, and the preceptor; and that men, who exhibit snakes and the like, are the best to observe the designs of the enemy

We have then the cause of the enmity between these feathered tribes, referred to the successful interference of a crow, in preventing the owl being chosen king of the birds, narrated in a similar manner in the *Pancha Tantra*, and the Arabic copy; it is omitted in the *Hitópadésa*. That work, however, inserts two stories, those of the Birds and the Monkeys, and the Ass in a Tiger's skin, (the latter an apologue of very wide circulation), before the story, common to all three, of the Elephant and Hares, and the Reflection of the Moon.

The story of the Hare, the Sparrow, and the Cat, does not occur in the *Hitópadesa*, although much of the description of the hypocritical piety of the Cat is copied in the story of the Vulture and the Cat, in the first section of that work. Some of the comments, however, are spared. It may be observed, indeed, that a much more decisive vein of satire, levelled particularly at Princes and Devotees, runs through the *Pancha Tantra*, than either the *Kalila Damana*, or *Hitópadesa* thus the Hare observes, when he sees the Cat away, as it is said, "Trust not to low persons, who exercise austerities, for their own nefarious designs. Penitents are to be found at holy shrines, whose only virtue is in their vaunts."

The story of the Three Rogues, who persuade the *Bráhman* that his

* It is by no means certain, that all these names are rightly interpreted, or even rightly extracted from the text; but the greater part do not admit of doubt.

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goat is something else, and so induce him to leave it to them, is the next in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana* it occurs in the last section of the *Hitópadésa*.

An incident, rather than a story, next occurs in the *Pancha Tantra*, singly, that of a Snake killed by Ants. The device adopted by the king of the Crows, as narrated in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, reminds the reader of the story of Zopyrus; the counsellor *Chiranjiva* being, at his own suggestion, stripped of his feathers, and smeared with blood, and left at the foot of the tree, in which state he is found by the Owls, and brought to their king. The discussions regarding his treatment, between the king and his ministers, are to the same purport in both works; but they are more detailed in the *Pancha Tantra*, and illustrated by very different stories.

The first minister, *Ractáksha*, who recommends the crow's being put to death, narrates, in order to shew that no confidence is to be placed in a reconciled foe, the story of the Snake and the *Bráhman's* Son, comprising a brief apologue of the Swans and the strange bird. Neither of these is in the Arabic, or *Hitópadésa*; and they may be therefore translated:

"In a certain country dwelt a *Bráhman*, who reaped no benefit from the cultivation of his grounds. As he was reposing one day in the hot season, under the shade of a tree, he dreamt that he beheld a large hooded snake, coiled upon an ant-hill, at a little distance, and waking from his dream, he concluded that the snake must be the tutelary deity of the spot, who was little pleased with him, as one from whom he had never received any veneration. The *Bráhman* determined, therefore, to worship him, and boiling some milk, he placed it in a vessel, and carried it to the ant-hill, exclaiming as he laid the cup upon the ground, 'Lord of the soil, I have hitherto been ignorant of thy place of residence, and, therefore, only have forebornе thy worship, forgive my negligence, and accept my oblation. So saying, he left the milk and went home.'

"When he visited the ant-hill on the morning following, he found in place of the milk, a *Dínár*,* and this was repeated daily. At last, the *Bráhman* hav-

* A gold coin. That there existed some connexion between this and the gold Denarius of the Romans, is not improbable, as has been shewn in another place. As. Res. XV. The indication of treasure by the presence of a snake, is a common superstition among the Hindús.

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ing occasion to go to the village, appointed his son to present the oblation of milk in his absence. When the lad, upon the ensuing morning, found the *Deódr* as usual, it occurred to him, that the mound must be filled with coin; and that it would be the most eligible plan to kill its serpent-owner, and seize at once upon the whole treasure. Arming himself, therefore, with a stick, he lay wait for the snake, as he was lapping the milk, and struck him on the head. The blow failed to kill the snake, and the animal, inflamed with wrath, bit the lad with his poisonous fangs, so that he immediately died. The body was burnt by his people, who were at hand, and saw what had chanced. The father returned on the day following, and when he had heard the cause of his son's death, was satisfied that the event was not unmerited; declaring, that the vital elements will be ever snatched from those, who shew no tenderness to those living creatures, that repair to them for preservation, as happened to the Swans and their Lake. The persons present asked him to explain this allusion, and he thus replied:

"'In a certain country reigned CHITRARAT'HA, in one of whose gardens was an extensive lake, guarded by his troops. In this lake were golden swans, who moulted a feather once in every six months. A large bird, having joined them, was refused admission to their troop; they claiming the exclusive occupation of the pool, by the fee of the moulted feather. After much discussion, the stranger bird applied to the king, and said, 'Sire, these swans have had the audacity to say, what have we to do with the king? we will not allow any one to reside here: and it was to no purpose that I expostulated with them on the impropriety of such language, and threatened to bring it to your knowledge. The king, having heard this, commanded his servants to go and kill the birds, and bring them to him, and they set off with this intent. When they approached the pool, an old swan, suspecting their purpose, persuaded the rest to fly away, and thus, although they preserved their lives, they lost the residence, which they refused to share with a guest.'

"Having related this tale, the *Brahman* proceeded to worship the snake. The serpent, however, could not be tempted forth, but shewing himself at the entrance of his hole, he thus spoke: 'Avarice brings thee hither, and banishes all sorrow for thy son's fate, but there cannot be any cordiality between thee and me.' again, 'the insane presumption of youth, your son struck me, I have bitten him, and killed him: how is it possible for me ever to forget his violence? how is it possible that you should ever forget his death? Take this jewel, therefore, depart, and never more approach this

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place.' Having thus spoken, and cast a gem of inestimable value to the *Brâhman*, he withdrew into his hole. The *Brâhman* took the jewel, but, considering its value much inferior to what he might have acquired by long assiduous homage, never ceased to lament the folly of his son."

The next story is also peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*, and indeed, so decidedly of a Hindû character, that we need not be surprised at its omission, from the Arabic translation at least. It may be called the Fowler and the Pigeons. The fowler, having caught the female dove, is overtaken by a violent storm, and repairs for shelter to the tree inhabited by the male. Moved by the counsels of his captive mate, and his own estimate of the rites of hospitality, he not only gives the fowler shelter in the hollow trunk, but collects dry leaves, and makes him a fire, and casts himself into the flames, to furnish his guest a meal. The bird-catcher liberates the dove, and she also throws herself into the fire; on which she and her lord assume celestial forms, and are conveyed to heaven in divine cars, agreeably to the text, that says, 'A widow, who burns herself, secures for herself and her husband enjoyment in Paradise, for as many years as there are hairs on the human body, or thirty-five millions.'* The fowler becomes an ascetic, and voluntarily perishes in a burning forest.

The next story of the Husband, and his Wife, and the Thief, is translated in the Arabic, but does not occur in the *Hitópadéśa*. It has been imitated by the writers of Europe. The *Brâhman*, the Thief, and the *Rákshasa*, the next story, is the same with "the Ascetic, the Thief, and the Evil Genius of the *Kalila Damana*.

The next story, of the Prince who had a snake in his bowels, is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*. He is cured by his wife. The eleventh fable is the same with the Husband under the Bed, of the Arabic, which occurs also in the third section of the *Hitópadéśa*. The next story, again, is the same in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*, that of the Mouse turned to a young girl by a sage, and finally to a mouse again. The Arabic translator, by his alterations, has lost the point of the

* This text is attributed to *Angiras*, and forms part of the declaration of *Sankalpa*, pronounced by the widow at the time of her ascending the pile.—As. Res. vol. iv. p. 210.

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story. He makes the sun, &c. decline the marriage, but, in the Sanscrit, the lady makes objections to all the proposed bridegrooms, till she sees the rat, when her natural propensities induce her to solicit her adoptive father to give her to him in marriage.

The next story of "the Bird that vomited gold with its dung," is peculiar to the *Pancha Tantra*, so is that of "the Fox, who detects the presence of a Lion in a cavern;" neither tale has much point. The story of "the Snake and Frogs," is told in all three works, but in the *Pancha Tantra*, it is interrupted by the following tale.

"The *Brahman* and his Wife.

"There was a *Brahman*, named *Mandavisha*, whose wife was a woman of loose character. She had a lover, to whom she was accustomed to carry delicacies and cates, which she prepared herself. Her husband, at last taking notice of this, inquired of her whither she took them, and to whom? she replied, I carry them as oblations to my tutelary goddess Dévi, whose temple, you know, is close at hand. Pretending to be satisfied with this reply, the husband allowed her to proceed, but continued to watch her. As she found that he observed her, she went to the temple, and performed the customary oblations, and entered the building. Her husband immediately set off by another path, and getting into the edifice by a different entrance, concealed himself behind the statue of the goddess. The wife, being afraid that her husband was still on the watch, determined to go through with the ceremony in earnest, and having presented the oblations, she thus prayed, "O! goddess, deign to inform me by what means my husband can be deprived of his eyesight." The husband, hearing this, disguised his voice, and answered, "Feed him daily with such cates as you have brought hither, and he will soon become blind." The wife returned home delighted, and put in practice the supposed instructions of the goddess. In a few days the *Brahman* began to complain of dimness of vision, and shortly afterwards pretended to lose his sight. The wife, attributing this to the favour of the goddess, entertained no doubt of the fact, and in the confidence of not being detected, invited her gallant to come fearlessly to the house. The husband, however, now thoroughly apprised of the truth, lost no time in punishing her misconduct. Surprising the guilty pair, he beat the adulterer with his staff, till he expired, and, cutting off his wife's nose, he turned her away."

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The remainder of this section, and the destruction of the Owls, by their more crafty enemies, corresponds in the *Pancha Tantra*, and *Kalila Damana*.

The third section comprises seventeen stories.

SECTION FOURTH.

LOSS OF THAT WHICH HAS BEEN GAINED

The fourth section of the *Pancha Tantra*, illustrative of the folly of losing what has once been acquired (*Labdha-praśamana**) corresponds with the ninth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, which relates the story of "The Monkey and the Tortoise." The Arabic, or Pehlevi translator has, however, made rather short work with his original, and has turned the twelve tales of the latter into two.

The chief performers in this selection, and the circumstances, out of which the tales arise, are the same, only, instead of a Tortoise, the treacherous friend of the Monkey, is the *Makara*, a fabulous aquatic animal, which corresponds, in representation at least, with the Capricornus of the Greek Zodiac. The first story, narrated by the Monkey after his escape, is that of "The Snake and the Frogs." The former is introduced into his well, by the King of the latter, to revenge him on his rebellious subjects. This being done, however, he devours the king's subjects, and finally, the king himself. The moral is, "that hunger will be appeased, even in spite of crime."

The next story is the only one of the section, found in the Arabic, that of "The sick Lion, the Jackall, and the Ass."

The next story is that of "a Potter, who, having cut his forehead against some broken pots, is encountered, bleeding, by a Prince, and taken for a valiant warrior by him, in consequence of which, he is enrolled amongst his guards. When the mistake is discovered, the prince orders him to withdraw; and when the potter requests that he may be allowed to stay,

* It is also read *Labdha Pran aśa*, and *Labdha Pran ás'a*, but the sense is the same.

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repeats to him the next story, that of "the two young Lions, and the young Jackall, brought up with them, but who betrays his origin by his cowardice, and is advised by the old Lioness, his adoptive mother, to withdraw quietly, lest his foster brothers find him out and destroy him." The potter takes the hint, and walks quietly off.

The ensuing stories tend to the disparagement of the fair sex. The first is that of a *Brahman*, who quits his home and family, and relinquishes half his life, for the sake of a spouse, who, notwithstanding, deserts him for a lame beggar, and attempts his life: a story that is told also in the *Dasa Kumara*. The next is to shew that there is no pleasing women, without complying with all their caprices; as the minister VARARUCHI, to conciliate his wife, submitted to have his head shaved; and his royal master NANDA, to gratify his queen, allowed her to put a bridle in his mouth, and mounting on his back, compel him to carry her about, neighing at the same time, like a horse.

The next story in this section, is an apologue of very familiar character: "A washerman, the owner of an ass, dresses him up with the skin of a tiger, to frighten away intruders from his field: after a time, the ass betrays himself by his braying, and gains a beating from the villagers." This is given in the *Hitópadés'a*, in the third section.

The ninth tale is of a villager's wife, who is tempted to run away from her husband, and carry off his wealth. When she arrives, with her gallant, at a river, he persuades her to entrust him with the property, and her clothes, to convey them across; after which he is to return for her. This, however, he omits to do, and she is deserted. In this state she sees a Jackal approach with a piece of meat in its mouth. The Jackal, seeing a fish on the edge of the water, lays down the meat, to make the fish his prey: the fish escapes; and, in the mean time, a vulture carries off the meat. The deserted wife laughs at the incident, when the Jackal thus applies it to herself: "Your wisdom is double that of mine; for here you are, naked in the water, and have neither a husband nor a gallant."

The story of "the Sparrows and Monkey," is the same as that of "the Birds and Monkeys," in the beginning of the third section of the *Hitopadesa*.

The two next stories, which complete this section, are those of "the Jackall, who by his craft preserved the carcase of a dead Elephant from a Lion and a Tiger, and by his courage from another Jackall;" and "the Dog who

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in a famine, left his own town for another, but was driven back by the dogs of the strange place, and was glad to seek his own home again."

The *Makara* now retires, having previously been told of his wife's death, and the invasion of his abode by an enemy; circumstances, omitted in the Arabic translation, as well as the stories to which they give rise.

There are twelve stories in this section.

SECTION FIFTH

INCONSIDERATENESS.*

The fifth *Tantra* corresponds in purport with the tenth chapter of the *Kalila Damana*, the Ascetic and the Weasel being intended to illustrate the folly of precipitancy. The Pehlevi, or Arabic translator, has, however taken a similar liberty with his original, as in the preceding section, and has reduced again twelve stories to two. The tales in the original, therefore, are mostly novel, and not very prolix. It may be observed, by the way, that in the last two *Tantras* of the work, either the original compiler had exhausted his store, or less frequent additions have been made by subsequent hands, as the reflections and citations, which are most disproportionably interspersed in the three first sections, become now much less copious an obvious improvement in the interest, if not in the utility, of the collection.

Vishnu Sarma now remarked, "a man should never attempt a business which he has imperfectly seen or understood, transacted or investigated, or he will meet with such mischance as befel the imprudent Barber." The princes asking him, to what he alluded, he thus proceeded:

"In the south there is a city named *Patalipur*, in which Manibhadra, a banker, resided. Although attentive to his moral and religious duties, it was the will of fate, that he should lose his wealth, and be reduced to poverty. The insignificance, into which he consequently fell, preyed upon his spirits, and he indulged in such reflections as these:

"It is justly said, that amiable feelings, purity of manners, moderation,

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* *Aparikshita káritwa*, inconsiderate conduct: acting without previous investigation.

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ability, suavity, and respectability, are qualities that shine with little lustre in the person of a poor man. Dignity, pride, discernment, conceit, or intellect are all lost, when a man is poor, as the freshness of the dewy season is dissipated by the breeze of spring. The most brilliant talents will be of little benefit to their possessor, whose thoughts are all occupied in devising means for the support of his family, and when, for the exercise of lofty fancies, are substituted clothes, rice, oil, salt and ghee. Men without wealth are of no note amongst their fellows. They perish, as they are born, unheeded, like bubbles on the stream."

"Impelled by these considerations, he determined to abstain from food, and so terminate his life. For what, he exclaimed, is the use of a miserable existence? With this resolve, he fell asleep. In his sleep the *Padma-nidhi** appeared to him under the form of an old *Jaina* mendicant, and forbade him to despair. You have been, he said, a faithful worshipper of me, and I will not desert you. In the morning early, you shall see me again, as I now appear: do you then take a staff, and strike me on the head; on which I shall be changed immediately to a pile of gold. He then disappeared.

"When the merchant rose, in the morning, he recollected his vision, but could scarcely persuade himself, that it would so come to pass. He referred it to the subject of his previous thoughts, as it is said. To those who are in sickness, or in sorrow, whose minds are occupied with anxiety or desire, the object of their waking wishes is presented in their dreams.

"At this time, the barber, who had been sent for by the merchant's wife, to pare her nails, arrived, and whilst he was busy at his work, the seeming

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* The *Nidhi* is properly a treasure, and is especially a kind of wealth appertaining to Kuvera the God of Riches. The *nidhis*, or their superintendants at least, are personifications, and are, as such, worshipped. See *Megha Duta*, in a note). The worship is of the *Tántrika* description. The *Sárada Tilaka*, a celebrated authority of that school, contains the following directions for adoring the *Sánkha* and *Padma-nidhis*, in conjunction with Lakshmi, the Goddess of Prosperity. "1. Let the votary worship the *Sánkha-nidhi*, and his spouse upon the right hand of the Goddess: him corpulent and her full breasted: both adorned with pearls and rubies, both exhibiting gentle smiles upon their lotus-like countenances, locked in each others arms: and each holding a lotus and a shell, both scattering showers of pearls, and each bearing a conch upon the forehead. 2. Let him adore the *Padma nidhi*, placed with his wife upon the left hand of the Goddess: both of the colour of cinnabar, each in the other's embrace, and either holding a red lotus and a blue one: both employed in raining jewels, and either wearing a lotus as a crest: the male *Padma nidhi* corpulent, the female slender."

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mendicant appeared. *Mahánáraka* immediately recognized the figure of his dream, and snatching up a stick, struck him on the head; on which the figure changed to gold, and fell upon the floor. The barber took the gold to an inner apartment, desiring the barber not to mention to any one what he had witnessed. The barber promised secrecy, and went home, but could not help thinking of the occurrence. These naked mendicants, he muttered to himself, are all of one fraternity, and if one is changed into gold by a rap on the pate, why should not any other be charged in a similar manner? I will therefore invite their principals to my house, and then with a few strokes of a cudgel, I shall surely get a quantity of the finest metal. These ideas he revolved in his mind the rest of that day, and all the night. When morning came, he went to the *Vihár*,* and facing to the north, perambulated the *Jinat* three times. He then went on his knees, and holding up his hands with reverence, lifted up the edge of the curtain, repeating in a high tone this stanza, "Glory to those *Jinas* who possess the only true knowledge, and are thus enabled to traverse the wild ocean of human passions." And again, "The tongue which glorifies, and the mind that is dedicated to *Jina*, are alone to be praised, with the hands that are busied in his adoration." Having uttered these, and similar invocations, he repaired to the chief of the convent, and kneeling at his feet, received his blessing. The barber then, in an insinuating tone, requested the favour of his coming, with his principal sages, to a slight recreation at his house. The principal replied, "How now, son, what is it you say? Are we *Brahmans*, think you, to be at any one's beck and call? No, no, at the hour when we go forth to gather alms, we enter the mansions of those votaries only, who, we know, are of approved faith. Depart, therefore, nor reiterate thine offence." The Barber replied, "most venerable Lord, I shall obey, and do as you command, but I beg to mention, that I have a store of excellent cloths, for covers to our holy books, and of the materials for writing, which will be fitly disposed of when time may serve." So saying he went home, and provided some stout bludgeons, which he hid in a corner, he then went back to the convent, and took his station at the gate, and, as the different ascetics came forth, he addressed them as he had spoken to their principal. Tempted by the wrappers for their books, they all listened to his favour-

* The name of a *Bauddha* or *Jaina* convent.

† The deified sage who is the object of *Jaina* worship.

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ably, and deserting their old acquaintances, followed the barber to his house, as it is said: The naked ascetic, who has abandoned his home, and all his possessions, is still no stranger to the desire of worldly goods. When the Barber had introduced them into his house, he took up his staff, and struck them on the head, so that several were killed in an instant. The rest, with broken skulls, set up so loud a clamour, that the neighbourhood was alarmed, and the town guards* flocked towards the spot, to see what was the matter. As they approached, they met the *Jaina* mendicants, fleeing with broken heads, and covered with blood, from the barber's house. Having learnt the cause of their dismay, they proceeded to lay hold of the barber, whom they bound and carried to the police. When questioned as to his conduct, he justified himself by the example of MANDHADHA, but when MANDHADHA, being sent for, and examined, revealed the exact nature of the occurrence, he was of course dismissed, whilst the barber was hanged, as a punishment for his violent and inconsiderate aggression.

"When the barber was disposed of, the judges remarked, that he had deserved his fate, as it is well said, that which has not been tried, should not be attempted, and that which is done, ought first to be well considered, otherwise repentance will follow, as in the case of the *Brahman* and Ichneumon. MANDHADHA asked how that was, and they replied.

"There was a *Brahman*, named DÍRGHA SARMA, whose wife had one son, she had also a favourite ichneumon,† that she brought up with the infant, and cherished like another child. At the same time, she was afraid that the animal would, some time or other, do the child a mischief, knowing its treacherous nature, as it is said, "A son, though ill-tempered, ugly stupid and wicked, is still the source of delight to a father's heart." One day the mother going forth to fetch water, placed the child in the bed, and desired her husband to guard the infant, especially from the ichneumon. She then departed, and after a while, the *Brâhman* himself was obliged to go forth to collect alms. When the house was thus deserted, a black snake came out of a hole, and crawled towards the bed where the infant lay; the ichneumon, who saw him, impelled by his natural animosity, and by regard for his foster

* The *Para khâtapâla purushâh*. The men who guarded the avenues of the city. Possibly there may be some etymological connexion between *Kotâpâla* Sanscrit and *Kotwâl* Persian an officer of police.

† Nacula: *Viverra mungo*, C

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brother, instantly attacked him, and, after a furious encounter, tore him to pieces. Pleased with his prowess, and the service he had rendered, he ran to meet his mistress on her return home, his jaws and face besmeared with blood. As soon as the *Brahman's* wife beheld him, she was convinced that he had killed her child, and in her rage and agitation, she threw the water jar at the ichneumon with all her force, and killed him on the spot. She then rushed into the house, where she found the child still asleep, and the body of a venomous snake torn in pieces at the foot of the bed. She then perceived the error she had committed, and beat her breast and face with grief, for the lamented fate of her faithful little favourite. In this state her husband found her on his return. When he had told her the cause of his absenting himself, she reproached him bitterly for that greedy desire of profit, which had caused all the mischief forgetting, she said, the saying, "Excessive cupidity is to be avoided, although all desire of profit be not relinquished. The wheel warns round his head, who evinced inordinate avarice." The husband asked her how that happened, and she replied

"There dwelt in a certain town four *Brahmans*, all intimate friends, and equally poor. They consulted together what was to be done, for poverty, they agreed, was intolerable. Patrons, however well attended, are dissatisfied, friends and sons desert the poor; merit is of no avail, and misfortunes multiply. Wives of the best family abandon their husbands, friends transfer their attachment to more powerful individuals. Again, let a man be brave, handsome, eloquent, and learned, without wealth, he obtains not any enjoyment, and is as a dead man amongst the living. Better death, than poverty. Again, it is said, "Arise, my friend, for a moment, and remove the burden of indigence from my fate, that I may share with you the felicity which death affords. It is better, therefore, to go to the cemetery at once, and become a corpse, than live in poverty." The friends assented to this, and agreed, that every effort should be adopted to acquire wealth, as it is said, nothing is obtained by him who has not money. Let, therefore, the wise man attach himself to its acquirement. Wealth is acquirable by six means: begging, service, agriculture, science, usury, and trade; of which, trade is the best, as its profits are most independently realized, as it is observed. "The food obtained as alms may be carried off by crows, the favour of a prince or patron may be withdrawn, agriculture is laborious, and the respect to be paid to a preceptor in acquiring knowledge, is troublesome, usury brings poverty on other people, so that the

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only method eligible, is trade. Money is made in trade, in seven ways: by defective weights and measures, by false statements of price; by the lapse of deposits, by receiving the securities of friends; by managing estates for others; by dealing in perfumes, and by exporting goods for sale. In the first case, it is pretended that the measure is full, when it is not. In the second, selling a thing for more than its worth, is the natural practice, even of barbarians. While a deposit is in his house, the merchant prays to the gods that the owner may die, when he will make them suitable offerings. When a trader sees an acquaintance coming to borrow, he pretends to lament his misfortune, but is inwardly delighted. In the management of estates is the reflection, I have got hold of lands full of treasure. Of all goods,* perfumes are the best: gold is not to be compared to the article which is procured for one, and is parted with for a thousand. Exporting commodities is the proper business of persons already wealthy, as it is said, 'Those who are wealthy are heard of from afar.' Riches are attracted by riches, as wild elephants are caught by tame ones. Capital is multiplied twice and thrice over, in repeatedly buying and selling, by those who have knowledge, and travel to other lands. The idle and weak alone, are afraid of foreign countries. 'Crows, deer, and dastards, die in their native place.'

Having thus reflected, the four friends determined to quit their home, and set off together on travel. The man, whose mind is intent on wealth, leaves his friend and family, his mother and his natal soil, and roams to foreign and ungenial lands, without a moment's hesitation. After some days, the *Brâhmans* arrived at *Avanti* (*Ujjayan*), where they bathed in the *Siprâ*, and worshipped *Mahâkâla*,† after which they proceeded, and met with a Yogi named Bhairavânanda, with whom they formed an acquaintance, and who invited them to his abode. He inquired of them the purpose of their journey. They said, they were pilgrims in search of magic power, repairing to the shrine where wealth or death awaited them; as it is said, 'The water that falls from Heaven, may sometimes flow in the realms below the earth. The force of fate is inconceivable, and man

* See remarks at the close of this Essay.

† One of the twelve great *Lingas*, and well known to have been especially worshipped at *Ujjayan*. This *Linga* was destroyed by *Altamsh*, in 1231.

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is weak against it. The objects of man may be apparently attained by mortal efficacy but that is fate; for when you speak of human qualities, you give that name to destiny, at the same time, ease is not here the source of ease, nor can it be enjoyed without exertion. The destroyer of MADHU (VISHNU) seized LAKSHMI forcibly, and held her clasped in a firm embrace. Tell us, therefore, they continued, if you are acquainted with any drug of virtue, to carry us into secret chasms, and tame the imps of evil, or efficacious in the rites of charnel grounds. You, they said, are an adept; we are but novices, but we are resolute. None but the illustrious can satisfy the wishes of the worthy. The ocean alone supports the subterrestrial flame.'

The *Yógí*, finding them apt scholars, admitted their request, and gave them four magical balls, one a-piece, directing them to go to the northern side of the *Himachala* mountains, where each, on the spot where the balls should spontaneously fall, would find a treasure. They accordingly went thither, and one of the balls soon fell on the ground. The *Bráhman*, to whom it belonged, with the assistance of the rest, dug up the soil, and there discovered a copper mine. He desired the rest to take as much as they liked, but they refused, determining to seek their fortunes further. He replied, Go on, then, I shall return, taking therefore as much of the metal as he could, he went back, and the rest proceeded.

The ball, belonging to another, soon fell, and he dug up the spot, which proved to contain a silver mine. Overjoyed, he exclaimed, "Let us go no farther, but take as much as we can, and then return." The other two, however, ridiculed his folly, and resolved to advance, hoping as they had at first met with copper, then silver, they should successively meet with metal still more valuable. So it proved, for the next ball that fell, indicated a vein of gold, with which the man to whom the ball belonged, entreated his companion to rest satisfied. The argument previously used, however, being justified by the discovery of gold, determined him to persevere, in the full confidence, that he should next come to a bed of diamonds. The discoverer of the gold mine declined accompanying him, and he went on alone, the other promising to await his return.

The last *Bráhman* proceeded through solitary paths, scorched by the rays of the sun, and faint with thirst, till at last he came to a place which was whirling round, and on it stood a man, whose body was covered with blood, and on whose head a wheel revolved. He approached, and asked him who

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he was, and why the wheel was placed upon his head, and requested him also to shew him where any water was procurable, but he had scarcely spoken, when the wheel transferred itself from the crown of its late possessor to the head of the *Brahman*. He exclaimed, How! what is this? and the stranger replied, You have taken the wheel from my head, and you must keep it, till some one like yourself shall come hither, with that magic ball in his hand, and shall address to you similar questions to those you have asked of me. The *Brahman* inquired, how long a time he had passed in that plight. The stranger asked who was the present sovereign, to which the *Brâhman* answered, VÍNA-VATSA * The man then said, When RAMA reigned, I came hither, impelled by my poverty, and guided by the magic ball, as thou hast been. I found a man here with the wheel on his head, and asking him such questions as thou hast put, the wheel was fixed upon my head. I have been here ever since. And how did you get any thing to eat? inquired the *Brâhman*. The other replied, This law was fixed by the God of wealth, who fears his treasure should be plundered. His fears are known to the *Siddhu Nâgas*,† who send men hither but when a mortal arrives, he loses the sensations of hunger and thirst, and is exempt from decay and death. He retains alone the consciousness of solitude and pain. But now excuse me, I am released, and shall return home. So saying, he departed.

The *Brâhman*, who had found the gold mine, wondered why his companion

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* UDAYANA or VATSA the King of *Kausambí*, is probably intended here he was celebrated for his skill on the *Vina*, or Lute. This prince is the hero of the first chapters of the *Vrihat Kat'hâ*, which gives this account of his descent. He is the son of SAHASRANIKA, the son of SATANI'KA, the son of JANAMÉJAYA, the son of PARIKSHIT, the son of ARJUNA. The genealogy of ARJUNA's descendants, which Dr. Buchanan Hamilton derives from the *Bhâgavat*, has no prince of this name. The son of SAHASRANI'KA is termed ASWAMEDHAJA. The two works are also at variance, regarding the founder of *Kausambí*, the *Vrihat Kat'hâ* ascribing it to SAHASRANI'KA, which is, so far, apparently most correct, that various works concur in styling VATSA king of *Kausambí*, whilst the *Bhâgavat*, however, calls the founder of that city CHAKRA, the fourth prince from SAHASRANI'KA Hindu genealogies, Introduction 18, and table 6.

† The *Nâgas* are the serpents, which inhabit the region under the earth. *Siddhs* means superhuman power which may be obtained by their worship. Their being opposed to KUVE'RA, and desirous of encroaching on his wealth, although here stated in a popular form, is like many things in this work, no longer a familiar notion amongst the Hindus.

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tarried so long, and becoming at last impatient, he set off in quest of him. Tracing his course by the impressions of his feet, he followed him to the spot, where he stood, and beheld him covered with blood, running down from his head, which was cut by the sharp edges of the wheel. To the inquiries of his friend, he replied, by telling him the property of the wheel; and what he had witnessed. On which the other reproached him, saying, Did I not tell you to stop? but your lack of sense could not allow you to take my advice. It is very justly observed, 'Better sense than science; unless it improve by knowledge.' Those who want common understanding will as surely perish, as did those who revived the Lion. The man with the wheel asked how that was, to which the other replied

"There were four *Brahmans* residing in the same village, all intimate friends. Three were men of great acquirements, but destitute of common sense. The fourth was an intelligent fellow, but equally destitute of learning. As they were poor, they determined at one of their meetings, to go to some country where learning was patronized, and where, they were satisfied, they should speedily be enriched with presents from the king. They accordingly set off, but when they had gone some way, the eldest cried out, 'It never occurred to me before, that our fourth friend here is illiterate. He is a man of sense to be sure, but that will not entitle him to any rewards from the king, we shall have, therefore, to relinquish to him a part of our earnings, and it would be fairer, I think, for him to remain at home.' The second agreed in this opinion, but the third opposed it, saying, 'we have always been friends and companions from infancy, and let him, therefore, participate in the wealth we shall acquire.' This sentiment prevailed, and they all went on in harmony

"As they passed through a forest, they saw the scattered bones of a dead Lion. 'I have met,' said one, 'with an account of a method by which beings can be re-animated—what say you? shall we try the experiment, and employ the energies of science to restore life and shape to these bones?' They agreed. One undertook to put the bones together, the second to supply the skin, flesh, blood, &c., and the other to communicate life to the figure. When the two first had accomplished their tasks, the third was about to begin his, but the fourth stopped him, 'Consider what you are going to do,' he exclaimed, 'if you give life to the lion, the consequence will be that he will devour us.' 'Away, blockhead,' replied the sage, 'I am not to project things in vain.' 'Wait an instant, then,' replied the

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man of sense, 'till I get up into this tree.' So saying, he climbed up into a tree at hand, and his learned associates accomplished their undertaking. A substantial living dam was formed, who fell upon the three philosophers, and destroyed them. When he was gone, the man of common sense descended from his hiding place, and reached home again in safety."

When he had finished, the man with the wheel exclaimed "This is very unreasonable, that destiny should destroy men of great talents, and allow simpletons to escape, as it is said, 'See where *Satabudd'hi* (hundred-wit) is carried on the head, and there too is *Sahasrabudd'hi* (thousand-wit), whilst I, who am *Eka-buddhi* (single-wit), still may gambol in the crystal stream.' 'How,' asked he of the gold mine, 'happened that?' The *Chakrad'hara* * replied, 'In a certain reservoir were two fishes, one named *Satabudd'hi*, the other *Sahasrabudd'hi*. They had a friend, a frog, named *Ek'abudd'hi*, with whom they were in the habit of meeting and conversing at the edge of the water. When the usual party assembled, they saw several fishermen with their nets approach, and heard them say to one another, 'this pool is full of fish, the water is but shallow, we will come to-morrow morning and drag it.' They then went away. When they had departed, the frog said to his friends, 'What is to be done? had we not better make our escape?' at which *Sahasrabudd'hi* laughed, and said, 'never fear, they have only talked of coming. Yet, if they should come, I will be answerable for your safety, as well as my own. I shall be a match for them, as I know all the courses of the water.' *Satabudd'hi* said, 'My friend here is very right, wherever there is a way for the breeze, for water or its tenants, or for the rays of the sun, the intellect of a sagacious person will penetrate. By following his counsel, your life would be in no peril, even had you approached the abodes of the manes. Stay where you are, even I will undertake your safety.' The frog said, 'I have, perhaps, but limited talent, a mere singleness of sense, but that tells me to flee; and therefore, whilst I can, I shall withdraw with my mate to another piece of water.' The frog left the pool that night. In the morning the fishermen arrived, and the lake was so beset with nets, that all the fish, turtles, crabs, and other tenants of the water were made prisoners, and amongst them *Satabudd'hi* and *Sahasrabudd'hi*, in spite of their boasted cunning,

* From *Chakra*, a wheel, and *Dhara*, who bears; the use of this denominative may spare some repetition.

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were caught and killed. The frog saw the fishermen on their return, and recognising *Satabudd'hi* on the head of one man, and *Sahasrabudd'hi* dragged along with cords by another, pointed them out to his mate, in the words which I cited."

The *Brahman* of the gold mine answered, This may be very true, but a friend's words are not to be despised, and you had better have listened to me, than followed the dictates of your own avarice and presumption. Well was it said, 'Bravo, uncle, you would sing your song, though I dissuaded you, and see what a splendid gem you have received as the recompense of your performance.' The *Chakradhara* asked, how was that? The other replied,

"In a certain village there was an Ass named Ung'hata. During the day, he carried the bundles of a washerman. At night, he followed his own inclinations. During his nocturnal rambles, he formed an acquaintance with a Jackall, in whose company he broke into enclosures, and feasted on their contents. On one occasion, when in the middle of a cucumber field, the Ass, exulting with delight, said to the Jackall, 'Nephew, is not this a heavenly night, I feel so happy that I must sing a song. In what key will you prefer it.' The Jackall replied, 'What nonsense, when we are engaged in plundering, to think of such a thing. Silence becomes thieves and libertines, as it is said, 'Let the sick man and the lazy refrain from stealing and chattering, if they would escape with life.' If your song be ever so sweet, should the owner of the field hear, he will rise, and in his rage, mount and kill you at once, therefore, and be silent.' The Ass replied, 'You can be no judge of the charms of music, as you have spent all your life in the woods. Observe, in the nights of autumn, in privacy with your love, the distant song of the singer drops like nectar into the ears.' The Jackall answered, 'may be so, but your voice is abominable, why should you let it lead you into trouble?' The Ass was highly affronted at this, and said, 'away, blockhead, do you question my musical proficiency? I know every branch of the science, for instance, there are seven notes, three scales, and twenty-one intervals, &c.' The scientific combination of the parts of

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* The entire enumeration in the text is 7 *swara*, 3 *grama*, 21 *murch'hana*, 49 *tala*, 3 *mátrá*, 3 *laya*, 3 *d'hátu*, 6 *yatu*, 9 *rasa* 36 *varna*, 40 *bhásha* 150 *gíti*. See the author's remarks, at the close of this essay. Mr Wilson reads *nava* for *rasa*, and three divisions of *yatis* in place of 6 *yatis*.—H.T.C.

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music is particularly grateful in the autumnal season. There is no gift of the gods more precious than music. Rávana received the boon from the three eyed god (Siva), delighted with the rattling of dry tendons. How then do you presume to question my powers, or to oppose their exercise?' 'Very well,' replied the Jackall, 'let me get to the door of the garden, where I may see the gardener as he approaches, and then sing away as long as you please.' So it was settled, and the Jackall having provided for his own safety, the Ass opened his chaunt. The gardener was awakened by the noise, and rising immediately, repaired to the spot, armed with a stout stick, with which he fell upon the ass, knocked him down, and belaboured him till he was tired. He then brought a large clog, with a hole in it, which he fastened to his leg, and tied him to a post, after which he returned home, and went to sleep. The Ass came to himself, and forgot his tortures in the recollection of his home and companions. As it is said, 'On a dog, a mule, and an ass, a good beating leaves but a momentary impression.' Accordingly, springing up, he forced his way out of the inclosure, carrying the clog along with him. As he ran off, the Jackall met him, and said, 'Bravo, uncle,' &c."

The *Chakradhara* having heard this story, answered, What you observe is very just, but you should recollect, that a man who neither exercises his own judgment, nor follows a friend's advice, brings on his own ruin, as was the case with MANT'HARA, the weaver.

"There was a weaver named, MANT'HARA, all the wood work of whose loom was, on one occasion, broken. Taking his axe, he set off to cut fresh timber, and finding a large *Sisu* tree, by the sea side, began to fell it. In the tree resided a spirit, who exclaimed on the first stroke of the axe, 'Hola, this tree is my dwelling, and I cannot quit it, as here I inhale the fresh breeze that is cooled by the ocean's spray.' The weaver replied, 'What am I to do? unless I get wood, my family must starve. Do you, therefore, look out for another house, quick, this I must have.' The spirit replied, 'You shall have any thing else you ask for, but not this tree.' The weaver then agreed to go home, and consult a friend and his wife, and return with his final determination.

"When the weaver returned home, he found there a very particular friend of his, the barber of the village, to whom he told what had occurred, and whom he consulted what he should request. The barber said 'Ask to be made a king; then I will be your prime minister, and we shall enjoy our-

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selves gloriously.' The weaver approved his notion; but first, he added, he must consult his wife. To this, the barber strenuously objected. A wise man, he argued, would confer on women food, clothing, and appropriate ornaments, but would never let them share his councils, as Bharadvaja has stated, that where a woman, a rogue, or a child, had the management, the house was sure of going to ruin. A man would maintain his rank and respectability, as long as he associated with grave people, and entrusted no woman with his secrets. Women are engrossed with their own designs, and purpose only their own pleasure. They love their own children even, no longer than they derive from them self-gratification.' The weaver admitted the justice of his friend's observations, but his wife, he said, had no other thoughts, than for her husband's welfare, and he must take her advice. Accordingly he went to her, and related what had happened, what the barber had recommended, and asked her what she thought it would be most advantageous for him to solicit: she replied.

"'You should never listen, husband, to the advice of a barber; as it is said, 'Husbands should never take counsel with courtezans, parasites, mean persons, barbers, gardeners, and beggars. Royalty is a very troublesome thing, and the cares of peace and war, aggression and negotiation, defence and administration, never allow its possessor a moment's enjoyment. He, who is wise, will ever shun the station of a king, for which his own relations, brothers and offspring, would be armed against his life. I should recommend you, therefore, to be contented with your station, and only to seek the means of more effectually earning your livelihood. Ask for an additional pair of hands, and another head, with which you may keep a loom going, both before and behind you. The profit of such a second loom will be quite sufficient to give you consequence and credit with your tribe, as we have already from those of the first, quite enough for our own expenditure."

"This advice pleased the husband mightily, he repaired forthwith to the tree, and requested the spirit, as the price of his forbearance, to give him another pair of arms, and an additional head. No sooner said than done, and he immediately was possessed of two heads and four arms, with which he returned homewards, highly delighted. His new acquisitions, however, proved fatal, for as soon as the villagers saw him, they exclaimed, 'a goblin a goblin,' and falling on him with clubs, or pelting him with stones, speedily put a period to his existence. Therefore, I say, &c."

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The *Chak adhara* continued. Every one who is tormented by the devil of improper expectations, naturally incurs ridicule, as it is said, 'He who forms extravagant hopes for the future, will be as much disappointed as the father of SÓMA SARMA.' How was that? asked the other *Brahman*, and he with the wheel proceeded.

"There was an avaricious *Brahman* named SÓMA SARMA, who had collected, during the day, as much meal, in alms, as filled an earthen jar. This jar he suspended to a peg, immediately at the foot of his bed, that he might not lose sight of it. During the night he lay awake some time, and reflected thus: That jar is full of meal. If a scarcity should take place, I shall sell it for a hundred pieces at least, with that sum I will buy a pair of goats; they will bear young, and I shall get enough by their sale to purchase a pair of cows. I shall sell their calves, and will purchase buffaloes; and with the produce of my herd, I shall be able to buy horses and mares. By the sale of their colts, I shall realize an immense sum, and with my money, I will build a stately mansion. As I shall then be a man of consequence, some wealthy person will solicit my acceptance of his daughter, with a suitable dower. I shall have a son by her, whom I will call by my own name, SÓMA SARMA. When he is able to crawl, I shall take him with me on my horse, seating him before me. Accordingly, when SÓMA SARMA sees me, he will leave his mother's lap, and come creeping along, and some day or other he will approach the horses too near, when I shall be very angry, and shall desire his mother to take him away. She will be busy with her household duties, and will not hear my orders, on which I shall give her a kick with my foot. Thus saying, he put forth one of his feet with such violence, as to break the jar. The meal accordingly fell on the ground, where, mingling with the dust and dirt, it was completely spoiled; and so ended SÓMA SARMA's hopes.*"

"There was a city in the north, named *Madhupur*, of which MADHUMÁTA was king. A daughter was born to him, who had three breasts. When the king heard this, he ordered the chief attendant to take away the infant, and expose her in the woods, so that the matter should remain unknown.

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* A story of a monkey revenging himself on a king, who had caused a number of tame monkeys to be killed, and the marrow of their bones applied to relieve burns in his horses, scorched by the stables being burnt, here follows; and is succeeded by a tale of a monkey, a thief, and a goblin. Both are omitted, as deficient in interest; the entire fifth section being too long for insertion.

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The attendant, however, recommended that, as the birth of such an infant was a very extraordinary event, it would be better to consult the *Brâhmans* what was to be done, so that the consequence might not be the loss of both worlds, as it is said, a wise man should always inquire the meaning of what he observes, like the *Brâhman*, who thus escaped the grasp of the goblin. The king asked how that was, to which the attendant replied:

"CHANDAVARMA, a *Rakshasa*, haunted a certain wood, and one day laid hold of a *Brâhman*, who passed, leaping upon his shoulders, and ordering him, at the same time, to proceed. The *Brâhman*, overcome with terror, obeyed; but as he went along, he observed that the goblin's feet were particularly soft and tender, and inquired of him how this happened. The *Rakshasa* replied, I am under a vow never to walk, or touch the ground with my feet. After this, they came to a pool, where the *Rakshasa* said, Let me down, whilst I bathe, and perform my devotions, but beware how you leave the place till I come out of the water. The *Brâhman* obeyed, but when he had got rid of his load, he reflected, that now was his time to escape, for as the *Rakshasa* was incapacitated for walking, he would not be able to overtake the fugitive, accordingly, he took to his heels, and effected his retreat in safety: therefore I said, &c."

The advice thus given by the attendant was followed by the *Raja*, and having summoned the *Brâhmans*, he consulted them how he should act, to which they replied, "It is said, Sire, that a daughter whose limbs are defective or excessive, will be the cause of death to her husband, and destruction of her own character, and a damsel with three breasts will inevitably be the source of evil to the parent, whose sight she may attract. Your Majesty should therefore take care to avoid seeing your daughter. Let any one, that will, marry her, stipulating that he leaves the country. In this way no offence will be offered to this world, or the next." The *Raja* approved of this plan, and ordered the drum to be beat, and proclamation to be made, that whoever would marry the princess, and remove with her to a distant country, should receive a hundred thousand rupees. Notwithstanding this offer, no person came forward, and the princess arrived at adolescence, without any one proposing to espouse her. At last, she found a husband.

In the city resided two paupers, who were friends, the one was blind, and the other hunch-backed, the latter, who was named MANTHARA, persuaded the former to marry the princess, with whom, and the money, they should remove to a distant place, and lead a life of ease: or if, by the evil nature

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of the princess, he should die, there would at least be an end of his misery. The blind man, accordingly, accepted the terms of the proclamation, and having married the princess, and received the dower, set off with her, and his friend, to a distant residence.

After passing some time contentedly, the blind man giving himself up to indolence, and hunch-back conducting their domestic arrangements, the evil influence of the princess's deformity began to operate, and she intrigued with hunch-back. This couple then soon began to plot the blind man's destruction. With this intent, hunch-back brought home one day a dead snake, of a venomous nature, which he gave to the princess, and desired her to mince it, and dress it with proper sauces, after which she should give it to her husband, telling him it was a dish of fish. MANTHARA then went away, and the princess, delighted, cut up the snake, and set it to boil: then, having other matters to look after, she called to her husband, and desired him to attend to the stirring of the nice mess of fish she was cooking for his dinner. He obeyed her, licking his lips at the intimation, and stirring the vessel as it boiled. In this manner, hanging over the caldron, the fumes of the venom drew the tears so copiously from his eyes, that they gradually dissolved the film which obscured his vision, and he was restored to sight. As he looked into the boiler, he saw immediately that he was cooking the fragments of a black snake. He at once concluded what his wife's design was; but remained in doubt, who her accomplice could be. To ascertain this, he resolved to dissemble, and still affect his former blindness. Presently hunch-back returned, and the husband watching his conduct unobserved, was soon satisfied of the good understanding that subsisted between his treacherous friend, and faithless spouse. He approached them unperceived, and suddenly seizing hunch-back by the feet, being a man of great strength, he whirled him over his head, and dashed him against the breast of the wife with such violence, that his head drove her third breast through her body to her back, and both she, and her paramour, instantly perished: therefore I said, &c.

The *Brahman* who had found the gold mine then concluded, "It is well said, all prosperity proceeds from Fate; but, in compliance with Destiny, prudence is not to be disregarded in the manner in which you neglected it, by not listening to my advice." He then left his friend to his fate, and returned to his own abode.

VISHNU SARMA having thus terminated these narratives, asked the princes,

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what more it was necessary for him to say? The princes replied, most worthy preceptor, we have learnt from you all that is essential to the duties of a king. Then we have only to wish, answered VISHNU SARMA, that this *Sástra* may be considered as a mirror, reflecting light friendly to other sciences, and facilitating to those, who are acquainted with its contents, the acquirement of worldly wisdom.

When the king found his sons were instructed in this manner, in the course of six months, in the substance of all the *Sástras*, he was highly delighted with their improvement, and acknowledging that the sage had fulfilled his promise, loaded him with unprecedented wealth and favours.

The course of the narrative has interrupted our comments it is therefore necessary to revert to them, to indicate a very few analogies, which this section offers; and to notice one or two circumstances, which are interesting, as throwing light on a state of manners no longer known to the Hindus.

The first story, of the beggar turned to a lump of gold by a blow, occurs, with some variation, in the third section of the *Hitopadesa*. It may be also considered as connected with the tale of the dervise ABOUSADEK, in the Oriental Tales. The chief peculiarity, however, of this story is its correct delineation of *Jain* customs, a thing very unusual in *Brahmanical* books. The address of the barber, and the benediction of the Superior of the *Vihar*, are conformable to *Jain* usages. The whole is indeed a faithful picture. It is also unaccompanied by any sneer, or abuse, and the satire is rather levelled at the *Brahmans*. The accuracy of the description is an argument for some antiquity, as the more modern any work is, the more incorrect the description of the *Jainas* and *Baudd'ha*, and the confounding of one with the other.

The second story is in both the *Hitópadesa*, and *Kalila Damana*. It was an early favourite in Europe; and is found as a Fabliau; the dog being substituted for the weasel or ichneumon, an exchange in very good taste, when the scene is laid in Europe, but wholly foreign to the notions of the Hindus, amongst whom the dog has never been a domestic animal, whilst the *nëol* or *nakula*, the *viverra mungo*, on the contrary, has always been a pet. The most pleasing form of this celebrated tale is the ballad of *Both Gellert*.

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The passage of the third story, relative to the profits of trade, is not very easy to render in a satisfactory manner, as the technical terms employed are no longer in use.

The *Goshtika karma* appears to imply the management of lands for others, by the expression illustrative of it, but the *Parichitta-grihakágama* is by no means clear. One copy alone attempts to explain it. Parichittam ágachchantan grihacam utcant'haya vilócya sreshi'hi hridayé hrishyaté 'The merchant is delighted at heart, when with affected sorrow he sees an acquaintance coming (as a borrower).

The musical pretensions of the ass, and the beating they procure for him, form a fable with which all children are familiar. The recapitulation of musical terms that occurs, is, however, rather curious, and exceeds the limits, to which Sir William Jones and Mr. Paterson have carried their explanation of the musical language of the Hindus. The seven notes are common to the Hindu scale, and that of Europe. The *Gramas* are scales. Of these, the *Madhyama Grama* is identified by Mr Paterson with the major, and the *Gandhara* with the minor, mode. The *Murch hanas* he considers as the intervals of the scale. There are seven to each *grama*, or twenty-one in all. *Tala* is the division of time, and the *Mátrás* and *Layas* refer to the same, no doubt. The first possibly implying the duration of the bars, the second that of the notes, and the third that of the rests, or pauses. Of the remaining members of the list, in their purely musical sense, I cannot here attempt an explanation.*

The story of the weaver may remind us of the three wishes, to which, however, in point and humour, it is vastly inferior. That of Soma-Sarma is given in the *Kalila Damana*, and *Hitopadesa*. It is in substance the same also as that of Alnaschar, in the Arabian Nights. As related in the *Ayar Dánish* of Abulfazal, it is translated in the first volume of the Asiatic Miscellany.

The story comprised within the last, of the *Rakshasa* who got upon the *Brahman's* shoulders, contains the hint of the old man who proved so troublesome to Sinbad, in his fifth voyage, and who makes so prominent a figure also in the *Hindi* story of *Kámarupa* and *Kamalatá*, translated by

* As relating to vocal music, several of the terms may here be understood in their ordinary sense: *mátrá* refers to syllabic length, or vowel sounds; *varnas* are consonants; *bhásá* signifies language; and *gíti* tune or song.—H.T.C.

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Colonel FRANKLIN. The last story of the section is absurd enough; but it has a curious bearing, although perhaps unintentionally. The malformation of the heroine might be thought a satire on a very popular legend of the south of India, traces of which may be seen in their sculptures, particularly at *Madura*. According to that story, the daughter of one of the early *Pandyan* Kings was born with three breasts. She was an incarnation of DÉVI; and the third breast disappeared, when she espoused S'IVA himself, in the form of SUNDARÉS WARA, the divinity that was ever afterwards the tutelary god of the *Pandyan* kingdom, and its capital, *Madura*. A modification of this legend is also met with in Ceylon; the fair demon KUVÁNI', having been born with three breasts, one of which disappeared on her espousal of VIJAYA, the prince who first led a colony to that Island.—*Davy's Ceylon*, 294.

NOTE.

The *Hitopadéśa* is not the only Sanscrit epitome of the *Panchópác'hyána*, or *Pancha Tantra*. Another abridgment of it, following the original much more closely, both in the matter, and in the arrangement of it, is the *Cat'hámrita-sudhi* (treasure of the nectar of tales), by ANANTA-BHAT'T'A, who describes himself in the introductory and concluding lines of the work, as son of NAGADÉVA BHAT T A, a *Brahman* of the *Cánwa* branch. He professes to preserve in his epitome of the text, the whole of the narrative, or story, but to abbreviate the poetical illustrations. The performance appears, so far as I have compared it with the original, to conform with the author's professed design in that respect.—H. T. C.

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XI. *Inscriptions upon Rocks, in South Bihár, described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and explained by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq. Director*

Read December 4, 1824.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, while engaged in statistical researches in the provinces subject to the government of Bengal, gave attention to the antiquities of the country, as to other scientific objects, which he had the opportunity of investigating. His reports, comprising the result of his inquiries, are deposited in the Library and Museum of the East India Company: and, at his instance, the Court of Directors have sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them, to this Society. Among the antiquities collected by him, there are many *fac similes* of inscriptions. I purpose submitting to the Society explanations of such among them, as are interesting, and I now present the translation of one, which appears curious.

It is an inscription upon a rock, denominated, from an idol delineated on it, *Tárácháṇḍí*, in the vicinity of *Sahasram*, in South *Bihár*; and contains the protest of a chieftain, named Pratápa dhavala déva, bearing the title of *Nayaca*, and that of *Rája* of *Japila*, against an usurpation of two villages, by certain *Brahmanas* in his neighbourhood, under colour of a grant, surreptitiously obtained through corruption of his officers, from the *Rája* of *Gadhanagara* or *Canyacubja* (*Canoj*) who was the celebrated Vijaya Chandra (Jaya Chand). Its date is 1229, *Samvat*, corresponding to A.D. 1173.

In Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's collection, there are copies of two other inscriptions upon rocks, in the neighbourhood, exhibiting the name of the same chieftain, in conjunction with many of his kindred in the one, and followed by a long series of his successors in the other. I observe little else interesting in them, besides the names and the dates.

The site of the principal inscription is thus described by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton. "In a narrow passage, which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass, and through which the road leads from *Sahasram* to *Rauṭásghar*, is a place where *Tárácháṇḍí* is worshipped. The image is

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carved on a ledge of rock, and is so small, and so besmeared with oil and red lead, that I am not sure of its form. It seems, however, to represent a woman sitting on a man's knee, but not in the form usual in Bihár, which is called *Hara-gaurí*. Adjacent to the image, a cavity in the rock has been enlarged by one or two pillars in front, supporting a roof, so as to form a shed, to which the priest, and a man who sells offerings and refreshments for votaries and passengers, daily repair. A few persons assemble in the month of *Srávan*. But the chief profit arises from passengers, who are very numerous; and all who can afford, give something. The priest is a *Sannyási*. Above the shed, the Moslemans have erected a small mosque, in order to show the triumph of the faith; but it is quite neglected. The image is usually attributed to the *Chérús*; and many small heaps between the place and *Sahasram*, are said to be ruins of buildings erected by the same people. But a long inscription, carved on the rock within the shed, refers to VIJAYA CHANDRA, sovereign of *Canoj*."

That inscription was strangely misinterpreted by the *Pandits* attached to the survey on which Dr Buchanan Hamilton was engaged. The *Pandits* supposed the chieftain, PRATAPA DHAVALA, to premise an intention of commemorating his descendants, and to proceed to the mention of VIJAYA CHANDRA, proprietor of *Canoj*, and SATRUGHNA, son of the *Maharáj*; whence Dr. Hamilton inferred, that VIJAYA CHANDRA was son of PRATAPA DHAVALA. Dr. Hamilton observes, indeed, that others gave a totally different interpretation, considering it as "an advertisement from PRATÁPA DHAVALA, that he will not obey an order for giving up two villages, which, he alleges, had been procured by corruption from the officers of VIJAYA CHANDRA, king of *Canoj*."

The oriental scholar, upon inspection of the fac simile, will have no difficulty in perceiving that the latter was the right interpretation; and it is therefore needless to pursue remarks which were built upon the *Pandits's* grossly erroneous translation.

The style of the protest is singular; and, on that account alone, I should have thought it very deserving of notice. It serves, however, at the same time to show, that the paramount dominion of *Canyacubja*, extended to the mountains of South *Bihar*; and it presents an instance of the characteristic turbulence of Indian feudatories.

The second inscription, bearing the name of the same chieftain, *Nóyaca* PRATAPA DHAVALA DÉVA, with the date 1219, (A.D. 1163.) Saturday 4.

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Jyaishth'a bodi, and underneath the name of his brother, the prince Tribhúvana dhavala, the prince's wife Selhi and another female So mati, and two sons Lachhmyáditya and Padmáditya, exhibits a rude figure of a goddess *Totala devi*, attributed to the family priest Vis wakrma. On the other side of the figure, are the names of five daughters, and, at the foot of it, six sons of the *Nayaca*. These are Varcu, Satrughna, Birabala, Sahasa dhavala, Yami Chatichcva and Santa-yatna deva. Beneath are names of *Cáyast'has*, Vaidyadhara, and Vaidyadhara, sons of Ubsuma hara, the treasurer Devaraja, and the door keeper *pratihára* Tishala.

The site of this inscription is described by Dr Buchanan Hamilton: 'Where the *Tutraki*, a branch of the *Kudura* river, falls down the hills of *Tilot'hu*, is a holy place, sacred to the goddess *Totaki*. The recess, into which this stream falls, is about half a mile deep; and terminates in a magnificent, abrupt rock, somewhat in the shape of a horseshoe, and from 180 to 250 feet high. In the centre is a deep pool, at all times filled with water, and which receives the stream, that falls from a gap in this immense precipice. This gap may be 30 feet wide, and the perpendicular height there, 180 feet.

'The image is said to have been placed by the *Cherós*, about eighteen centuries ago, and, in fact, resembles one of the images very common in the works attributed to that people in *Bihár*. But this antiquity is by no means confirmed by the inscription, the date of which is evidently in *Samvat* 1389, or A.D. 1332.

'In another inscription it is said, that the family priest of a neighbouring prince, Prata'pa dhavala, had, in A.D. 1158, made the image of the goddess; alluding evidently to a rude figure, carved on rock, and now totally neglected.

'The image now worshipped is, as usual, a slab carved in relief, and represents a female with many arms, killing a man springing from the neck of a buffalo.* It is placed on the highest ledge of the sloping part of the rock, immediately under the waterfall. From two to three hundred votaries at different times in the month of *Srawan*, go to the place, to pray.'

The third inscription is upon a rock at *Bandughát'a*, on the *Sone* river

* It figures *Mahishásura*, vulg. *Bhaysásur*, slain by *Bhavání*.

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opposite to *Japila*, which was the chieftain's principality. The date assigned to *Mahá-nripati* (*i. e.* Mahárájá) PRATÁPA DHAVALA, besides the number of 21 years (apparently the duration of his reign, as chief of *Japila*), is, in the *fac simile*, written 2219 *Samvat*, but the first digit being clearly wrong, it must be corrected to 1219, or 1229 most likely the latter. No date is assigned to his predecessor UDAYA DHAVALA; nor to the line of his successors, beginning with VICHAMA, who is perhaps the same with VANCU (the first among his sons, named in the second inscription,) and who appears from the epithet of *Vijayin*, "victorious," to have been the reigning prince, when his name was here set down. The rest must have been subsequently, from time to time, added, and the first among them is SAHASA DHAVALA, perhaps the fourth son of PRATAPA DHAVALA, mentioned in the second inscription.

Above all this, there have been inscribed, at a much later period, other names, viz. '*Mahárája* NYUNAT RAÍ or NYUNTA RAYA, who went to heaven (*surapura*, *i. e.* the city of the gods) in the year 1648 *Samvat*;' and '*Mahárájá* PRATAPA RAYA, or PRATAPA RUDRA, who went to heaven in the year 1659 *Samvat*.'

In another part of the inscription, there occurs the name of *Mahárájá* MÁNASINHA, with the dates of 1652 and 1655 *Samvat*, and lower down, a string of three names, *Mahárájá* CANSARÁJA, PRATÁPA DHAVALA DÉVA, and MADANA SINHA. Between the two last, there is interposed the date of 1624 *Samvat*.

The name of PRATAPA appears then to have been of frequent recurrence. The family, which yet possesses the principality of *Bilonja*, the representative of which, when visited by Dr. Hamilton, was *Rájá* BHÚPANAT'HA RÁ, claims descent from PRATAPA DHAVALA, chief of *Japila*.

Japila is a large estate, south of *Rautás* (*Rohitásva*), in the district of *Rámgahr*. But the territories of the ancient chieftain seem to have extended beyond its present limits, and to have reached the vicinity of *Sahasram*.

These inscriptions have no other chronological value, but as they corroborate the date of one possessing more historical interest, noticed in the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. 9, p. 441). It records a grant of land, by the same *Rájá* of *Canyacubja*, VIJAYA CHANDRA, and, as usual, recites the names of his ancestors, tracing his genealogy through no

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less than six generations. The original was said to have been transmitted to Great Britain by the late Sir John Murray M'Gregor, but I am unable to say where it has been deposited. It would be an acceptable communication, as serving to authenticate the history of a prince among the most conspicuous in the annals of his country, on which he inflicted the same calamity which Count Julian did on Spain, by assisting a Museman conquest of it, in revenge for the abduction of his daughter.* The analogy indeed is not quite complete; for it was *seduction* of a daughter which Count Julian sought to revenge.

Concerning the inscription at *Tárachandí*, of which a translation is here presented, it is to be remarked, that the denunciation or protest, which it records, is first expressed in verse,† and is then repeated in prose. This repetition has much assisted the decyphering of it, and the correction of some errors, either of the original, or of the copy. A few explanatory notes will be found annexed.

Translation of the Inscription at Tárachándi.

"PRATAPA DHAVALA, wholly divine (*deva*), possessor of happily risen and celebrated glory, addresses his own race. In these villages, contiguous to *Catahandí*,‡ that contemptible ill copper§ [grant], which has been obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the sovereign of *Gádhinagara*,‖ by priests sprung from *Suvallukula* ¶ there is no ground of

* See p. 147 of this volume.

† In two stanzas of *Vasanta-tilaca* metre.

‡ *Catahandí*, written *Calahandi* with a long vowel, in the prose paraphrase.

§ The text exhibits, in two places, *cutambra*, which, I conjecture, should be *cu-támra*, from *cu* ill and *tamra*, copper; alluding to a grant inscribed, as usual, upon copper. There may be an allusion to *Cutámba*, the name of a district in that vicinity.

‖ *Gádhinagara*, the same with *Gádhipura*, is identified with *Canyacubja*.—See As. Res. ix. 441.

¶ *Suvallukula*, written *Suallu kaulya* in the prose paraphrase, it appears to be the designation of the *Bráhmanas*, who had obtained the grant of land in question.

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faith to be put therein by the people around. Not a bit of land, so much as a needle's point might pierce, is theirs.

"*Samvat* 1229. *Jyéshṭ'ha badi* 3d Wednesday

"The feet of the sovereign of *Japila*, the great chieftain, the fortunate PRATAPA DHAVALA DÉVA, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons, and other descendants sprung of his race this ill copper* [grant] of the villages of *Calahándi* and *Badayúd*, obtained by fraud and bribery, from the thievish slaves of the fortunate VIJAYA CHANDRA, the king, sovereign of *Cangaculya*† by *Swalbuhanya*‡ folks no faith is to be put therein. Those priests are every way libertines. Not so much land, as might be pierced by a needle's point, is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share of produce and other dues; or destroy."

"[*Signature*] of the great *Rdyaputra* (king's son), the fortunate SATRUGHNA."

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XII. *Comments on an Inscription upon Marble, at Mandhucarchar, and three Grants Inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, by Major James Tod.*

Read June 19, 1824.

I have the honour to present to the Society, three copper-plates, and to submit translations of the inscriptions on two of them.* They were obtained by me from the ancient city of *Avanti*, or *Ujen* (*Ujjayani*), about twelve years ago.

At the same time I adjoin a translation of a third inscription relative to the same family (of which these plates are records), and which I was so fortunate as to discover in my last tour of Central India, in 1822.

These will be considered of consequence, as they at once fix the period of a celebrated dynasty, and an important era in the history and literature of India.

The dynasty, of which they are memorials, is the *Prámára*, vulgarly *Púár* or *Powár*, one of the most distinguished of the *Rája-cúla*, or Royal Races of India. It is one of the four tribes, to which I alluded in a former paper, claiming their origin from the personified element of fire, in common with the other races of *Agni-cúla*, the *Cháhamána*, *Parihára*, and *Sólanki*.

I know of no tribe having a more wide range over the historical field of India, than that in question. It enjoyed more extensive dominion than any other of the race of *Agni*, and had acquired it at a much earlier period for, though four existed collaterally, as independent monarchs, yet the glory of the *Pramáras* was on the wane, when that of the *Sólankis*, the famed Balhara (*Ballaok-rai*), kings of *Narkuára*, was in the zenith, to which the *Cháhamánas* were rapidly approximating, and, in their success, extinguished the independence of the fourth, or *Parihára*, dynasty of *Mandówar*.

* See note A.

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So extensive was the *Prámára* sway, that the couplet, or "*Dóha*," in the Doric dialect of these parts, "Pirthi' tain na Powár ka," "Earth, thou art the *Powár's*," has little of the hyperbole, when restricted to the Indian world: and, though we cannot see the link of succession, it seems to have been the first tribe that succeeded to the extensive power which the *Yadavas* had so long maintained before them.

There are more ramifications (*Sac'hás*) of the *Prámára*, than of any of the "*Ch'hetis Kopi-cula*," or thirty-six royal races, excepting the *Ch'hepan cála Yadava*, or fifty-six tribes of the *Yadavas*, celebrated in the Sacred Books. The *Prámáras* enumerate no less than thirty-six.

On an inscription, in my possession, of the *Grahilóte* race, the eulogist does not limit their number, and says, in the usual figurative style, "*Aparmána sac'ha*" "of innumerable ramifications," though the *Grahilótes* are in fact limited to twenty-four.

The names of all the thirty-six *Prámára* tribes are not now to be collected. About one third may be given with tolerable certainty of being accurate, but only the names. They are few in numbers, and without power, and, but for the itinerant bard and genealogist, would cease to know themselves.

Many now extinct, or not known under their ancient appellations, are traced in books and inscriptions. By these I have rescued a few once celebrated names and tribes, which, I may say, had else perished: amongst others, that of *Lár*, a once powerful tribe, and said, by the only living bard I ever knew, who was acquainted with it, to be of *Prámára* stock.

The *Cumára-pála-charitra* (which I this day present to the Society) mentions the celebrated JAYA-SIMHA of *Pattana* "having extirpated the remnant of the race of *Lár*," from the peninsula of *Saurástra*, in which it was formerly all powerful. Doubtless this tribe furnished Ptolemy with the name, which he gives in his geography, of this peninsula, "Lariké," and he places a Byzantium near the very spot, the ancient *Ballabhí* (which I had the good fortune to discover), the capital of the *Ballabha-ráis*, and the origin of their title. Their capital was afterwards transferred to "*Nekruvila*," which that great geographer, D'Anville, had "fort a cœur de retrouver," and which I had the happiness to find still as a suburb to *Pattana Anarudra*, evidently the corruption of the original name, *Anala-vil'a*, and which Abul Fazil had discovered in Akber's reign.

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For the existence of several tribes, extinct else in their martial capacity, search ought to be made amongst the mercantile races of *Rájast'hán*, almost all of whom are of *Rajaputra* origin, especially the numerous, or innumerable, classes of the *Jain* laity.

Amongst the eighty-four grand divisions* of the *Vaisya*, I find that of *Lár*: but I never had an opportunity to converse with one, to whom I could apply for information as to the period of their renouncing arms and becoming proselytes of the *Jains*.

Silora is another branch. An inscription (in the 1st vol. As. Res.) of a prince of this tribe, gives his capital, *Tagara*, his title Ari-césari, or the Lion of *Arra*,† which, with *Lunkir*, seems to have formed the ancient Baihara sovereignty, and of the former part of which *Arra-ke*, *Tagara*, and Calian (*Calyána*), were the chief cities.

In another list, *Silara* is given as of *Prámára* race, probably another mode of writing *Sitára* and both from *Lár*, with the distinctive prefix of *Si* for *Su*, meaning excellent.

The *Dahya* and *Johya* ‡ were once celebrated on the *Setlej*, both now extinct. These may be the *Dahæ* of Alexander, and of the Parthian kings.§ *Sankia* is one of the few tribes, having still "a local habitation and a name," its residence is in *Marwar*,‖ at the bend of the *Lúni* river, and its reputation for bravery is still very great.

The *Aheir* and *Mori* branches were once renowned. *Kheraiá* ¶ and

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* Some of these have numerous shoots or families, (for tribes would be a misnomer). The *Oswa* for instance, most of whom follow the tenets of the *Khartra gachha* sect of *Jains*, have near eighteen hundred of these subdivisions. My own learned friend and *Guru*, Yati Gyána chandra was high in rank amongst the disciples of the Pontiff of the *Khartras*, had upwards of seventeen hundred names of families of his flock scattered over India, and prided himself upon his catalogue, when a brother, from Guzerat, added at once upwards of a hundred. He renounced thenceforth the task of tracing their affiliations.

† See note B.

‡ I believe I succeeded, just before I left India, in getting a work relative to this tribe, but too late to extricate it: it shall be deposited with the Society.

§ "The Arsacan King, Bardanes, conquered all, to the Sind river, which divides the *Dahi* from the *Arii*." Lewis Parthian Empire, p. 249.

‖ Maru or Marubhú.

¶ In Guzerat.

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Chitóre, their capitals. But what will excite some surprise, the celebrated *Hun* is enrolled as a branch of the *Prámáras*. That Europe only was deluged with this race, we knew well was not the case. Cosmos relates the White Huns, or Abtelites, being in India in the fifth century, and Dr. Wilkins made the world acquainted with the fact, that they had invaded Bengal, from the record of *Deb-pal-deb*,* "who humbled the pride of the Huns," to use the words of the translator of the inscription engraven on the pillar near *Buddal*.† My journey to Guzzerat led me to discover, that they were even yet not extinct: the name still lived, but it is "vox et præterea nihil," confined to a few miserable families near the estuary of the *Mahi* river, poor and degraded, and without any recollection of their origin. Various authorities acquaint us with the fact of Indo-Scythian tribes overrunning all these tracts, and their descendants are still there. The *Kathi*, the Cathei, still brave and independent, as when they opposed Alexander, and scarcely reconciled to the paternal government, which has made them turn their javelins‡ into plough-shares. They can be traced from the *Pancha-nada*, the *Sangama*, or junction, of the "Five streams" of the Indus, to their present abodes.

The *Prámára* genealogist enrists the *Kathi* into his catalogue, or rather, ambition has made these Scythians (the Sun still the great object of adoration) wish to get a niche in the Hindu pantheon, and which appears to have been a matter of no great difficulty, from the suspicious characters we find there.

Ptolemy gives a "Regnum Parthorum," existing in the second century, embracing all these tracts from *Mulán* to the gulph of Cambay, and to that the *Rana's* ancestors must have owed expulsion from *Ballabhí*, in the sixth century. But this is wandering from the subject.§

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* See note C.

† The translator's words are "Hoons of humbled pride." As. Res. V. 1. p. 136—7.—H.T.C.

‡ The *Kathi* lance is made to dart, as well as for close action.

§ I attribute to this dynasty a series of coins of an interesting description, on which I shall hereafter offer some remarks. Legends, in rude Greek characters, mark these to be a branch of the Arsacian one. For they assume the same lofty titles ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC C. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC CΩΤΗΡΟC on others, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ instead of Soteros making it still more Parthian, the latter epithet being borne by the Bactrian princes, who never did assume this "of the great King of Kings."

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The regal chair of the *Primáras* was fixed in *Avanti*, long before the Christian era. VIKRAMADITYA was not the first conspicuous monarch who wielded the sceptre in this ancient city, though he is a most important one, and might be placed as the fixed point, both in their geography* and history.

CHANDRAGUPTA, who has generally been supposed to be the Sandracottus of Alexander and Seleucus, was of the *Pramára* tribe, and the branch Mori, not Maurya, as it has probably been interpolated, and which held *Chitracut a* (*Chitore*), as a grand fief from *Avanti*, so late as the eighth century, when taken by a prince of the *Grahilote* tribe, ancestor of the present *Ráná* of *Mewár*.

CHANDRAGUPTA, in the *Puránas*, is placed as the descendant of *Sehesnág* of the *Turshac* race (most probably the Tachari of higher Asia), which appears to have invaded India from the north, six or seven centuries before the Christian era.

The inscription, to which I alluded (in my paper on the *Chákwánas*),† of a CHANDRAGUPTA, was dated Samvat 466, but I said it was doubtful whether of the *Vicrama* or *Vridha* era. It was given to me by the Hierarch of the *Khartragachha*, the first of all the *Jain* sects, and is in a character disused in India, but which he and his librarian, and two of his chief disciples, can read. With it were other interesting inscriptions of the same kind, (not modified), and a key to the character I shall have the honour to present on some future occasion to the Society.

The *Vridha-Samvat* is that of MAHAVIRA, the last of the twenty four deified *Jinesvaras*, and was established four hundred and seventy-seven years anterior to that of *Vicramaditya*, and continued in use long after the latter; but when it began to be generally used is uncertain, and it consequently causes considerable doubt, when referring to *Jaina* dates. I am not sure that it is not still used in sacred matters.

Now it is related, that MAHAVIRA expounded to CHANDRAGUPTA, the Lord of *Avanti*, his twelve dreams. This CHANDRAGUPTA, therefore, could not be the ally of Seleucus. But the same proper names recur at intervals in many genealogies.

Bayer, in his history of the Bactrian kingdom, and D'Anville, both

* *Avanti* is the first meridian of the Hindu astronomers.

† See page 123 of this volume.

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borrowing from the same source (Nicolas of Damascus),* say, that Porus, king of Ogene, who enumerated six hundred kings, his dependants, sent an embassy to Augustus at Rome, thus making a proper name of the tribe *Poncar*: nor is it impossible, from the same mistake, the opponent of Alexander may have been designated, though *Paurha* † or *Paurush* which means power, strength, was a common distinctive appellation of the *Yadavas*, who certainly were in the route of Alexander. It is to these authorities, and that of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from James I. to Jehangir, that the Rana's family is indebted for the honour of descent from Porus. One of the most considerable branches of his family is termed *Puruwat*, descendants of Puru, a son of Udaya sinha, from whom *Chitore* was wrested by Akber. His stock must have been pretty numerous when Sir Thomas there saw young Kurran (*Caran*), the heir apparent of *Udayapur*, in whose praise he is so lavish. "Here we have," says he in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "the true descendant of Porus, a prince, in the midst of the Mogul dominions, and who has never been conquered." The latter point is correct: they had often been defeated, not a city left to the plains, not a house to shelter them, but to that period they never had been subdued.

Like the Carthaginian of old, swearing young Hannibal at the altar to eternal hatred to the Romans, so did the noble Pratapa sinha, the opponent of Akber, in his last moments, make his son Amara swear, not hatred, but eternal war, and never to know the luxury of a roof over his head, until *Chitore* should be regained. He even commanded the nobles to withdraw their allegiance, if this, his last command, was disobeyed, and to set up another branch of the family. Temporary success, and consequent repose, made Amara forget the injunction, he erected a mansion ‡ on the banks of the *Pichhotah* lake at *Udayapur*, and amongst its garniture, some splendid mirrors of European fabric from Surat. The nobles began to follow his example, though *Chitore*, their ancient capital, was still in the hands of the foe. Recollecting the injunctions of Pratapa (a name they yet love to dwell on), the *Salumbra* chief, the first of the nobles, convened his brethren, and in a body they expostulated with their prince, insisting that he should immediately relinquish the abode of luxury for the field. Not meeting with compliance, the chieftain seized the marble ornament

* Eclaircissemens p. 177. † See note D. ‡ Still pointed out.

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which keeps down the carpet, and dashed it against the splendid mirror. Rage was unavailing, the patriot chief called for his prince's steed, and compelled him to mount. A flood of tears succeeded the indignity, which were allowed to flow without any signs of sympathy by the stern chief: when, suddenly, a nobler sentiment came to mind, he bowed and thanked the *Salúmbra* chief, and, drawing his sword, told him to lead the way. That very day, they stormed and took *Umáda*.* I shall be excused the notice of this anecdote, as it shews the character of the people, and warrants the praise which the ambassador of England bestowed. Such men could not be conquered!

Yet, with every wish, I could never trace the connection of the *Ránd's* family to the Porus of Alexander, though his ancestor, when first attacked by the Muhammedans, had "eighty-four kings assembled within his walls, for the defence of *Chitóre*." The six hundred of the *Powár* must have been a Hindu exaggeration.

The letter to Augustus was written in the Greek character, and Bayer's authority, Nicolas of Damascus,† says it was so, and he had seen it. Considerable traffic was carried on by them in those days, and Greek merchants were settled in various parts of the coasts. The personage in the suite of the ambassador, who voluntarily ended his days at Athens on the pyre, was most probably a *Jaina*.‡

Abú'l Faz'l's sketch of the *Pramára* dynasty, in the Institutes of Akbar, is too imperfect to be of the slightest use; and is the worst of his many indifferent genealogies.

Avanti and *Dhár nagara* were the chief seats of *Pramára* power. It extended south, however, of the *Nerbudda*, and comprehended all Central and Western India, or what is erroneously termed *Rajputana*.

The Indus, and *Setlej* or *Garah*, were its western limits. Many of the traditionary couplets in India contain historical facts. That which records

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* A fortress about twenty miles east of the pass which conducts into the valley of *Udaypur*.

† Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani, p. 109. Tanto autem post Eucratidem tempore cum ad Cæsarem Augustum a Pandione Porique Indiæ regibus legati venirent Nicolaus Damascenus, qui eum iis Antiochiæ ad Daphnem erat, testatur habuisse eos, epistolam Græcam a Diphilum Scriptam, quæ significavit, quod Porus rex centorum regum princeps cum serpent.

‡ See Note E.

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the extent of sway of the various *Prámára* branches in the north-west regions of *Maru-st'hali** is very correct. It contains the names of the chiefs who founded and ruled over its nine divisions,† or places of strength.

The descendants of some among them still occupy the same places: as the *Soda* prince of *Dhat* in the Desert, of which *Amaracut* is the capital. He has the title of *Ránd*. It was his ancestor who was killed by JELALUDDIN, in his flight into India from the Great JENGIZ.

Arbuda or *Ábú*, however, the cradle where the *Prámára* was at least regenerated. On this sacred mount I have seen the statues of the first and of the last of its independent princes.

That of the first, *Arpál* (*Ardipala*), shooting at *Bhamásur* (*Mahishásura*), is a marble statue nearly four feet in height, standing on the edge of the *Mandacana cund* or fountain. He has just shot his arrow, which has pierced three of those monsters, who are feigned to have drained the fountain of its waters. These are modern representations of the fabulous monsters, the old having fallen down), and are poorly executed in black slate stone; but the figure of *Arpál*‡ is far superior to any thing they could execute in these days. A few inuistinct words were engraven on the pedestal; but no date. There cannot be a doubt, however, of its high antiquity. It was too sacred a relict to think of removing it from the spot whence it derived its chief value.

That of the last of the *Prámáras*, not 700 years old, represents DHÁRÁBARSA, the last independent prince of *Ábú*, supplicating the offended *Pátáleswara*§ to pardon his sacrilege, and restore his kingdom, which fell to KÚTEBUDDIN. He was the last of his line, called Daraparsa by Ferishta

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* Deserts literally Regions of Death. J. T.

Mare desert and *st'hali* dry land. *Mare* is derived from *mri* to die = a region where one dies. H.T.C.

1 *Arbuda* or *Ábú*.
2 *Parkar* in the desert.
3 *Jalándra* or Jalore.
4 *Dhat* or *Amaracut*.
5 *Mandowar* near Jódhpur.)
6 *Pugal* N. W. of Bikaner.
7 *Khairála* in Cuzzaru.
8 *Dhar* near Ajmir.
9 *Lódurwa* ancient capital before Jesulmer was built

† *Ari-pála* or *Adi-pala* = the first *Pála* which may be further translated the first fostered, or first born.

‡ The Lord of the infernal regions.

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who makes honourable mention of him, for his noble resistance to the Imperial Legions. This branch of the *Pramdras*, probably held *Abu* and its dependances as a fief of *Dhar*, and, as the latter lost importance, *Abu* maintained itself independent, *or* in a state of vassalage, alternately to the Balhara (Ballabhi-rai) sovereigns, or to the kings of Dehli.

Thus JAIT and SOLAKHA, the ancestors of DHARADARA, were extricated from subservience to the Ballabhi-rais, only to grace the array of PRITHWIRAJA, who married the daughter of JAIT, and bestowed on him the office of *Pradhan*,* and both lost their lives in his service. The death of SOLAKHAT is mentioned in my former paper. The Black Castle of the *Pramdras*, built of immense blocks of granite, grey with lichen, perched on a pinnacle of this noble mountain, is a majestic ruin. The gateway (arched if my memory does not betray me,) is yet nearly perfect, flanked by enormous massive towers. The Palmyra has taken root in its deserted court, and flutters its huge leaves, where all is silent, save the screams of the peacock.

As I passed through the portal, the devotion of SOLAKHA was forcibly brought to mind, and I had but to ascend a few steps, and look from the ruined parapet, to view *Arpal*, the founder, shooting *Bhamsasur*. At the base of the western face of the stupendous Arabollah chain, I was so fortunate as to discover an ancient city of this race, called *Chandravati*, which has long been the haunt of wild beasts. From its ready formed materials, *Ahmedabad* arose: which accounts for the Hindu style of architecture in this city. I have an inscription, 600 years old, which mentions *Chandravati*, but it was of little interest, till I discovered the ruin itself, about fourteen miles east of *Abu*. The town is mentioned in the *Bhoja Charitra*, as will be seen. It is in these stupendous ranges where search should be made for ancient remains. In such, now inhabited by wild beasts, I have discovered places once the abode of crowned heads.

There is little doubt that the *Pramdra* was the first race which succeeded to the great power possessed by the *Yadavas*.

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* Chief Minister.

† Orthography and pronunciation cannot be *strictly* attended to, when there is a variety of information which bears on family history: for the genealogists and poets, in the vernacular dialects, have no certain standard themselves, but shorten or lengthen names according to the metre. *Silahi*, *Salakh*, or *Salakha* for *each* and all are but corrupt contractions of the compound epithet *Salakshana* "of good qualities."

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Imperfectly as we can trace this extent of power, yet we can discover, in no other succeeding dynasty, the like. The sovereigns of *Nehrwala Pattan* were rich and powerful, and, for three reigns, their authority extended over eighteen different states, rendered by them to dependence. It was at this period El Edrisi visited that country, and he repeats what had already been told by the "travelers," of the ninth century, concerning the "Balhara" kings, though the dynasty had changed from the *Chaura* to *Solanki* tribes. The *Tuar* dynasty, for near four hundred years from the eighth to the twelfth century, exercised extensive sovereignty, in which they must have often clashed with the *Balharas*, whose power was at the full in the same period, and each rose on the downfal of the *Pramara*. It is a singular fact, that scions of old dynasties were forming new kingdoms in various parts of India, about the very time that the religion of Muhammed was moving eastward. For the arms of Walid were simultaneously exhibited in *Khorasan*, on the waters of the Indus, and in Spain, towards the end of the first century of the Hejra, and about the same time, from A.D. 750 to 800, various new dynasties were planted. *Dehli* by a branch of the *Tuar* line, *Pattan Nehrwala* by the *Chauras*, *Chitore* by the *Ranas*, and, not long after, *Canouje*, by the Rahtore. It is from the first century of *Vicramaditya*, to these new establishments, we are most in want of information; and all that we yet have to fill up these seven centuries, is little more than a string of names. Every such is seized with avidity, where nothing before was forthcoming. It is by neglecting nothing, however slight or isolated, we fragment, we may fill up eventually some of these blanks; but to be of use, the search must be extensive. I have more than once found an old couplet, borne in the memory, serve as a clue to the establishment of a valuable and useful fact, which could not else have been applicable.

The bard Chund describes the dynasties, enjoying sovereignty when he writes, as having originally emanated in grants from the *Pramara*, of whom their ancestors appear to have held in capite. It forms an episode in the recital of the battle between Prithwiraj and the monarch of *Canouje*.

In the vein of action, after the Lord of Dehli had cut to pieces every thing which opposed him, he is encountered by the body guard of Jyachund, which consists of one thousand *Rajputs*, of whom a very animated description is afforded. Struck with their appearance, the *Chohanno* sovereign asks "who they are?" which serves as a theme for the bard, and yields us comparatively important historical information at the same time.

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Like the knights of St. John at Jerusalem, these heroes were devoted to celibacy, and lived as ascetics in the depths of the forests where they had their establishments. Their garb is singular for not only have they the plume of the peacock (*mór*), as an ornament on their helms, but their bucklers are described as bearing its impress burnished on them, and the housings of their steeds. The war shell, or conch, in those days always a part of a warrior's equipment, and from which, old poems mention their always blowing a blast, before combat, or after victory. The episode is very animated in the original; and I shall venture to submit an extract from my defective version, which may be listened to from curiosity.

EXTRACT

"Who are those, said PRITHI-RAJ, in the guise of the recluse? Those, replied CHAND, enjoy the blessing of NARED! One thousand warriors of unspotted race served the prince of *Tailang*, equal to a million in arms. A thousand shells they sounded on the banks of Ocean, their aboue. Like the thunderbolt is their soul their devotion to the spirit alone, each the purest of the tribe of *Rajaputra*.

"When the *Pramára* of *Tailang* took sanctuary with the creator, to the thirty-six tribes he made gifts of land. To *Kehar* he gave *Katair*, to *Rái Pahar*, the coasts of Sind *Rama Pramar Tailang* made the grant; and to these, the forest lands. *Parmar* he gave to the *Chaurás*, *Sámbhar* to the *Chhikás*, and *Canouj* to the *Khandhoj*, *Mar-des* to the *Parihars*, *Sorat'h* to the *Yadavas*, *Dakhin* to the *Jarejás* and *Kuch* to the *Churans*.

"Twisted in their braided locks is the peacock's plume. Each sounded his shell. Earth trembled, the firmament rolled, dismay seized the three worlds, clouds of dust formed a canopy over the head of JAYACHAND. To each warrior of the shell, he gave a sword. A peal was rung, which shook *Sumeru* with affright their station the person of their lord, this day they had to draw their swords in his defence. On one side they rehearse the praise of their prince, the leaders of *Dehli*, the renown of PRITHI RAJ."

It was for historical and geographical fragments like these, that I had read to me a great part of the works of the bard.

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At the period when that distribution was made, the *Pramára* well merited the title which CHAND bestows on him, of *Chaturs*, (*Chaturanti*) or paramount Lord, for, not only was all that immense space, described in my former paper as *Hindusthan*, subject to him, but a great part of the *Dakhan*. The grants mentioned as (*dana*) gift, not specific enough for a grant on the tenure of service.

Parswanatha made many conquests. He left the countries to the conquered, but exacted submission, a treaties, in which subservience was the chief stipulation, such as mark the connexion with their descendants and the British government of India. Many of his hundred *Samanta*, or leaders, were Chiefs, as the *Parihára* of Mandowar, Jeit and Sirkari of *Ahar* the *Dahima* of Bania, the *Tak* of Ner, the *Lohara* of *Surashtra*, even to the prince of *Kanchanna*, or Conconda. It was a feudal association of the first magnitude, such as existed in the East from the days of Darius and his Satrapies, to the twenty two Subahs of Akber. Alexander pursued the same system, and entered into their mode of accepting service and homage by delivering a banner to the conquered prince, returning his dominions for service. The kings of Delhi followed this course. The princes of *Mewar* did so. Each nation has its flag and armorial bearings, the *Ikana*, a golden radiated sun on a crimson field, *Indara*, the *Panchrunga*, or five-coloured banner, *Chanura* has a lion (rod) on a field argent, and so on.

Richardson's* ideas, that the great outlines of the feudal system came from the East might have been received with more attention had he been enabled to detail more of the minutiæ of it.

But I must return to the subject of the *Pramáras*. Of the different works, or remnants of those which relate to this family, are the *Ikrama-charitra*, and *Ikrama-chinta*, the *Ikrama panchasinhi*, honorarily known, and which is a mere collection of fables. The *Bhoja-charitra* and *Bhoja-prabandha* as they now exist, are far from possessing much value; yet, from the first of these, something may be gleaned, and it is of interest as recording the same names of princes, and in the same order of succession, as my inscriptions, on copper and marble. The few historical facts, separated from the coarse, are worthy of preservation from the testimony of their accuracy yielded by these less perishable records.

The *Bhoja-charitra* which, with the *Bhoja prabandha*, I present to the

* Dissertation prefixed to Persian Dictionary.

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Society) is written in *Sanscrit* by RÁJA-VALLABHA the disciple of MAHÍ TILACA SÚRI, a priest of the *Dharma ghósha gach'ha*, belonging to the *Jaina* sect. He is also the author of the *Bhója-Prabandha*.* When and where he wrote, though not specified, may be presumed to have been at *Dhárinagarí*, while *Rájá* BHÓJA was still alive.*

The first canto contains an account of the adoption of MUNJA, and the birth of BHÓJA, with the conversion of DHANA-PÁLA to the *Jaina* faith. DHANA-PÁLA was the son of the celebrated VARÁHUCHÍ, one of the distinguished wise men at BHÓJA's court, and was given for adoption, in consequence of a vow, to the *Jaina* priest, SIDDHA SENA ACHARYA. VARÁHUCHÍ became a most distinguished character for wisdom and is probably the *Dhanwantari*, one of the nine gems of *Dhár*. RÁJA BHÓJA was himself in secret a proselyte† to the *Jaina* doctrines; as were many of the princes of that and the preceding age particularly the dynasty of *Nehrwála*, which is mentioned by F. BUCHANAN. The little, which we know of the *Parihára* dynasty, mentions its princes making profession of that religion; and certainly, in their ancient and now ruined capital *Mandódri*,‡ the few temples left by the Muhammedans are of *Jaina* structure.

SINDHU RÁJA was Lord of *Dhárinagarí*. He had no offspring. Accident led him to find the child MUNJA,§ whom he adopted.

Abul Fazil, who industriously made use of these historical fragments in the Institutes of Akbar, says, the foundling was discovered in a field of *Munja*, whence his name.¶

SINDHU had a son, after this, who was named SIND'HULA: but the great talents of the adopted child maintained the priority in the affections of SIND'HU. It is necessary to repeat the story which determined SIND'HU to resign the sceptre of *Dhara* and *Avanti* to MUNJA, because it introduces the name of his minister, who is mentioned in the most valuable of the inscriptions, that on marble, from the ancient fortress of *Madhucara-gark*.

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* See Note F.

† May not the fable of his metamorphosis, and resuming his shape, refer to his adoption of the *Jaina* doctrines?

‡ Four miles N. E. of *Jódpúr*, the present capital of *Marwár*.

§ See Note G.

¶ See Note H.

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One day SIND'HU entered suddenly the apartments of MUNJA, for the purpose of communicating his intentions in his favour. The young princess of MUNJA was with him, but, hearing the king's approach, he hid her under the bed. Supposing they were alone, SIND'HU revealed his intentions. As soon as he retired, MUNJA shewed, says the author, "that want of feeling, without which no man can govern a kingdom," and effectually prevented her revealing the secret, by cutting off her head.* The noise brought the old chief SIND'HU back, who was not only satisfied with his explanation, but determined to hasten his abdication. Communicating his intentions to his minister, RUDRADITYA,† he convened his chiefs and officers, declared his intentions, and proceeded to the coronation of MUNJA, whom he commanded them henceforth to acknowledge. SIND'HU retired to the *Dakkan*, recommending his son SINDHULA to the protection of MUNJA. An incident, not worth repeating, roused the jealousy of MUNJA, who blinded the son of his benefactor.

BHOJA was the son of SIND'HULA, but the astrologers pronouncing that his horoscope indicated succession to the throne of *Dhárá*, a sufficient excuse was afforded to MUNJA, to add a murder to the list of his crimes. The execution of BHOJA was commanded, but the person, who was entrusted with the decree, relenting on seeing the youth and beauty of the victim, revealed his orders, and concealed him. He, however, reported the deed as performed, to MUNJA, giving him a couplet written by BHOJA, with his own blood‡. Remorse succeeded to fear and jealousy, and he lamented, with unceasing grief, the deed he had commanded. But when the preservation of the young prince was disclosed, joy succeeded despair, generosity instead of resentment against the child's preserver, and he determined to make amends to the offspring of his benefactor. He forthwith abandoned the throne of *Dhárdnagarí* to BHOJA, and, at the head of a large army, determined to conquer new possessions for himself in the

* See note I.

† Which name appears on the *Mathurara-park* marble.—J.T.

RUDRADITYA was son of SIVA DITYA the minister of RAJA SIND'HU and was appointed to succeed his father on the accession of MUNJA who then delivered to him the seal of office *Bh.* Ch. I. 13. and 55.—H.T.C.

‡ It is preserved by Abul Fazil.

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south; but upon coming to action with a prince there, he was defeated, and eventually made prisoner. He is stated to have lost the battle by a stratagem of his opponent, who strewed the ground with crow feet* made of iron.

Munja, defeated, and a fugitive, took refuge in the house of a cowherd, whose dame was cursing her fate at the milk having curdled, and he announced himself by his misfortunes. "Silence your grief, woman, I was yesterday Raja Munja, Lord of 70,000 men, now compelled to ask assistance of one like you, and these milk-fed clowns," (meaning her husband and sons). But this insurrection cost him his liberty. They seized the enemy of their prince, and conveyed him to prison; and captivity for life was the sentence pronounced on the ex-prince of *Dháránagari*. Shut up in a tower, one female slave was all the courtly train he had.

Bhója was grateful enough to attempt his liberation: and contrived to have communicated to him his intentions, by a mine conducted to the foot of the tower. The female attendant saw his joy, and the affection he had for her made him impart to her the secret, and entreat her to be the partner of his flight. She promised.—The moment arrived.—The earth opened to his liberation at his feet below, but at the same moment his foes appeared, led by the female of whom he so imprudently made a confidante. These pulled him by the hair above, those below by the feet, and in this struggle, the unfortunate Munja desired he might be left to his fate and captivity. This generous effort of Raja Bhója increased the miseries of Munja. His enemy refined on cruelty, made him go the rounds of the city, and obtain his scanty pittance of food by begging from door to door. One day, having made his daily perambulation without obtaining even the humblest dole, he stood at the door of a baker's house, who recognized the fallen monarch, and wept at the sight. He commanded his wife to give him one of the cakes frying in butter, but the prudent wife broke it in two, and gave him but half. The famished prince greedily eyed the scanty gift, and, as it continued dripping, he thus apostrophized it: "Do you even shed tears at being thus broken by a woman's hand, so did it fare with Rama, so did it with Bhartrihari, and so with Raja Munja".

* See note K.

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Having thus, for some time, been made a public spectacle, his sorrows were ended by being nailed on a cross.

Such is the reported end of MUNJA.

In the *Cumara-Pala-Charitra* (of which I have made a similar use, as of the *Bhója-Charitra*), a work of some interest, written in the twelfth century, by SAILO SOM A CHARYA, on the dynasties of *Pattan Nehrwala*, I found an incident related, which is deserving of notice in the paucity of historical facts and dates. It is there related, that DURLABHA of *Pattan*, who had resigned his throne to his son BHIMA, visited MUNJA, in his way to *Gaya*, to perform pilgrimage.

Now this was precisely twelve years after the conquest of Guzzerat, by MAHMUD of *Ghizni*, and the dethronement of its prince, CHAOKA *Solanki*. That event occurred in Samvat 1067, or A. D. 1011, to this add the year of DURLABHA's abdication, 1011+12=1023, A. D. or Samvat 1079.

We shall see presently how this evidence is borne out by the inscriptions; though I have others of the *Solanki* race, to have corrected these annals, if requisite.

Another synchronism is established by the same authority. The celebrated SIDDHA RAYA JAYA SINHA of *Pattan* conquered the *Pramára* territories, took the capital, and their prince NARA VARMA prisoner. This is the NARA-VARMA of our inscriptions, the son of UDAYADITYA, and grandson of BHÓJA. JAYA SINHA, one of the most celebrated and powerful princes since the time of VICRAMADITYA, ruled from *Samvat* 1150, to *Samvat* 1201. Our inscription recording the grant is by the son of NARA-VARMA dated 1191.*

JAG-DÉO (JAYADÉVA) *Pramára* remained twelve years in the service of SIDDHA RAYA. His name is proverbial throughout *Rajest'han* for fidelity and honour; and his offering of his own head at the shrine of the Indian Proserpine or Caligenia, is well known to every *Rajput*.

I shall now place in one point of view, the three inscriptions and their corroborations, from the *Solanki* history. I could easily add further proof, if it were requisite. But I shall reserve inscriptions of other dynasties, the *Chahamana*, *Gahalote*, and *Jadu-Bhatti*, for a future

* The grant bears date of Samvat 1200, confirming a prior grant in 1191.—H.T.C.

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paper, in which I shall endeavour to combine the various information of this period.

AUTHORITIES.

Ujjayni Princes.	Madhucara-ghar marble.	Chandra-gira-chronicle.	Bhoja-charitra.	General Records.
			1 Simhaj	1. Simha
	Simhola	Durlabha S. 1078 abdicated *Patan*, and visited Munja.	2. { Munja and Simhula	2. { Munja † and Simhola
	Bhoja		3 Bhoja	3 Bhoja
Udaya ditya	Udaya' ditya	.	. .	4. Udayaditya
Nara varma died A. D. 1134, S. 1190.	Nara-varma A.D. 1103 Samvat 1164.	Siddha Raya Jaya Simha reigned Samvat 1 50 to 1201 took Nara varma prisoner.		5. Nara-varma
Yasóvarma,* 1191 Samvat.	... .	.....	.. . .	6. Yasovarma

I have met with other grants of this family, in the centre of India, about the ancient city of *Bilaspur*, but it would only lead to confusion, to mix them up with this.

It would be occupying too much time further to quote from these allegorical stories of the *Bhoja-Charitra*, though from the fourth and the last cantos,‡ historical facts may be extracted. They are all mere vehicles for conveying some particular doctrines, or embodying moral truths under the guise peculiar to the Eastern taste of allegory.

The fourth canto rewarded my notice, by the mere mention of the old city of *Chandravati*, then ruled by Chandras'ena, probably a branch of Bhoja's family. The story is exactly in their taste.

A Yogi, one of the roaming tribe of Gymnosophists, with which India always abounded, though evidently more of the Epicurean than the Cynic, had previously been a thief, and had undergone the most disgraceful of all punishments, being exposed through the streets on an ass; by command

* See Note L. † See Note M. ‡ See Note N.

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of the king, against whom he therefore vowed deadly revenge. He appears to have been a disciple of the sect, described by Gibbon,* "who converted the study of philosophy into that of magic, attempted to explore the secrets of the invisible world, claimed familiar intercourse with demons and spirits, and pretended that they possessed the secret of disengaging the soul from its corporeal prison." The *Yogi* learned this art in that grand school for magic, *Cashmira*. He could at pleasure effect this interchangeable metempsychosis. He commanded the soul of the ill-starred BHOJA to limit its powers within the frame of a parrot, while he, so soon as he animated the frame of the prince of *Dhára*, issued his first mandate, to slay all the parrots in his dominions. The now feathered monarch took wing to the forests of *Chandrávati*, and was caught by a *Palmida* †

The *Bhíla* carried the bird, which retained the faculty of speech, to RAJA CHANDRASENA, with whose daughter the parrot became a favourite. The captive related his metamorphosis, and by stratagem induced the *Yógi* king to come suitor for her hand: when he was slain, and BHOJA resumed his shape and kingdom.

If any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled BHOJA of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes, and finally, through the daughter of CHANDRASENA, obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom. BHOJA lived in the very period of trouble, between MAHMUD's invasion, and the final conquest of India by SHAHABEDDIN.

The last story is of a similar nature, which serves to shew the *Jaina* cosmogony, a tirade on the Rights of Sanctuary, in a dialogue between a monkey and a lion, in which the long-armed beast delivers some wholesome maxims, and a story, which is meant to shew the superior intellect of the sage VARARUCHI. These are all episodes in the adventures of DEVA-RAJA, and VACH-RAJA ‡ the sons of BHOJA, who were banished at the early age of nine and seven, for being boisterous and noisy, and disturbing the old man's rest. Their first adventure is on the sea-coast, where they fall in with a merchant, and go to sea with him. Their vessel is held stationary on the

* Vol. 2. p. 182. † See Note O. ‡ See Note P

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ocean by magnetic or other attractive influence, and DÉVA-RÁJA descends into the deep to discover the cause, and finds a submarine temple, dedicated to 'ADINAT'HA, and a second Circe, the priestess of worship.

With her he enters into conversation, and she relates a long story, of the first created ADINAT'HA, the first Lord, of his two sons, BHARATA, who got the kingdom of *Bharata-Khanda* and capital *Ayódhya*, and BAHUBALA, or "strong-armed," who wandered forth. With this the *Jaina* genealogies always commence.

For some improper familiarity, this Nereid consumes DÉVA-RAJA to ashes; but somehow he gets translated to the abode of INDRA, who compassionately restores his shape, and sends him back to earth, and punishes the sea-nymph by giving her a terrestrial form. She finds her way to the *Pramára*'s capital, and becomes the wife of BHÓJA. her name was BHÁNUMATI, and on her account, afterwards, the sage VASISHTHI falls into disgrace.

The sons, after much wandering, find their way back to *Dhárá*. BHÓJA receives them with affection, and gives the elder the title of *Yuvarája*, a title bestowed on those princes, who are associated to the empire and designated as successors to the throne. This was very common in ancient, and far from uncommon in modern, times. Satiety, or any one in the range of the passions, might lead to it. The dangers, they said, to eternal welfare of sovereigns, made it a common thing with them, having tasted the pleasures and pains of empire, to abdicate and to compound with Heaven in time, by pilgrimage and alms. I have heard a prince (the *Rana* of *Udayapur*), one of the best informed and best read, say of himself and all who wore the diadem, that they were "*Naraca-ca-putra*," children of hell, for let them do what they could, they sanctioned injustice and a dire host of evils. Sickness, accordingly, to an Asiatic prince, is a holiday to all those "who extend the palm."

I need add no more from the *Charitra*, and my imperfect analysis of its contents, and here I shall conclude my remarks on the *Prámáras*.

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"*Substance of an Inscription from Madhucara-ghar, in Harowti.*

"May the form of the blue necked God take up his abode in my bosom* and no other word pass my throat but 'blue-neck.'*

"The rays emitted from the sparkling gems, in the diadems of the heads of the earth, of each mighty crown of his race, and the flash from the emeralds encircling their breasts, fall on the lotus feet of *Rája* SIMHULA. His enemies, the mountain† lords, he reduced to dust.

"Of his body was BHOJA, who plundered the wives of his foe; who, to his enemies, was like fire to a forest of dried leaves. After him was *Rája* UDAYADITYA, and when he set,‡ NARAVARMA arose, who by the strength of his own arms filled his coffers with the riches of victory

"In the *Sástras*, the wisdom of the minister RUDRADITYA expanded like the full-blown flower a name well known on the curtain of the earth

"From him was born the learned MAHADEVA, and from him SRI HARA, who increased the renown of his prince, and who constructed with fair wealth a temple to SIVA, adjoining that of his prince. By this have I gained the fruits of my present form, and, with great skill, made this edifice Between the extremity of the *Dakhni* and *Udichya des*,§ at the abode (*sthán*) of *Hara*,‖ with my own fortune, on the eclipse of the sun,¶ I have erected this temple at the expence of one lack and a quarter of Dirba.**

"On the full moon of *Pausha*, Samvat 1164."††

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* *Nílakanṭha*, one of the titles of MAHA DÉVA.

† *Giri-ṇa*, the chiefs of Hill tribes.

‡ This is a play upon the name *Asta*, setting of a planet, contrasted with *Udaya*, rise of a planet.

§ The highland, or plateau in Central India, seems to have borne this name.—J.T

Udichya dés signifies Northern region. Between the extremity of the *Dacshin's* and *Udichya-dés*, would signify midway between North and South. As an appellation, *Udichya* is the country north and west of the river *Saraswati*, emphatically termed the Northern Region. Central India is *Madhya dés*, the Middle Region.—H.T.C.

‖ The name *Madhu-kar-gark* may have been subsequently given to it.—J.T

¶ It does not appear from any thing here said, how long before the date of the inscription this eclipse occurred a solar eclipse visible in India did happen in June 1108.—H.T.C

** A very common name for an ancient coin, value unknown. J.T

†† A.D. 1108.—J.T

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NOTES

BY Mr. COLEBROOKE.

(A.) The translations presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, using an intermediate language, I have availed myself of the opportunity, which the original inscriptions on copper offered, for re-examining them, and translating them anew. (See following Essay.)

The copy, which Major Tod procured, of the inscription on marble at *Mahuvaru-ghar*, having been mislaid, there has been no opportunity of comparing with it the foregoing translation, made by him through the medium of the *Hindi* language, with the assistance of a learned native. It may be presumed, that the general scope of the inscription is correctly rendered.

(B.) *Arivesari*, in the inscription in question, is the name, not the title, of the prince: its etymology, as is intimated in Sir William Jones's translation of the inscription, is from *Ari*, foe, and *cesari*, lion: a lion among foes.

(C.) Dēva pāla-dēva is the prince, named in the grant engraved on copper, found in the ruins of *Mongir*.—See As. Res. Vol. I, p. 126. He is supposed to be the same with the *Sri* Dēva-pāla, named in the inscription on the pillar at Buddal. (*Ib.* p. 134.) The tribes of *Lāata* and *Bhóta*, as well as *Hun*, are mentioned among his subjects, with the tribes of *Gauda*, *Malava*, *Carnāta*, &c. He was therefore sovereign of Thibet and Bootan, as well as of Hindusthan, Bengal, and the Dekhin. It was probably in Thibet that he encountered the *Huns*, and reduced them to subjection.

(D.) *Pauruś*, from the Sanscrit *praudha*, signifies strong; *paurushi*, strength. *Purusha*, from *purusha*, man, is manliness.

(E.) Or perhaps an orthodox Hindu, following the precepts of the *Vēda*, which sanctions religious suicide by cremation to accelerate the attainment of bliss. Cumārila-bhatta, the great champion of orthodoxy, and insti-

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gator of an exterminating persecution of heretics (*Bauddhas and Jainas*), ended his own life by committing himself to the flames (Wilson's Sansc. Dict. Pref. p. xix.)

(F) The epigraph of the *Bhója-prabandha*, according to most copies of it, names BALLALA, as the author. But, in some copies, the name of VALLABHA appears. Mr Wilson considers both to have been by several centuries posterior to RAJA BHÓJA. (Pref. to Sansc. Dict. p. viii.)

It is not altogether likely that the *Bhója-charitra* and *Bhója-prabandha* should have been works of the same author. The discrepancies are too great, to have come from the same pen.

According to the *Bhója-charitra*, MUNJA was a supposititious child, and older by five years than SINDHULA, whose father SINDHU abdicated in favour of MUNJA, after disclosing to him his supposititious birth, and recommending SINDHULA to his kindness; regardless of which, MUNJA put out SINDHULA's eyes, and afterwards practised against the life of his son, BHÓJA. But the *Bhója-prabandha* makes MUNJA to have been younger brother of SINDHULA, who abdicated in his favour, recommending his son BHÓJA to his protection. They differ as widely in many other particulars, scarcely agreeing in any point, besides the reason of MUNJA's jealousy of BHÓJA, which was an astrologer's prediction that the young prince was destined to reign, and for a very long period (55 years 7 months 3 days); the circumstance of BHÓJA's writing to the tyrant with his own blood, and the subsequent repentance and abdication of MUNJA.

The astrologer's prediction is given in precisely the same words in both works. It is the foundation on which that duration is ordinarily assigned to the reign of BHÓJA: and not improbably the tale itself is grounded upon a true tradition, that eventually such was the duration of the reign of BHÓJA.

"Fifty-five years, seven months, and three days, the southern tract, together with *Gauda*, will be possessed by BHÓJA RAJA."*

The number is erroneously given by Col. Wilford, quoting Col. Mackenzie, for the tradition concerning it, prevalent in the Dekhin. (As. Res. ix. 157.)

(G) Upon a hunting excursion, as SINDHU was taking a solitary walk on the banks of a river, he found an infant lying in a clump of (*Munja* grass.

* *Bhója charitra*, l. 68. *Bhója-prabandha*, 6

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Pleased with the child's beauty, he took him to his wife, RETNÁVALÍ, who was no less surprised, and with his sanction, she gave out that a child was born of a concealed pregnancy, and, her bosom becoming by force of sentiment filled with milk, she suckled the infant, and he passed for the king's own son. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 14-22.

(H.) Saccharum Munja, a sort of grass, from the fibres of which cords are made and especially the Brahmenical string, or triple thread worn by *Brahmens*.

The *Bhója-charitra* assigns the same reason, viz. that the child was found in a clump of *Munja* grass. *Bh. Ch.* 1. 24.

He was not regularly adopted, but taken as a supposititious child. *Ib.*

(I.) When the king had left the apartment, MUNJA bethought himself that "a secret is not safe, which has been heard by six ears;" and dragging the woman from under the bed, cut off her head with his scimitar. The king, hearing the noise, returned, and seeing what had passed, reflected, that "he, who wants sensibility, will guard the prosperity of a realm, and not else." *Bh. Ch.* 1. 44-46.

(K.) *Gocshura*. Caltrops. Tribulus lanuginosus. In India, as in ancient Europe, the implement of war, and the plant from which the idea of it was taken, bear the same name.

(L.) Add his sons: LACSHMI VARMA (Samvat 1200), and JAYA VARMA.

(M.) MUNJA appears to have been reigning in *Samvat* 1050, being named by the author of a poem, bearing that date. (See Preface to the Dictionary of *Amara*, p. 8.)

(N.) The *Bhója-charitra* is a poem comprising nearly sixteen hundred stanzas (exactly 1592), distributed in five cantos (*prastára*). BHÓJA's transformation concludes the third canto; his restoration to his human body is told in the fourth.

(O.) Barbarian speaking none but a barbaric dialect. *Am. Cosh.* 2. 10. 21. In the sequel the same individual is called a *Bhilla*. *Bh. Ch.* 599 and 607.

(P.) Written *Varh'ha-rája*, in the Society's copy of the *Bhója-charitra*. Probably the name should be *Vatsa-rája*.

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XIII. *Three Grants of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani, and presented by Major James Tod, to the Royal Asiatic Society Translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.*

Read December 4, 1824.

The translations, which accompanied the *Sanscrit* inscriptions on copper presented to the Society by Major Tod, having been made through the medium of an interpreter, I have thought it right to re-examine the originals, at the same time that I undertook the decyphering of a third inscription, likewise presented by Major Tod, but unaccompanied by a translation.

Neither of the three inscriptions in question is complete. They had originally consisted of a pair of plates in each instance: as is evident, both from the contents, and from the very appearance, for they exhibit holes, through which rings were no doubt passed to hold the plates together. In one instance, it is the last of the pair, which has been preserved. In the two others, the first of each remains, and the last has been lost. Enough, however, subsists, in these fragments of inscriptions, to render them useful historical documents, as is amply shown in the very interesting comments on them which Major Tod has communicated.

I now lay before the Society a transcript of the contents of each plate, as read by me, and copies, *fac-simile*, of the originals. My own translations follow; and notes will be found annexed.

On collating the *fac-simile* with the transcript, the learned reader will observe that errors (for engravers are not less apt, than ordinary copyists, to commit blunders) have been in several places corrected. Where the mistake and requisite correction seem quite obvious, I have in general thought it needless to add a remark. But, wherever it has appeared necessary to give a reason for an emendation, an explanatory note is subjoined.

All these inscriptions are grants of land, recorded upon copper, conformably with the usage of the Hindus, and the direction of the law, which

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enjoins, that such grants should either be written upon silk, or inscribed upon copper.*

One of these grants or patents, records a donation of land made by the reigning sovereign of *Dhárá*, on the anniversary of the death of his father and predecessor, in 1191 of the *Samvat* era, confirmed by the prince his son, at the time of an eclipse of the moon, in *Srávana* 1200 *Samvat*. It appears from calculation that a lunar eclipse did occur at the time, viz. on the 16th of July A.D. 1144, about 9½ P.M. apparent time, at *Ujjayani*.

This date, so authenticated, becomes a fixed point, whence the period, in which the dynasty of sovereigns of *Dhárá* flourished, may be satisfactorily computed. The series of four princes, whose names are found in these patents, two of them anterior to A.D. 1134 (1190 *Samvat*), and two of them subsequent to that date, (for the anniversary of NARA VARMA's funeral rites in 1191, determines his demise in 1190 *Samvat*,) may be taken to extend from the latter part of the eleventh century of the christian era to near the close of the twelfth. It is carried retrospectively, through a line of three more princes, to SINDHU, grandfather of *Rája* BHOJA, by the marble at *Madhucara-ghar*, and other evidence, as shown by Major Tod.

The earliest of the three patents inscribed upon copper, which were procured by Major Tod at *Ujjayani*, bears the date of 3d *Mágha sudi* 1192 *Samvat*, answering to January A.D. 1137. It has the signature of YAŚOVARMA DÉVA, who, in the preceding year, 1191 *Samvat* had made a donation of land on the anniversary of the demise of his father NARA VARMA DÉVA, which was confirmed (apparently in YAŚOVARMA's life-time), by his son LACHHMÍ VARMA DÉVA, in 1200 *Samvat* as above noticed. The latest of the three grants is by his successor JAYA VARMA DÉVA, and, being incomplete, exhibits no date. Both these patents agree in deducing the line of succession from UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, predecessor of NARA VARMA. There is consequently this series perfectly authenticated:

UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA
|
NARA VARMA DÉVA
|
YAŚ'Ó VARMA DÉVA
/ \
JAYA VARMA DÉVA. LACHHMÍ VARMA DÉVA.

* Digest of Hindu Law, 2, 378. As. Res. 2, 50.

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No. 1.

A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

'*Om!*' Well be it. Auspicious victory and elevation.[1]

Victorious is he, whose hair is the ethereal expanse,[2] who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line[3] which is a type of the germ in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,[4] reddened by the lightning's ring that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless[5] prosperity.

The great prince,[6] resplendent with the decoration of five great titles[7] with which he is thoroughly and excellently imbued and possessed, the fortunate Lacshmi varma déva, son[8] of his Majesty,[9] the great king, sovereign,[9] and supreme lord, the fortunate Yasó varma déva, son[10] of[9] Nara varma déva, son[9] of[9] Udayáditya déva, acquaints the *Pat'tacila*[10] and people, *Brâhmanas* and others, inhabiting *Badhuda-grâma*[11], dependant on *Surdsan'ê*, and *Ut'hawantaca-grâma*,[12] appertaining to *Tépâ-suvarna-prâsadika*,[13] both situated in the twelve great districts[14] held by royal patent, be it known unto you. Whereas, at the fortunate *Dhara*,[15] the great king, sovereign, supreme lord, the fortunate Yasó varma déva, upon the anniversary[16] of the great king, the fortunate Nara varma déva, which took place on the 8th of *Cârtica sudi*, years eleven hundred and ninety-one elapsed since *Vicrama*, having bathed with waters of holy places, having satisfied gods, saints, men and ancestors with oblations,[17] having worshipped the holy Bhawânîpati,[18] having sacrificed to fire offerings of *sami*, sacrificial grass, sesamum and boiled rice,[19] having presented an *arghya*[20] to the sun, having thrice perambulated *Lapsi*,[21] seeing the vanity of the world, deeming life a tremulous drop of water on the leaf of a lotus, and reckoning wealth despicable[22]—As it is said,

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast;[23] the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant, the breath of man is like a drop on the tip of a blade of grass. virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Considering this, did grant by patent, preceded by gift of water,[24] for as long as the sun and moon shall endure, unto the *A'vasat'hica*[25] the fortunate Vaka pâla, son of the fortunate Vis'warûpa, grandson of the fortunate Mahima[26] swami, a venerable *Brâhmana* of *Carnâta* in the south, who studies two *védas*[27] and appertains to the *Aswalayana*[28] *sac'hâ*,

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sprung from the race of BHARADWÁJA,[28] and tracing a triple line of descent, *Bháradwája*, *Á'ngirasa*, and *Várhaspatya*,[29] settled at *Adrikavaddhúvarí-s'khára*,[30] the aforesaid *Badalda-grámo* and *Ut'hawanaca grámo*, with their trees, fields and habitations,[31] together with hidden treasure, and deposits, and adorned with ponds, wells and lakes.

On the 15th of *Srávana sudi* in the year 1200, at the time of an eclipse of the moon,[32] for our father's welfare, we have again granted those two villages by patent with the previous gift of water,[33] therefore all inhabitants of both villages, as well the *Paṭṭacila*[34] and other people, as husbandmen, being strictly observant of his commands, must pay unto him all dues as they arise, tax, money-rent, share of produce,[35] and the rest.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation accordingly.[36]

By many kings, SAGARA as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.[37]

He, who resumes land, whether given by himself, or granted by others, is regenerated a worm in ordure, for 60,000 years.[38]

RÁMABHADRA again and again exhorts all these future rulers of the earth this universal bridge of virtue.....[39]

(The remainder, upon another plate, is wanting.)

No. 2.

A Grant of Land, inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

'Om! Well be it! Auspicious victory and elevation!

Virtuous is he, whose hair is the ethereal expanse;[2] who, for creation, supports with his head that lunar line[3] which is a type of the germ contained in the seed of the universe.

May the matted locks of love's foe,[4] reddened by the lightning's ring, that flashes at the period of the world's end, spread for you nightless[5] prosperity.[6]

From his abode at the auspicious *Bardhamánapura*, his Majesty,[7] the great king, sovereign,[8] and supreme lord, the fortunate JAYA VARMA DÉVA, whom victory attends, son[9] of [10] YAŚÓ VARMA DÉVA, son [11] of [12] NARA VARMA DÉVA, son [13] of [14] UDAYÁDITYA DÉVA, acquaints all king's officers, *Bráhmańas* and others, and the *Paṭṭacila*[15] and people, &c. inhabiting the

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village of *Mâyamâdaca* which appertains to the thirty-six villages of *Vat'a* [39] Be it known unto you Whereas we, sojourning at *Chandrapuri*, having bathed, having worshipped the boy, beneficent and adorable BRAHMÂNIPATI —[40]

Considering the world's vanity:

for

This sovereignty of the earth totters with the stormy blast, [42] the enjoyment of a realm is sweet but for an instant, the breath of man is like a drop of water on the tip of a blade of grass virtue is the greatest friend in the journey of the other world.—

Having gained prosperity, which is the receptacle of the ships and bounds [43] of a revolving world, whoever give not donations, repentance is their chief reward.—

Reflecting on the perishable nature of the world, preferring unseen spiritual fruit, [do grant] to be fully possessed, so long as moon and sun, sea and earth, endure [unto] .. sprung from the race [of *Bhâradvâja* [41] ..... settled at *Adriya-lamba-dâvari-st'hâna*, situated within the southern region, at *Râja brahma puri*.....

(The remainder, inscribed on a separate plate, is wanting.)

No. 3.

A Grant of Land inscribed on Copper, found at Ujjayani.

(The beginning, inscribed upon another plate, is wanting.)

In respect of two portions [44] of *Brâhmana's* allowance, by exchange for two portions allotted to the attendant of the temple and the reader, to be held as assigned for the anniversary of the auspicious MÔMALA DÊVÎ, [45] and in respect of seventeen *nivartanas* [46] of land, with eleven ploughs [47] of land, assigned to both persons in a partition of *Vicarnâ grâma* the whole of the aforesaid little *Vangavapadra-grâma*, also a moiety of *Vicarnâ grâma* [48] within the proper bounds, extending to the grass and pasture, with trees, fields and habitations, with money rent, and share of produce, [49] with superior taxes, and including all dues, for increase of merit and fame of my mother, of my father, and of myself, are granted by patent, with the previous gift of water [50] Aware of this, and obedient to his commands,

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they must pay all due share of produce,[32] taxes, money-rent, &c. to them both.

Considering the fruit of this meritorious act as common, future princes, sprung of our race, and others, should respect and maintain this virtuous donation, as by us given.[34]

And it is said,—By many kings, Sagara as well as others, the earth has been possessed. Whose-soever has been the land, his has then been the fruit.[35]

The gifts, which have been here granted by former princes, producing virtue, wealth and fame, are unsullied reflections. What honest man would resume them?

This donation ought to be approved by those who exemplify the hereditary liberality of our race, and by others. The flash of lightning from *Lacshmi* sworn with the rain-drop,[36] is gift; and the fruit is preservation of another's fame.

Rámabhadra again and again exhorts all those future rulers of the earth: this universal bridge of virtue for princes is to be preserved by you from time to time.[37]

Considering therefore prosperity to be a quivering drop of water on the leaf of a lotus, and the life of man is such, and all this is many ways[37] exemplified, men therefore should not abridge the fame of others.

Samvat 1192, 3d of *Márgha sudi* (light half), witness the venerable *Puróhita*, Vámana, the venerable *Swámi*, Purushóttama; the prime minister and king's son, Dévadhara, and others.

Auspiciousness and great prosperity.

R.

This is the sign-manual of the fortunate Yaśóvarma déva.

Adhi. *Śri.*

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NOTES.

(1) Both this and the following inscription begin alike, and contain several other parallel passages. There are gross errors in both; but one has helped to correct the other.

(2) *Vyómacésa*, a title of *S'iva*, whose hair is the atmosphere.

(3) The crescent, which is *S'iva*'s crest.

(4) *Smaśánin*, a title of *S'iva*. He is represented with his hair clotted and matted in a long braid rolled round his head, in the manner in which ascetics wear their's. Hair in that state has a tawny hue.

(5) Nightless, endless: eternal.

(6) *Mahá-cumára*: a royal youth, a young prince.

(7) I am not entirely confident of the meaning of this passage.

(8) *Padánud'hyáta*, an ordinary periphrasis for son and successor: literally, "whose feet are meditated, *i. e.* revered, by ....."

(9) The additions are those usually borne by sovereign princes among the *Hindus*. *Bhat't'áraca* answers to the title of majesty. *Ad'hirája* is a sovereign or superior prince. *S'rí*, signifying fortunate or auspicious, is prefixed to every name.

Varman is the customary designation of a *Rájaputra*; as *S'arman* is of a *Bráhmana*. The term enters into composition in the names of many of this family

(10) *Pat't'acila* is probably the *Pat't'ail* of the moderns. The term occurs again lower down; and also in the next grant (No. 2).

(11) Pronounce *Barihad-grám*. *Surdsasí* appears to be the district, or province, in which it is situated.

(12) Perhaps *Ughavan* rather than *Ut'havan*.

(13) This seems to be the name of a district.

(14) An apanage, comprising twelve great districts. *Mahá-dwádas'ca-mandala*, seems to have been held by this prince, under a royal grant from his father. He did not become his successor, for JAYA VARMA is, in another inscription, named immediately after YAS'Ó VARMA, and was reigning sovereign.

(15) *Dhárá* was the capital of this dynasty.

(16) Anniversary of the death. It appears, therefore, that NARA VARMA died in 1190 *Samvat*.

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(17) The allusion is to the five great sacraments, which a Hindu is bound to perform.—See *Menu*, iii, 67.

(18) *Bhavánípati* is a title of *S'iva*, husband of *Bhavání*. In the following inscription, the name again occurs in a similar manner, with the further designation of *Vardhara-guru*.

(19) The *áhuti*, or burnt-offering, consisting of boiled rice, with *tila* (Sesamum orientale, *cusa* (Poa cynosuroides), and *lawá* (Adenanthera, or Prosopis aculeata).

(20) An *arghya* is a libation or oblation, in a conch, or vessel of a particular form, approaching to that of a boat.—*As. Res.* vii, 291.

(21) *Capilá* probably is fire, personified as a female goddess.

(22) *Abhra* is a cloud; and *Vátá*, wind: whence *Vátábhra*, a windy cloud. Or *abhra* may signify the ethereal fluid (*ácáśa*). The stanza is repeated in the next inscription.

(23) A requisite formality in a donation of land.—See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 276. *Treatises on Law of Inheritance*, p. 238.

(24) Erroneously written *Á'vasat'haca* in the text. Its derivation is from *Á'vasat'ha*, a house, and it bears reference to the householder's consecrated fire (*gárhapatya*). HALÁYUDH'A, author of the *Bráhmańa-sarvasva*, has, in the epigraph of his work, the title of *Á'vasat'haca-mahá-d'harmád'hyacsha*.

(25) This probably should be *Mihira*, which is a name of the sun.

(26) *Dwivid* is one who studies two *védas*, as *Trivid*, one who studies three.

(27) The text exhibits *Á'sdiyana*, doubtless for *Á'swaláyana*, by which name one of the *S'ac'hás* of the *véda* is distinguished. Á'SWALÁYANA is author of a collection of aphorisms on religious rites (*Calpa sútra*).

(28) *Gótra*, descent from an ancient sage (*Rishi*), whence the family name is derived. There are four such great families of *Bráhmańas*, comprehending numerous divisions.

(29) *Pravara*, lineage traced to more of the ancient sages. The distinction between *Gótra* and *Pravara* is not very clear. MADHAVA on the *Mímánsá*, 2. 1, 9, names those very three families as constituting a *Gótra*, and gives it as an example of *Pravara*.

(30) This, which seems to be the name of a country, is differently written in the next inscription. Perhaps it may be a branch of the *gótra*, or family, from which the donatory derived his descent.

(31) *Máli*, signifies field; and *Cale*, abode. The passage may admit a different interpretation.

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Mála implies, (as I learn from Major Tod), according to the acceptation of the country, land not artificially irrigated, but watered only by rain and dew.

(32) An eclipse of the moon appears, from calculation, to have taken place at the time here assigned to it viz. 16th July 1144, as in the preceding year, 28th July 1143. *Art de vérifier les Dates*, i, 73.

(33) *Hiraṅya*, gold: rent in money.

Bhága bhogu, in another place, *bhágábhoga* share of produce, rent in kind.

34 This stanza, a little varied, recurs in the third grant (No. 3).

35 This also recurs in the same No. 3, and is likewise found in a grant translated by Sir William Jones.—*As. Res.* vol. i, p. 365, st. 1.

(36) A quotation. See *Digest of Hindu Law*, ii, 281, and *As. Res.* ii, 59. Also, i, 366; and viii, 419.

(37) The remainder of the stanza (which may be easily supplied from the other inscriptions: See the next grant, and *As. Res.* vol. i. p. 365, st. 3, and vol. iii. p. 53, and vol. viii. p. 419) was probably followed in the second plate, by further quotations, deprecating the resumption of the gift by future sovereigns: and to which was subjoined the sign manual, with the names of attesting officers; as in the accompanying grant by Yas'o varma (No. 5).

The bridge of virtue, which signifies "the maxim of duty," bears an allusion to Rama's bridge, to cross the sea to *Lanká*.

(38) These two stanzas occur also in the preceding inscription.

39 *Ṭaṭa-c'hedaca-shaṭ-triṅshaṭ*, thirty-six villages of *Ṭaṭa*: for it should probably be read *C'hétaca* (which signifies a village) instead of *C'hédaca*.

40 *Ṭulgagra-d'hará-d'hará*: an allusion is probably intended to *D'hará*, the seat of government of this dynasty. *Valga* signifies a leap, and *d'hára*, a horse's pace.

41 The grantee was either the same person, or one of the same family, as in the preceding grant; for the designations are identical, so far as this reaches.

(42) For want of the first plate of this patent, the beginning of the second is very obscure, and perhaps not rightly intelligible, without divining what has gone before. I have endeavoured to make sense of it, but am far from confident of having succeeded.

(43) Mónala dévi was not improbably the name of Yas'o varma's mother;

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and the anniversary is that of her obsequies: as in the preceding patent for a grant on the anniversary of the obsequies of VAHÓ VARMA's father. Else it may be the annual festival of an idol of that name.

(44) The name is written *Vicarvagrama* in one place, and *Vicarvagrama* in another.

Major Teal observes that the ancient name of *Burhánpura* is *Lavvgrdma*.

(45) *Vvartana* is a land-measure containing 400 square poles of 10 cubits each, according to the *Lilávati*. See *Algebra of the* Hindus.

(46) I have here hazarded a conjectural emendation, being unable to make sense of the text, as it stands. Perhaps the transcriber had erroneously written *tundalá* for *tundilá*, and the engraver, by mistake, transformed it into the unmeaning *vandalá*, which the text exhibits. *Lachmi* is here characterized as the thunder-cloud pregnant with fertilizing rain.

(47) *Chanudhá*, in the text, is an evident mistake, it should undoubtedly be *bahudha*. Several other gross errors in this inscription have been corrected, too obviously necessary to require special notice, as a short vowel for a long one, and *vice versá*.

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XIV. *Some Account of a Secret Association in China, entitled the Triad Society. By the late Dr. Milne, Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College. Communicated by the Rev. Robert Morrison, D.D., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.*

Read February 5, 1825.

The writer of this paper is fully sensible how difficult it is to discover that which is studiously concealed, under the sanction of oaths, curses, and the supposed) impending vengeance of the gods, and how liable one is, even after the utmost care, to be mistaken in tracing the progress of any set of principles and schemes, which the fortunes or lives of the parties who have adopted them are concerned to hide, to varnish, to distort, and to misrepresent. He therefore offers the following remarks, not as the result of firm and unhesitating conviction, but as having a good deal of probability to support them, and as containing the substance of the best information procurable in his situation. He begs then to say a few words on the name, objects, government, initiatory ceremonies, secret signs, and seal of the said association, and to conclude with a few miscellaneous remarks.

First, *the Name.*

The name is not expressed on the seal, and hence it is difficult to ascertain it with certainty. It seems, however, to be the * *San hó hwuy*, i. e. "The Society of the Three united, or the Triad Society." The three referred to in this name are † *T'heen, te, jin*, i. e. "Heaven, Earth, and Man," which are the three great powers in nature, according to the Chinese doctrine of the universe. In the earlier part of the reign of his late Chinese majesty, ‡ *Kea King*, the same society existed, but under a different denomination. It was then called the § *T'heen te hwuy*, i. e. "The Coelesto-terrestrial Society," or "The Society that unites Heaven and Earth." It spread itself rapidly through the provinces, had nearly upset the government, and

* For the Chinese characters, see Plate I, No. 1.
† See plate, No. 2.
‡ See plate, No. 3.
§ See plate, No. 4.

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its machinations were not entirely defeated till about the eighth year of the said Emperor's reign, when the chiefs were seized and put to death; and it was (in the usual bombast of Chinese reports) officially stated to his majesty, "that there was not so much as one member of that rebellious fraternity left under the wide extent of the heavens." The fact, however, was just the contrary, for they still existed, and operated, though more secretly; and it is said, that a few years after they assumed the name of the "Triad Society," in order to cover their purposes. But the name, by which they chiefly distinguish themselves, is * *Hung kea*, i. e. the "Flood Family."

There are other associations formed both in China and in the Chinese colonies that are settled abroad, as the † *T'heen hou kung*, i. e. the "Queen of Heaven's Company, or Society;" called also, the ‡ *Neang ma kung*, or "Her Ladyship's Society;" meaning the "queen of heaven, the mother and nurse of all things." These associations are rather for commercial and idolatrous purposes, than for the overthrow of social order; though it is said, that the members of the "Queen of Heaven's Society," settled in Bengal and other parts, unite in house-breaking, &c.

Secondly, *Object.*

The object of this society at first does not appear to have been peculiarly hurtful, but, as numbers increased, the object degenerated from mere mutual assistance, to theft, robbery, the overthrow of regular government, and an aim at political power. In foreign colonies, the objects of this association are plunder, and mutual defence. The idle, gambling, opium-smoking Chinese (particularly of the lower classes), frequently belong to this fraternity. What they obtain by theft or plunder is divided in shares, according to the rank which the members hold in the society. They engage to defend each other against attacks from police officers; to hide each others crimes; to assist detected members to make their escape from the hands of justice. A Chinese tailor in Malacca, named *Tsaou foo*, who committed murder, in the close of 1818, shortly after the transfer of the colony, and made his escape from the hands of justice, was a chief man in this society; and, it is believed, had a considerable number of persons under his direction, both on

* See plate, No. 5. † See plate, No. 6. ‡ See plate, No. 7.

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the land and at sea. There cannot be a doubt but his escape was partly owing to the assistance of his fellow-members, as a rigorous search was made for him by the police. In places where most of the members are young, if one takes a dislike to any man who is not a member, the others are sure to mark that man as the butt of their scorn and ridicule. If any one feels injured, the others take part in his quarrels, and assist him in seeking revenge. Where their party is very strong, persons are glad to give them sums of money annually, that they may spare their property, or protect it from other banditti, which they uniformly do when confided in, and will speedily recover stolen goods. In such places as Java, Singapore, Malacca, and Penang, when a Chinese stranger arrives to reside for any length of time, he is generally glad to give a trifle of money to this brotherhood to be freed from their annoyance.

The *professed* design, however, of the *San hō hwuy* is benevolence, as the following motto will shew:

* Yew fŭh tung heang
Yew ho tung tang
The blessing, reciprocally share
The woe, reciprocally bear.

They assist each other, in whatever country, whenever they can make themselves known to each other by the signs.

Thirdly, *Government.*

The government (if it be proper to dignify the management of so worthless a combination by such an epithet), of the *San-hō-hwuy*, is vested in three persons, who are all denominated † *Ko*, "Elder brothers," a name given by way of courtesy to friends, in the same manner as Free-Masons style each other brothers and brethren, and as certain religious societies call their members brethren, and say "Brother" so and so. They distinguish between the ruling brethren thus:—‡ *Yih ko*, *Urh ko*, *San ko*, i. e. "Brother first, Brother second, Brother third." There may be others who take part in the management, where the society's members are numerous. The members generally are called § *Heung tĕ*, i. e. "Brethren."

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* See plate, No. 8. † See plate, No. 9. ‡ See plate, No. 10. § See plate, No. 1.

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Of the laws, discipline, and interior management of the *San-ho-hwuy*, the writer of this has not been able to obtain any information. There is said to be a MS. book, containing the society's regulations, written on *cloth*, for the sake of preserving the writing long in a legible state. Should a detection be made, the cloth MS. may, for the time, be thrown into a well or pond, from which it can afterwards at convenience be taken out; and in case of the person, in whose care it is, being pursued by the police, and obliged to swim across a river, &c. he carries the MS. with him, and as the ink appears to possess a peculiar quality, the impression in either case is quite legible. As they cannot print their regulations, this seems well calculated to preserve them from oblivion.

The heads of this fraternity, as in all other similar associations, have a larger share of all the booty that is procured, than the other members.

Fourthly, *Initiatory Ceremonies.*

Of these but a very imperfect idea can be obtained. The initiation takes place commonly at night, in a very retired or secret chamber. There is an idol there, to which offerings are presented, and before which the oath of secrecy is taken. The Chinese say there are * *San shih lüh t'he*, *i. e.* "thirty-six oaths" taken on the occasion, but it is probable that, instead of being distinct oaths, these are different particulars of one oath, very likely the *imprecations* contained in it, against persons who shall disclose the nature and objects of the society.

A small sum of money is given by the initiated to support the general expense. There is likewise a ceremony which they call † *Kwo Keaou*, *i. e.* "crossing the bridge." This bridge is formed of swords, either laid between two tables (an end resting on each), or else set up on the hilts, and meeting at the point; or held up in the hands of two ranks of members, with the points meeting, in form of an arch. The persons who receive the oath, take it under this bridge, which is called "passing, or crossing the bridge." The *yih ko*, or chief ruling brother, sits at the head of this steel bridge (or each with a drawn sword), reads the articles of the oath, to every one of which an affirmative response is given by the new member, after

* See Plate I, No. 18. † See Plate I, No. 13.

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which he cuts off the head of a cock, which is the usual form of a Chinese oath, intimating—"thus let perish all who divulge the secret." But it is said the grand ceremony can only be performed where there is a considerable number of members present. They worship Heaven and Earth on those occasions, and sometimes, when the place is sufficiently secluded, perform the initiatory rites in the open air.

Fifthly, *Secret Signs*

Some of the marks by which the members of the *San hô hwuy* make themselves known to each other, are those that follow.—Mystic numbers, the chief of which is the number *three*. They derive their preference for this probably from the name of their society, "the Triad Society." In conformity with this preference they adopt *odd* rather than *even* numbers, when it can be done. They say *three*, *three* times ten, *three* hundred, *three* thousand, *three* myriads, rather than *two*, *four* times ten, &c.

The word * *Hung*, above-mentioned, contains the number *three hundred and twenty one*, and is often used by them for particular purposes. They separate its component parts thus, † *san pǎh urh-shih—yih*. The character *san* is properly a form of ‡ *shwuy* (water), as used in composition, and should have this sound; but in the analysis of any Chinese character, of which this form of *shwuy* constitutes the dexter component, the teacher says to his pupil, § *san-teen shwuy*, i.e. put "three points water at the side," or "the three point form of *shwuy*." But when used by the *san hô hwuy*, the word *san* (or three) alone is employed; the other parts being out of place for them. ‖ *Pǎ*, or eight, much resembles in sound ¶ *pǎh* (an hundred), and in a rapid conversation is scarcely distinguishable from it. ** *Urh-shih* is the united or mercantile form of †† *urh shih*, or "two tens" run together for the sake of expedition in business. ‡‡ *Yih* is the common form of one. Now hearing the component parts of *Hung* gone over in this manner, it seems to the uninitiated to mean §§ *san pǎh urh shih yih*, "*three hundred and twenty-one*." What the members themselves mean by it, it is impossible

* See Plate I, No. 14. † See Plate I. No. 15. ‡ See Plate I, No. 16. § See Plate I, No. 17.
‖ See Plate I, No. 18. ¶ See Plate I, No. 19. ** See Plate I, No. 20.
†† See Plate I, No. 21. ‡‡ See Plate I, No. 22. §§ See Plate I. No. 23.

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to discover. In *writing*, it is as above analyzed; or in uttering the *sound* of the components, they equally understand each other's meaning.

Certain motions of the fingers constitute a second class of *signs*, *e. g.* using *three* of the fingers in taking up any thing. If a member happens to be in company, and wishes to discover whether there be a brother present, he takes up his *tea-cup* or its *cover* (Chinese tea-cups have always a cover), with the *thumb*, the *fore*, and *middle fingers*, or with the *fore*, *middle*, and *third* fingers, and which, if perceived by an initiated person, is answered by a corresponding sign. It does not, however, follow from this that every Chinese who uses three fingers, in taking up, or holding, his tea-cup, is a member of the *san kŏ hwuy*, for many of them do it from mere habit. But there is a *certain way* of doing it by the initiated, which they themselves only know. In lifting any thing that requires both hands, they use three fingers of each hand.

They also have recourse to *odes and pieces of poetry*, as secret marks.—(See below, under Particular 6th, "Explanation of Characters within the first Octangular lines.)

Sixth, *the Seal.*

The seal is a *quinquangular* figure—this, as above noticed, is one of the Society's mystical numbers. From the manner in which some characters on the seal were written, it is not improbable that some of them have been erroneously explained. The following is submitted as the best explanation of them which the writer's present circumstances enable him to furnish.*

Explanation of the Characters at the five corners, in the outer, or quinquangular lines

1. *Tŭo*, the earth planet, *i. e. Saturn*, which, according to the Chinese, especially regards and influences the *centre* of the earth; also one of the five elements.

2. *Mŭh*, the wood planet, *i. e. Jupiter*, or that planet which reigns in the eastern part of the heavens.

* For an engraving of the seal, see Plate II. No. 1

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3. *Shwuy*, the water planet, *i. e. Mercury*, to which the dominion of the northern hemisphere is confided.

4. *Kin*, the metal planet, *i. e. Venus*, to which the care of the west is confided.

5. *Ho* the fire planet, *i. e. Mars*, to which the southern hemisphere is assigned.

N B. The reasons (or some of the reasons) why these planets are placed at the corners of this *seal*, may be, because they are the basis of Chinese astrological science, and because they are considered the extreme points of all created things.

Explanation of the five Characters which are directly under the Planets.

6. *Hung*, a flood or deluge of waters. One of the secret designations of this fraternity is *Hung kea*, literally, "*the flood family*;" intended, perhaps, to intimate the extent and effectiveness of their operations, that, as a flood, they spread and carry every thing before them.

7. *Haou*, a leader; a chief or brave man.

8. *Han*, the name of an ancient dynasty, but, in certain connections, signifying a bold and daring man, which is most probably the sense here.

9. *Ying*, a hero.

10. *Kea*, a stand, but metaphorically used to denote a person of importance to the state, or to society, as we use tropes, and say, "such man is a pillar," "the stay of his country."

N.B. Though this be the ordinary meaning of these words, it is possible that they may be used by the fraternity in a mystical and occult sense.

Explanation of the other Characters within the same lines.

11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 *Ying, heung, hwuy, hŏ, tsan, yuen, she.*
18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. *Heung, te, fan, kae, yih, show, she.*

"The hero band in full assembly meet;
"Each man a verse, to make the ode complete."

This is a very probable sense of the words as they are placed, especially as it is known to be a frequent practice of this fraternity to converse together in poetry, and in order to elude suspicion when in company with others,

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one man takes but a line, or half a line, which by itself is utterly unintelligible to persons not initiated, but which, being understood by a brother member, is responded to by him in another line or half a line, and, by thus passing on through several persons, an ode may be completed, though not perceived by any but the parties themselves.

25, 26, 27 *Kĕe te tuy* These three words are inexplicable in the order in which they stand. *Kĕe* signifies to tie, to bind, and often used to signify the formation of a secret association. *Te* (if we be right in the character) signifies a brother, or younger brother, and the sense thus far would be—"*to form a brotherhood.*" *Tuy*, is a pair of any thing, or two things equal to each other. But it is probable that these words have a reference to other words on the seal, the connection of which seems difficult to discover.

Explanation of Words within the first octangular lines.

28, 29, 30, 31. *Heĭng te tung chin,*
32, 33, 34, 35. *Kŏ yew kaou tow;*
36, 37, 38, 39. *Kaou k'e fun poe;*
40, 41, 42, 43. *Wan koo yew chuen.*

Which may be thus rendered:—

The Brethren all in battle join,
Each ready with a chosen sign,
An ancient brook with parting streams,
Still flowing down from long-past times.

In support of this version it might be urged, that the fraternity have certain secret signs or marks, by which they make their ideas known to each other, and in the tumult which they excite, these signs are made use of to encourage each other in the work of destruction, and that they consider their society as of very ancient origin, and as spreading through the world from age to age.

But the words may be read in lines of eight or seven syllables, and might begin at the 32d, thus:—

Kŏ yew kaou tow kaou k'e fun,
Kaou ke fun poe wan koo yew.

N.B. This last line shifts back to 36 for its first syllable.

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In fact, there appears scarcely to be a limit to the mutations of these numbers, for, like the changes of the *pá kwa* (Chinese table of diagrams), they may contain an infinitude of senses and modifications, with which, however, the initiated alone are familiar.

Explanation of Characters within the second octangular lines.

44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50. These characters, as they stand, seem to make no intelligible sense, and from the circumstance of their being written with two kinds of ink, black and red, renders it highly probable that they are constructed for the purpose of local concealment, they are perhaps the names, real or assumed, of the officers of the brotherhood, that half of the characters in *red* ink, which seems printed, may be permanent, and have some general reference to the designs of the society, and to the other characters on the seal, while the *yellow* part (on the original blue silk seal), which is evidently *written* with a pencil, may, joined to the printed half, constitute the names or epithets of the officers in some particular place. In another place, where persons of different designations are chosen to be officers, the yellow part would be different. This conjecture is confirmed by the opinion of several learned Chinese, who have seen and examined the seal.

51, 52, 53, 54. These characters have, no doubt, a reference to the ultimate view of the brotherhood, viz. universal extension and dominion. 53 is an inverted form of 53, and 53 is an abbreviated form of * *wan*, a myriad. 52 (in the quinquangular lines) signifies "*Heaven*," and 54, "*Earth*." And the position of 54 and 53, both looking towards the straight line on which the words "Heaven" and "Earth" are written, may mystically signify the bringing of myriads of nations under the society's influence

Explanation of Characters within the square lines.

55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60. *Chung e hoo, wo chih tsung*, i.e. "*Let the faithful and righteous unite so as to form a whole*" (i. e. an universal empire). This seems the plain sense of the words, according to this arrangement of them,

* See Plate II, No. 2.

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but it is impossible to ascertain whether something else may not be intended, as they are susceptible of as many meanings as arrangements. This version, however, agrees with the general views of this dangerous fraternity

Characters within the oblong square.

61, 62. *Yun shang*, supposed to be the name of the *chief* of the fraternity, some think the *founder*, but, the character being *written*, and in *yellow* ink, it is more likely to be the chief for the time being, at whose death the blank space in seals subsequently issued could be filled up with the name of his successors, whereas the name of the founder, never changing, would be more likely to be printed, in some permanent form.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

If any weight be due to the scattered hints that have been given above, there will appear to be a striking resemblance in some points between the *San hò hwuy*, and the *Society of Free-Masons*. The writer would not be understood, by so saying, to trace this resemblance in any of the *dangerous* principles of the *San hò hwuy*, for he believes that the Society of British Free-masons (and of others he knows nothing) constitutes a highly respectable body of men, whose principles and conduct are friendly to social order, regular government, and the peace of society. The points of resemblance, then, between the two societies, appear to the writer to be the following:—

1. In their pretensions to great antiquity, the *San hò hwuy* profess to carry their origin back to the remotest antiquity.* *Tsze yew chung Kwo*, *i. e.* "from the first settlement of China," and their former name, *viz.*— "*Celesto-terrestrial Society*," may indicate that the body took its rise from the creation of heaven and earth, and it is known that some Free-masons affirm that their society "had a being ever since symmetry and harmony began," though others are more moderate in their pretensions to antiquity.

* See Plate II. No. 3.

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2. *In making benevolence and mutual assistance their professed object, and in affording mutual assistance to each other, in whatever country, when the signs are once given.* Notwithstanding the dangerous nature of the *San hō huuy*, the members swear, at their initiation, to be filial and fraternal and benevolent, which corresponds to the engagement of the Free-masons, to philanthropy and the social virtues.

3. *In the ceremonies of initiation, e. g.* the oath, and the solemnity of its administration, in the *arch of steel* and *bridge of swords*. These are so singularly striking, that they merit the attention of those especially who think Free-masonry a beneficial institution, or who deem its history worthy of investigation.

4. May not the three ruling brethren of the *San hō huuy* be considered as having a resemblance to the three masonic orders of apprentice, fellow-craft, and master?

5. The signs, particularly "*the motions with the fingers*," in as far as they are known or conjectured, seem to have some resemblance.

6. Some have affirmed that the grand secret of Free-masonry consists in the words "Liberty and Equality," and if so, certainly the term * *Heung Te*, (*i.e.* "brethren") of the *San hō huuy* may, without the least force, be explained as implying exactly the same ideas.

Whether there exist any thing in the shape of "Lodges" in the *San hō huuy*, or not, the writer has no means of ascertaining, but he believes the Chinese law is so rigorous against this body, as to admit of none.† Nor does there appear to be a partiality among the members for the *masonic employment*. Building does not appear to be an object with them, at least not in as far as can be discovered.

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* See Plate II, No. 4.

† To belong to this Society is, in China, a capital crime.

The late Dr. Milne sent these notices of this Triad Society to China for further investigation, in July, 1821, and died on the 2d of June, 1822; and hence the paper was left in its present unfinished state.—*Note by Dr. Morrison.*

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XV. *A short Account of the Sauds.* *By William Henry Trant, Esq., M.P.*

Read February 5, 1825.

In March 1816, I went with two other gentlemen from *Fatahghar*, on the invitation of the principal persons of the *Saud* sect, to witness an assemblage of them, for the purpose of religious worship, in the city of *Farrukhábád*, the general meeting of the sect for that year being there.

The assembly took place within the court-yard of a large house, where the number of men, women, and children was considerable.

We were received with great attention, and chairs were placed for us in front of the hall. After some time, when the place was quite full of people, the ceremony commenced, which consisted simply in the chaunting of a hymn, this being the only mode of public worship used by the *Sauds*.

At subsequent periods I made particular enquiries relative to the religious opinions and practices of this sect, and I was frequently visited by Bhawani Das, the principal person of the sect in the city of *Farrukhábád*.

The following is the substance of the account given by Bhawání Dás of the origin of this sect.

"About the year 1600 of the era of Vicramaditya, corresponding with A.D. 1544, a person named Birbhán, inhabitant of *Birjaír*, near *Narnoul*, in the province of *Delhi*, received a miraculous communication from Udaya Das, teaching him the particulars of the religion now professed by the *Sauds*. Udaya Das, at the same time, gave to Birbhan marks by which he might know him on his re-appearance.

"1. That whatever he foretold, should happen.

"2. That no shadow should be cast from his figure.

"3. That he would tell him his thoughts.

"4. That he would be suspended between heaven and earth.

"5. That he would bring the dead to life."

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Bháwáni Das gave me a copy of the *Pothi*, or religious book of the *Sauds*, written in a kind of verse in the *T'henth Hindi** dialect; and he fully explained to me the leading points of their religion. That book I have now the honour to present to the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Sauds* utterly reject and abhor all kinds of idolatry, and the Ganges is considered by them not to be a sacred object, although the converts are made chiefly, if not entirely, from among the Hindus, whom they resemble in outward appearance.

Their name for God is *Satcara*, and *Saud*, the appellation of the sect, means, they say, "servant of God."† They are pure Deists, and their form of worship is most simple, as I have already stated. The *Sauds* resemble the Quakers, or Society of Friends, in England, in their customs, in a remarkable degree.

Ornaments and gay apparel of every kind are strictly prohibited. Their dress is always white. They never make any obeisance or salutation. They will not take an oath, and they are exempted in the courts of justice, their asseveration, like that of the Quakers, being considered equivalent.

The *Sauds* profess to abstain from all luxuries, such as tobacco, betel, opium, and wine. They never have exhibitions of dancing. All violence to man or beast is forbidden, but, in self defence, resistance is allowable. Industry is strongly enjoined.

The *Sauds*, like the Quakers, take great care of their poor and infirm people. To receive assistance out of the sect or tribe would be reckoned disgraceful, and render the offender liable to excommunication.

All parade of worship is forbidden. Private prayer is commended. Alms should be unostentatious: they are not to be given that they should be seen of men. The due regulation of the tongue is a principal duty.

The chief seats of the *Saud* sect are *Delhi*, *Agra*, *Jeypore*, and *Furruk-hábád*, but there are several of the sect scattered over other parts of the country. An annual meeting takes place at one or other of the cities above-mentioned, at which the concerns of the sect are settled. In *Furruk-hábád*, the number was about three thousand.

* Genuine or pure *Hindi*, unmixed with Persian or Arabic. The mixed dialect is *Hindustáni*. H.T.C.

† Probably the word may be *Sádh* (Sanscrit, *Sádhu*), signifying pious.—H.T.C.

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The magistrate of *Farrukhábád* informed me, that he had found the *Sauds* an orderly and well-conducted people; they are chiefly engaged in trade.

Bhawani Das was anxious to become acquainted with the Christian religion, and I gave him some copies of the New Testament in Persian and Hindustáni, which he afterwards told me he had read, and shown to his people, and much approved.

I had no copy of the Old Testament in any language which he understood well: but as he expressed a strong desire to know the account of the creation as given in it, I explained it to him from an Arabic version, of which language he knew a little. I promised to procure him a Persian or Hindustani Old Testament, if possible.

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XVI. *Extracts from Peking Gazettes. Translated by* John Francis Davis, Esq., *M.R.A.S. Communicated by* Sir George Thomas Staunton, *Bart., V.P. R.A.S.*

Read March 19, 1825.

No. 1. *Extract from the Peking Gazette, dated 5th day of 4th moon, of the 4th year of Taou kwang* (3d May, 1824).

Tseang-yew-tëen (Governor of Chih-le province), Pëen tsow,* i. e. shortly addresses his Imperial Majesty on the subject of the tribute bearer from the † *Mëen-tëen*‡ nation, now on his way from Peking back to his native country. I deputed civil and military officers to escort him safely and diligently. Now the magistrate of *Tsze-chow* district reports that the said envoy proceeds very well and peaceably on his journey, and that on the 13th of the 3d moon (11th April) he had been escorted as far as *Gan-yang-heen* in *Ho-nan* province, where he had been transferred to the care of the local officers, to continue his progress. It is right that I present this short address on the subject.

Vermilion reply "We know it." *Khin tsze.*

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* For the Chinese characters, see Plate III, No. 1. † See Plate III, No. 2.

‡ On examining the site of this *Mëen-tëen* nation, on a very valuable map belonging to the East-India Company, and copied with great exactness from the actual surveys of the missionaries, it is found exactly to correspond to the eastern part of the Burman empire, being placed on the frontier of *Yun nan* province, between 22° and 25° latitude. Close to this, on the same map, is the name § *Ai-nu Ana*. The following rivers pass from *Yun nan* province into the Burman territory viz. ‖ *Lung-chuen keang*, Dragon-stream river ¶ *Pin-lang keang*, Betel-nut River. Somewhat to the northward of these, is, ** *Kin-cha keang*, Golden sand river. To the northward of *Mëen-tëen*, towards Thibet, and the Berhampooter river (which latter is written by the Chinese, *A-loo-tsang-poo*, and exactly answers, in their way of spelling, to *E-re-chow-boo*, the Thibetian name, according to Turner) the map contains †† *Noo-e*, which either means "the angry, or savage foreigners;" or is used merely to express a foreign sound.

§ See Plate III, No. 3. ‖ See Plate III. No. 4. ¶ See Plate III. No. 5.
** See Plate III, No. 6. †† See Plate III, No. 7.

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Erection of Military Posts on the Frontier of Yun-nan (dated 4th year, 6th moon, 4th day).

Ming-shan, Viceroy of *Yun-nan* and *Kwei-chow* provinces, entreats the Imperial attention to the subject of this address. I, your slave, have received a communication from the military commander, *Ah-tsung-ah*, stating, that "in the first year, and the third moon he was indebted to the Imperial goodness for his present appointment of general of *Tăng yuĕ chin*, and that having been introduced to your Majesty's presence, he reached his station in the 8th moon of the same year. Three years having nearly elapsed, it is right that he solicit to be again introduced."* In the 6th year of Kea-king (1801) the Imperial decree signified, that for the future, the precise period of presenting military officers need not be rigidly observed that any such persons as were not immediately engaged in the performance of important duties, might proceed in turn to Peking to be introduced." This is respectfully preserved on record The station *Tang yuĕ*,† being on the very frontier itself, is of great consequence. Watch towers and lines of communication are now forming and it would be inexpedient to entrust the command to an inexperienced person; therefore it is right to petition the Imperial goodness to defer the period of this General's presentation until the work in which he is engaged be completed. For this purpose the present address is humbly offered up.

No. 2. *From the Peking Gazette, of the 4th year of Taou-kwang, dated 3d moon, 20th day.*

Depreciation of the metal Currency in Fŭh-këen province, in consequence of over coinage.

Chaou-shin-chin, Viceroy of *Fŭh-këen* and of *Che-keang* provinces, with his colleagues, kneels and presents this report concerning the depreciation

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* Such is the old established rule, but having been found inconvenient, it is sometimes relaxed. The Viceroy of Shen-se and Kan-sŭh has proposed lately to the Emperor, to confine it to the provinces close to the capital, and excuse the distant ones.

† *Tang yuĕ chin.* In the Company's large MS. map it is placed on the borders of the Burmese empire, between Betel-nut and Dragon-stream rivers.

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of the current Tchen* (base metal coin) in comparison with silver, to the great loss of the provincial treasury, requesting the Imperial assent to a temporary suspension of the coinage, with a view to prevent needless waste, and equalize or bring to a par the market prices of gold and silver.

In the mint of *Fŭh-keen* province, named Paou-fun-keu, the average coinage of ten days has been 1,400 strings of Tchen† (each string containing 1,000, or ten divisions of 100 each), and therefore the total coinage of one year has averaged 43,200‡ strings (or 43,200,000 Tchen), the use of which has been to pay the militia of the province. In order to procure the copper and lead required for coinage, officers have been regularly deputed to Yun-nan and Hoo-pih provinces, and it has been calculated that the expences of transmission and coinage together with other charges, added to the cost of the metal, have amounted, on an average, to $\frac{1}{1,000}$ in every 1,000 Tchen. The present market value of standard silver in exchange for coin at the capital, is 1 Tael weight for 1,240 or 1,250 Tchen; and it is the same throughout the province. This being added to the above, the total disadvantage amounts to more than $\frac{1}{300}$ in each Tael, and the annual loss to more than 90,000 Taels value.

The province of Fŭh-këen being on the borders of the sea, its distance from some other provinces is great, and the merchants, who resort hither with their goods, finding it inconvenient to carry back such a weight of Tchen, exchange it for silver, as a more portable remittance, by which means silver and coin have become very disproportioned in their relative values, the former rising, and the latter falling, to an unusual degree.

It has always been the rule to pay the militia in *Tchen*, at the rate of 1,000 for a Tael of silver; but now a Tael of silver in the market being worth 1,240 or 1,250 *Tchen*, they experience serious loss from this when they exchange their *Tchen* for silver, with a view to the more ready transmission of their pay to a distance."

After some other details of less interest, the Viceroy and his colleagues

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* 錢, pronounced *Tchen*, to the northward, and called by Europeans at Canton, cash.

† See Plate III, No. 8.

‡ Taking the Tchen at their proper value, the annual addition to the circulation in this province would be about £14,400, and of the whole empire, taking it at *fifteen* provinces, £216,000. It was probably the great *bulk* of the coin, in proportion to its *value*, which induced the necessity of provincial mints.

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propose, that "from the summer half-year of the 4th of Taou kwang, the mint should be shut, and all further coinage suspended: the soldiers receiving their pay in silver, until the relative values of silver and currency approach nearer to a par." The Emperor returns for answer—"The address has been recorded." And a later gazette conveys his assent to the measure.*

Description of the Coins of the Ta-tsing, or reigning Dynasty of China.

I.

Shun-che,† A.D. 1644. The founder of the present Manchow Tartar dynasty, by driving out the *Ming*, or Chinese dynasty. He compelled the Chinese to shave their heads, and wear long tails, like the Tartars. Reigned eighteen years. The other two characters, *Tung-paou*,‡ denote that the coin is current throughout the empire. The reverse of the coin bears the Tartar character.

II.

Kang-he,§ A.D. 1661. The second Emperor of the present dynasty. Reigned sixty-one years. He has been very much praised by the Jesuit missionaries, to whom he showed great favours.

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* The Yuen dynasty or Mongol conquerors of China, established a paper money for the pay of their troops (a fact which is noticed by Marco Polo), but, ignorant of the truth, that the circulation cannot absorb, or take up, more than a limited quantity, without a depreciation of its value, they continued their extravagant issues of paper, until it became nearly worthless, notwithstanding their absurd attempts to keep up its credit, by forbidding the use of any medium of exchange but this. The final expulsion of the Mongol Tartars may be attributed in some measure to the ruin induced by the above cause. In an interesting memoir on this subject (a copy of which was obligingly transmitted by its author to the Translator of the foregoing), M. Klaproth very truly observes, that the Manchow Tartars, the *last* conquerors of China, have never attempted to put paper money in circulation, adding, "car ces barbares ignorent encore le principe fondamental de toute bonne administration financière, savoir que *plus un pays a de dettes, plus il est riche et heureux.*"

† See Plate III, No. 9. ‡ See Plate III, No. 10. § See Plate III, No. 11.

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III.

YUNG-CHING,* A.D. 1722 The third Emperor. Reigned thirteen years.

IV.

KEEN LUNG,† A.D. 1735. The fourth Emperor. Reigned sixty years. The Chinese Empire was never so large as in this reign. KEEN-LUNG expanded it to its greatest size, as Trajan did the Roman empire by violating the wise precept of Augustus, in adding the province of Dacia. KEEN-LUNG sent the embassy to the Khan of the Tourgouth Tartars, a tribe whom he afterwards restored to their native country, from their exile in the Russian territories. Lord Macartney's embassy was to this Emperor

V.

KEA-KING,‡ A.D. 1795. The fifth Emperor. Reigned twenty-five years. Lord Amherst's embassy

VI.

TAOU-KWANG,§ A.D. 1820. The reigning Emperor.

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* See Plate III, No. 12.
† See Plate III, No. 13.
‡ See Plate III, No. 14.
§ See Plate III, No. 15.

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XVII. *Memoir on Bundelkhund. By Captain James Franklin, of the Bengal Cavalry, M.R.A.S.*

Read May 21, 1825.

Bundélkhund,* as its name implies, is the tract or country of the *Bundélas*, and comprises all the territory, which the *Rájas* of that dynasty occupied, in the zenith of their power. Thus, the aggregate of the present states of *Tehrí*,† *Jhánsi*, *Dattiya* and *Sumpt'hir*,‡ and as far as the *Déáan* river, might be termed Bundelkhand Proper. but, the tract lying eastward of that river being also under the dominion of *Rajas* of Bundela extraction, who are the descendants of *Rájá* Chhatrsaal, custom appears to have reconciled the term as applicable to the whole extent of territory occupied by the united dynasties. Following this rule, therefore, the boundaries of Bundelkhund may be stated as follows:—on the north, the river Jumna (*Yamund*,), on the south, parts of Berar and Málwá (*Malwa*), on the east, Baghélkhund; and on the west, Sindia's possessions. It extends from 77° 48′ to 81° 33′ east longitude; and from 24° 3′ to 26° 26′ north latitude, being 165 British miles in length by 232 in breadth, and containing 25,817 square miles, with a population of 2,400,000 persons.

Under the Muhammedan government, Bundelkhund formed parts of the Subahs of Agra, Alláhábad and Málwá: but this arrangement became nugatory on the fall of the Muhammedan empire, and at present the geographical division consists merely in distinguishing the territory in possession of the British government from that of the Bundéla chieftains.

The British possessions extend along the line of the Jumna river, from the zilá of Alláhábád to that of Etawa (*Atava*), and from the Jumna southward to the frontier of the native states: they contain 4,685 square miles,

* It has not been always practicable to reduce names of places and of persons in this essay to an uniform system of orthography.—*Ed.*

† Written *Teary* and *Tehree*.—*Maps, Hamilton's Gazetteer, &c.*

‡ Simpter, Simtheer.—*Maps, Gazetteer, &c.*

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including the perganah of *Kánch*, and have a population estimated at 700,000 inhabitants.

This tract being divided into two nearly equal parts by the *Kén** river, the divisions are termed eastern and western districts, and they are again divided in the usual manner into perganahs, and t'hánas, for the facility of collecting the revenue, and regulating the police.

The states of the native chiefs, or *Rajas* of Bundelkhand, occupy the remainder of the tract, and are each under the dominion of its own chief, who enjoys the protection of the British government, and is thus secured from foreign encroachment. They contain about 19,000 square miles, and 1,700,000 inhabitants.

These petty states are numerous, and some of them are extensive: but, in order to present them in a clear light, and shew the nature of the tenure by which they are holden, it will be necessary first to take a general view of the history of the whole province.

The *Chandéla* race or dynasty is the most ancient of which there is any existing account, and even this information, limited as it is, is too much blended with fable to offer any clear or distinct data. The *Chóhán-rasa*,† a poetical chronicle of the exploits of *Raja* Pirt'hírái of Delhi, gives a short account of them; and describes the boundaries of their possessions to be *Bírtaighar* on the west, the *Púar* (*Pramara*) states on the south-west, *Gúnduána* on the south, the *Soorgi* (*Súrya* or *Surya*?) territory on the east, and the *Jumna* river on the north; and, following this description, their territory must have been very extensive. Their magnificence indeed is apparent at the present day, by the numerous remains of stupendous edifices, and other ruins, which are to be found in several parts of the province, the style of architecture of which is so superior to that of a later period, that these ruins, and the inscriptions which are frequently connected with them, are not only objects of interest and curiosity, but they might be investigated with hope of eliciting further information.

From the *Chóhán-rasa* it appears that Chunder Brim (Chandra Varma) was the first of this dynasty, and, on the authority of an ancient inscription, still extant in one of the old Hindu temples of Kajrat,‡ he is stated to have been contemporary with the author of the Hindu *Sambat*. The fanciful

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* Cane, Kanne — *Maps, &c.* † See page 146, &c. of this volume. ‡ Kajuraha.

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story of the moon (*Chandra*) appearing in human shape to a Bráhman's daughter on the banks of the Kén river, and the result of that interview, the birth of Chandra Varma, explains that his origin is from the lunar line. And another part of the fiction ascribes to him the foundation of *Mahóba*,* and also of the fort of Calinjar (*Calanjara*,†: but the Bráhmans ascribe a much earlier date to the construction of that celebrated fortress.

The author of the *Chóhán-rása* quotes a list of twenty names as the successors of Chandra Varma.

It is to be regretted that there are few historical data regarding any of those personages: all that is known respecting them is from the poetical chronicle abovementioned, and from it we gather, that the first on the list was the founder of *Bárighar*, and the second of *Sirsaghar*, the ruins of which fortress are still to be seen on the banks of the *Pahuny*‡ river. Keerut Brim (Kirti Varma), the nineteenth on the list, extended his territory on the side of Gondwaná, and *Parmal Déó* (Paramal Déva), the last in it, is stated to have occasioned the downfal of their power, by his folly and mal-administration.

The perversion of mind and intellect, in the instance of Paramal Déó, which is said to have occasioned the ruin of this dynasty, is fancifully typified according to the taste of the times, by the author of the *Chohan-rása*, under the fiction of Indra and his ministering courtezan; but it may also be gathered from the same author, that the immediate cause of quarrel between *Parmal Déó* and his formidable opponent *Rája Prithwiraj*, arose out of a chivalrous exploit of the latter, in carrying off Padmávati, the daughter of Padma Sén, *Rája* of *Sanand Sikhar*. A party of the retinue of the *Chóhán* chief, on its return to Delhi, passing through *Parmal Déó's* territory, was opposed by that chief; and the haughty *Rája* of Delhi, indignant at the insult, resolved to avenge himself by attacking *Mahóba*. This event is stated to have occurred in 1140 H. S., or about 1083 A. D.; and although *Parmál Déó* was permitted to retain *Mahoba*, he was evidently reduced to a tributary condition.

This overthrow, and the invasion of Mahmúd of *Ghazni*, which followed shortly afterwards, appear to have annihilated the power of this dynasty; and although the fortress of Calinjar withstood repeated sieges afterwards,

* Mahobad, *Maps, &c.* † Callinger, Kallinger, Calanjara.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer, Maps, &c.*
‡ Pahooj

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the whole country was eventually subjected to Muhammedan sway, and finally to that of *Rájá* Chhatrasál.

The events which followed the overthrow of the *Chandéla* dynasty are very imperfectly known, but from the local annals of the province, it would appear, that various adventurers exalted themselves upon its ruins, and this state of confusion and anarchy in all probability prevailed without any party obtaining decided ascendancy during the long interval between the invasions of Mahmud and Timur, but about the period of the latter, a tribe of warlike Rájpút adventurers from *Góharbhún*, under the conduct of a chief named *Déwdá Bír*, ravaged the district of *Cúnár*, on the right bank of the Jumna river, and fixed themselves at Mao Mahóní [a]. This chief was the founder of the Bundela dynasty. *Mao Mahóní*, *Cálpí*, *Cánch*, *Cúnár*, and *Bijáwar* were his conquests, and his power is stated to have been princely, so much so, that in imitation of other great powers, he was enabled to assume and support the family appellative of Bundéla, and thus gave name to his dynasty and dominion.

The Bundélas are of the solar line, and trace their origin from Ramchandra through his great descendant *Lawa Cúsa*, who established his authority in the province of Benares; and their genealogical line is traced through seven princes bearing the title of *Cúshwara*, Lord of *Cási*, or sovereign of Benares; seventeen bearing the family appellative *Góharwar*, and thirty bearing that of Bundela.

The conquests of *Déwdá Bír*, and the dominion which he established, suffered no diminution during the rule of his successor, Anirudha Pala; and Sohán Pala, the third in descent, increased it by the addition of *Cundr*, which he wrested from a colony of *Cunghers*, who had settled there. But nothing worthy of notice seems to have occurred after this period, until the succession of Mékoní Malla, about the latter end of the reign of Ibrahim II., or the commencement of that of Baber.

Mékoní Malla, the eighth in descent from Dévaná, appears to have been of an enterprising character, and is mentioned by Ferishta in his history. His principal conquests were from the *Púars*, which unfortunate race, having been driven out of Malwa, had settled in the mountainous parts which bordered on the Bundela possessions. The aggressions against this race did not terminate with Mékoní Malla; they were resumed by his grandson, Partáp Rhad, whose territory eventually became so extensive, as to induce

[a] Mow.

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him to change the seat of his government, and build a city, named *Oorcha*, (*Aryeya*,* or *Uchcha*) which he made the capital of his dominions.

Oorcha was built in 1587 H. S., or 1531 A. D., soon after the accession of the Emperor Hamayún to the throne of Delhi, and is situated on the left bank of the Bétwa or *Betwaví* river in lat. 25° 21′ 15″ N., and long. 78° 38′ 0″ E. Ferishta, the historian, in speaking of the Bundela chieftains, usually denominates them 'Oorcha Rajputs.'

Madhucar Sah, grandson of Partap shah, is the next chief deserving of notice, he lived in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and by prudently professing obedience to the Muhammedan government, which was at that period in the zenith of its power, he remained secure in his possessions, and transmitted them to his eldest son, Ram Sah; but a decree of the Emperor Jehangir is said to have changed the order of succession in favour of his second son, Birsingh Déo, (*Bira sinha deva*), because that chief had rendered himself useful to court intrigues by the assassination of the celebrated Abulfazl, on his return from the Dekhan.

The *Bundelas*, however, are loud in their praises of Birsingh Déo, and vestiges of his munificence, in the construction of artificial reservoirs of water and temples, are conspicuous to the present day, they certainly have been highly beneficial to cultivation in this barren country, which to a great measure owes its produce to the irrigation which these artificial lakes afford.

Birsingh Déo was succeeded by his eldest son, Jaihar Singh, of whom there is an interesting account in Colonel Dow's history of the reign of Shah Jehan, which coincides in every particular with the Bundela records. The story is too long to repeat in this place, but his revolt from the Muhammedan government occasioned the invasion of his territory, which terminated with his expulsion and flight into Gondwana, whence he never returned.

The power of the Bundéla dynasty was broken by this catastrophe, and *Oorcha* and its dependencies, after this period, were occupied by Muhammedan thanahs for the space of six years. But though their power was broken, the spirit of the Bundelas was unsubdued, and the incessant struggles of the chiefs, amongst whom Champat Rao, the father of Rao Chha-

* Hamilton's Gazetteer. *Oorchar, Oorcha*, Hamilton's Hind. *Uchcha?*

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ranas, was most conspicuous, at length, compelled the Muhammedan government to withdraw its Thanahs, and Partab Singh, the third son of the late *Raja* Bahadur Dio was installed in the possessions of his ancestors.

From this period the Rajas of Bundelkhand became feudatories of the Muhammedan government, furnishing their quotas of troops for the service of the empire, and attending in person when required, and their bravery and warlike character frequently proved of great use: thus, for instance, Indra Mani in the reign of Aurungzeb took part in the war against Shah Shuja, and was present at the battle of *Kowl Jehanabad*. Avadhuta Singh, in the reign of Bahadur Shah, assisted in the war against the Sikhs, and, for his conduct in the siege of Lohegharh was honoured with the insigna of the Mahi Murátib as a mark of distinction. Sawant Singh (*Samanta Sinha*) in like manner, in the reign of Shah Alam, was honoured with the title of Maharaja for services at *Jhansi*, which title is still retained by the head of the family to the present day. But after the accession of Rajit Singh (*Hasti Sinha*), the successor of *Samanta*, family quarrels, and the pretensions of Pajan Singh introduced a state of anarchy and confusion, which still further weakened their power, until the accession of Birhamajit, (Vicramaditya) whose good sense and judicious conduct not only stayed the progress of decay, but eventually secured the stability of his possessions by an alliance with the British government. His earliest measures were to resist and overcome the pretensions and aggressions of Pajan Singh, which he fully effected, and, on the occupation of Bundelkhand by the British, he immediately connected his interest with theirs. Circumstances, however, dependant on political considerations, prevented the fulfilment of his wishes at that time; but, subsequently, in 1812, being alarmed at the progress of Sindia's encroachments, he renewed his solicitations for British protection, and that government, convinced of the expediency of the measure, concluded a treaty of friendship and alliance with Orcha, by virtue of which his territories are protected from foreign invasion.

Birhamajit resigned his power during his lifetime to his son, Dharma Pal, and the seat of government is removed from *Orcha* to *Tehri*. The dependencies of *Tehri* now constitute the whole of the possessions of the *Bundela* chief, but the principalities of *Jhansi*, *Datiya*, and *Simpthar* have all emanated from the parent state, which was governed by the former *Rajas* of this dynasty.

The above sketches relate to the history of the tract situated west of the

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Dessan river, or Bundelkhund Proper; and it now remains to describe the rise and progress of another government, which at a later period was established by Raja Chhatrasal over the country situated east of that river; and, in order to trace the origin of this power, it will be necessary to refer back to that period of Bundela history when the Muhammedan government established its t'hanahs in *Oorcha*.

During the interval between the flight of Jajhar Singh into Gondwana and the installment of Pehar Singh in the government of Oorcha, viz. from A. D. to 1633 to 1640, all the Bundela possessions remained in the hands of the Muhammedan government, a circumstance which roused the patriotic feelings of the Bundéla chieftains to a very high pitch, and gave rise to a series of intrepid and daring exploits almost bordering on the romance. Champat Rao, the father of Raja Chhatrasal, obtained the greatest celebrity on this occasion, and when at length his successful struggles had forced the Muhammedans to withdraw their t'hanahs, he retired to his native village of *Mahewa*, there, however, his restless spirit was incapable of remaining in repose, and he was soon engaged in other enterprises. His attachment to Pehar Singh, as the rightful representative of his family, whose cause he had so materially advanced, prevented him from committing depredations on his territory, and he therefore crossed the *Deasa* river, and settled at Mao, from whence he began his inroads upon travellers and carriers, and rapidly accumulated the means of future aggrandizement. Meantime his son, Chhatrasal, entered into the service of Behadur Khan, governor of the Dekhan in the reign of the Emperor Aurungzeb. But some cause or other induced him to change it for that of the *Mahrattas*, which was then a rising power, under the famous Sivaji, in which employment he is said to have performed some useful services, and he returned to his country with reputation and credit.

At this period the state of Bundelkhund was as follows: the tract west of the *Deasa* river, or Bundelkhund Proper, was occupied by the *Oorcha* Bundélas, who were firmly fixed in their possessions by their allegiance to the Muhammedan Empire, but the country east of that river was disunited and divided amongst various powers. It was possessed partly by the Muhammedans, partly by the Soorgee (*Surji* or *Surya?*) and *Raghuvansi* tribes, partly by the Gonds, and by numerous other adventurers, who had established themselves on the ruins of the Chandelas.

Chhatrasál, on his return, finding circumstances favourable to his

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ambitious views, commenced by reducing the petty states, and gradually established himself at *Punna* with the assumed title of *Rájá*. His next attempt was on the *Sourgee Rajá*, who held possessions in the vicinity of *Teroua* and *Gárá*, and he reduced him by means of the treachery of his own Dewan. He now became so formidable that repeated attempts were made by the Muhammedan governor of Alláhábad to reduce his power, all of which he contrived to defeat, and finally he gave the Muhammedans a signal overthrow in the hills near *Punna*, and immediately appropriated their districts of *Calpi*, *Rahat*, and *Panwárí*. The Muhammedan government was now effectually roused by his ambitious views, and Ahmed Khan Bungash, the Pathan chief of Furuklabad, was sent against him with a force too powerful for him to resist. He was accordingly defeated in his turn and deprived of almost all his possessions.

In this distress he applied to the Peshwa, Bajirao, for assistance, offering large sums of money, and a promise of a third part of his territory at his death, on condition, that his sons should be maintained in possession of the remainder, and, his offer being accepted, a body of Mahratta troops was dispatched to his aid, by whose means his opponents were defeated, and the Muhammedan government was at that period too much distracted with other matters to renew its attack. Chhatrasal, therefore, peaceably governed his extensive possessions during the remainder of his life, and bequeathed them in three divisions, as follow: a share of forty-five lacs of rupees to his eldest son, Hridaya Sah, a share of thirty-six lacs of rupees to his youngest son, Jagat Raj, and the remaining share of thirty six lacs of rupees to the Peshwa.

By this arrangement the Peshwa became possessor of a large portion of Bundelkhund, which was the earliest territorial acquisition of the Mahrattas in Hindustan, and which, in after times, was transferred to the British. The other portions, after a long series of domestic troubles and civil wars, were parcelled out into a multitude of divisions, which eventually gave rise to the numerous petty states now existing, but in order to exhibit their origin, it will be necessary to follow the history of each of the parties concerned in the tripartite division.

After the death of Raja Chhatrasal, his sons, Hridaya Sah and Jagat Raj, endeavoured to evade the performance of their father's will with respect to the Peshwa, and a Mahratta force, under *Mulhar Rao Holkar*, being sent against them, they were compelled to execute the conditions of it, and

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the Mahrattas, leaving them in possession of their respective shares, withdrew across the *Deadn* river into the territories of the Oorcha Bundelas, where they conquered that portion of territory which is at present held by the Subadar of *Jhánsi*.

The dominion bequeathed to the *Péshwa* comprised all the territory now in possession of NANÁ GÓVIND RÁÓ, and also the district of *Ságar*, which has latterly fallen under British dominion. These lands were, in the first instance, committed to the charge of CÁSÍ PANDIT, a commander in the Mahratta army, who had performed some good service in the expedition under *Mulhar Rao*, from him they passed in succession to his son, GÓVIND PANDIT, who was slain at *Shák durra*,* whilst escorting supplies to the Mahratta camp during the Abdalli invasion, and in consequence of this event they were confirmed in hereditary succession in the same family, with a reduction of tribute from five lacs of rupees to three. From GÓVIND PANDIT they passed to his two sons, BALAJI and GANGAD'HAR, who ruled conjointly. They next passed to APA SAHEB, the son of BALAJI, and after his death they descended to NANÁ GÓVIND RÁÓ, the son of GANGAD'HAR, who is the present possessor.

Ságar was never more than a nominal possession of NÁNA GÓVIND RAÓ. The widow of APA SAHEB resided there, and the district, under the management of BINÁYAK RAÓ, latterly shook off all dependance on the chief of *Jálaun*,† and finally conducted himself in a manner so decidedly hostile to the British during the Pindari campaign, that his territory and town were occupied by British troops, and he and the princess placed in the capacity of pensioners of the British government.

The share allotted to *Rájá* HAÍDAYA SAH, the eldest son of CHHATRASÁL, was estimated to produce an annual revenue of forty-five lacs of rupees per annum, and included the metropolis of *Panna*. This portion seems to have undergone no diminution during the life of HAÍDAYA SAH, on the contrary, it was augmented by the capture, or rather by the surrender, of *Calinger* (*Calangara*). This celebrated fortress, which (considering the means and resources of the native powers of India, and its natural strength), might, in their eyes, be considered unpregnable, was the only possession remaining to the Muhammedans in Bundelkhund; but, owing to the disorders of the

* Rhodorra.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer.* † Jaloun.—*Hamilton's Gazetteer.*

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times, the troops which garrisoned it, being kept in arrears, mutinied for want of pay, and sold their charge to *Rájá* Hrídaya Sah.

Rájá Hrídaya Sah was succeeded by his son, Sabha Sinh, during whose time also this portion seems to have suffered no diminution. He left three sons, Amán Sinh, Hindupati, and Khét Sinh; of whom Hindupati acquired the ascendency and succession, by killing his elder brother in battle near *Durgátal*, and by the seizure and confinement of his younger brother, Khét Sinh.

During the lifetime of *Rájá* Hindupati, the affairs of his country were prosperous and flourishing. He encouraged commerce, and is said to have derived considerable revenue from the diamond mines of *Panna*; and *Chatterpore* (*Chhatrapúr*), under his auspices, became an opulent town and a great mart for commerce. He left three sons, Sebnaid Sinh, the eldest, (issue of a second marriage), and Aniruddha Sinh and Dhócal Sinh (issue of his chief *Rání*). This circumstance is of importance amongst the Rajpúts in cases of succession; and accordingly he nominated by will Aniruddha Sinh to be his successor, and during his minority, he appointed his Dewan, Béni Hazári, and Khemji Chóbé, Kradar of Callinger, to the office of guardians and managers: and to Sebnaid Sinh he gave *Rájnagur* and its dependencies, as a provision for him, independent of his brother.

The jealousy, which arose between the guardians, each aiming at the sole management, induced Khemji Chóbé to support with all his influence the claim set up by Sebnaid Sinh to the succession; and hence they became declared enemies. A desperate battle was fought between them, without either party gaining the ascendancy; and their resources being exhausted, they suspended hostilities: and on the death of Aniruddha Sinh, which happened shortly afterwards, they found their interest in agreeing to elevate his brother, Dhocal Sinh, who being a minor, they were thereby enabled to retain the whole authority in their own hands: the *Chóbé* possessing the fort of Callinger, with the country around it, and Béni Hazári the remainder of the territory.

Sebnaid Sinh, being disappointed in his hope of establishing his claim through the means of Khemji Chóbé, applied to Núni Arjun Sinh, the guardian of the minor *Rájá* of *Bándá*, and the result of this application, as will be shewn in the sequel, proved fatal to the interests of his family, without advancing his own. Here it is necessary to take up the history of *Rájá* Jagat Raj, the second son of the late *Rájá* Chhatrasál.

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The share of *Rája* Jagat Rái was estimated to produce an annual revenue of thirty-six lacs of rupees, and included the large towns of *Bánda* and *Jetpur*.* Jagat Rai preserved his portion entire until his death, but leaving a numerous issue, the lands were afterwards parcelled out amongst them, and they were said to have been designed by him in his lifetime to be distributed as under. to his eldest son, Kirt Sinh, he designed *Bánda* and *Chircari*, to his second son, Pehar Sinh, *Jetpur*, and, to his natural son, Birsinh Déva, *Bijáwer* or *Catola*. Kirti Sinh dying before his father, and leaving two sons, named Gúman Sinh and Kúman Sinh, Jagat Rai at his death bequeathed *Bandel* and *Chircari* to them. From this origin arose the states of *Banda*, *Chircari*, *Jetpur*, and *Bijáwer*.

Pehar Sinh, who received *Jetpur* according to his father's will, availing himself of the absence of his nephew, appears to have set up a claim to the whole of the territory, with the exception of *Catola*, and the parties were consequently soon in arms against each other. Bábi Hurkut the guardian of the minor *Rája* of *Panna*, involved the affairs of that branch of the family in this transaction, by espousing the part of Pehar Sinh, and Gúman Sinh and Kúman Sinh, unable to withstand the united forces of *Panna*, *Jetpur*, and *Bijáwer*, applied for aid to Sindia, who sent a body of Mahrattas, under Khanderao Apa and Apa Nayak, to their assistance

The fortune of the war now turned in favour of the nephews. *Panna* was closely besieged, and Bábi Hurkut obliged to fly and had not the Bundéla chieftains, at this critical moment, perceived the common danger they were in, from the introduction of foreign troops into their territory, the conquest of it might then have easily been effected. But in this instance they appear to have had some foresight they suspended their mutual animosities, and united against the common danger, and, by pecuniary concessions, they finally got rid of the Mahratta troops; and settled their own disputes by mutually consenting to abide by the original design of partition said to have been contemplated by *Rája* Jagat Rai.

Pehar Sinh retained *Jetpur*, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sinh; Kúman Sinh received *Chircari*, and was succeeded by his son, Bijaya Bahadur. But *Bánda*, which was the portion of Gúman Sinh, soon acquired

* Jeitpoor Maps. *Jyhtpur*, Hamilton's Hind. *Jái-pár* or *Jyhk-pár*?

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an ascendancy, that was paramount in Bundelkhund, until the invasion of the Mahrattas under Ali Behadur.

Three intriguing ministers, named Raõ Sandal Sinh, Khem-ray (*Chémaráya*) Dicshit, and Núni Arjun Sinh, were the confidants and managers of *Rája* Gúman Sinh, and at his death he bequeathed his possessions to an adopted son, named Madhucar Sah, under their guardianship. Madhucar Sah died shortly afterwards, and Bhacti Balli, the son of Dharkh Sinh, the son of Kirti Sinh, the son of Jagat Rái, was installed in succession to him.

The guardians, however, became jealous of each other after this transaction, and Núni Arjun Sinh caused Sandal Sinh to be assassinated, and imprisoned Khem-ray. The latter, however, effecting his escape, fled to *Chircári*, and incited *Rája* Gúman Sinh to espouse his cause, and march against *Banda*, in which expedition Gúman Sinh was slain in battle near *Mohdá*,* and Khem-ray was again taken prisoner.

Núni Arjun Sinh, after this success, invested *Chircári*; and everything but the fort surrendered to him. He next marched towards *Chhatrapúr*, which then belonged to the *Rája* of *Panna*, and here he artfully espoused the cause of Sernaid Sinh, in support of his claim to the succession of *Panna*. A desperate battle was fought in consequence by the rival Dewáns Bíkní Hurzúni and Núni Arjun Sinh, in which the former was slain, and the states of *Panna* and *Banda* fell into the hands of the latter, over which he reigned as guardian to *Rája* Bhacti Balli.

The cause of Sernaid Sinh having served the purpose for which it had been espoused, was now abandoned altogether, and he retired to *Rajnagar*, whilst Dhócal Sah, the deposed *Raja* of *Panna*, became a dependant upon the bounty of the Kiládar of *Callinjer*, who assigned him some lands, which he enjoyed during his life, and bequeathed them and his state of dependence on the Kiládar to his illegitimate son Kishor Sinh, who, in aftertimes, by British benevolence, was reinstated as the representative of the *Panna* branch of the family, and became the *Rája* of *Panna*.

Such was the distracted state of the country, when Ali Behádur formed the design of conquering it; to which he was incited by an artful chief named Himmat Behadur, whose life he had saved from the vengeance of Mádhují Sindia. Himmat Behadur, in consideration of a *Jdídád*, or

* Mohda.—*Maps.*

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assignment on territory, promised all his influence and power in aiding the conquest, and by his means *Rája* Bijaya Bahadur, then smarting under the effects of Nízr Ahjun Sinh's invasion of *Chirkári*, was induced to favour the design, and Ali Bahadur accordingly entered Bundelkhund with a powerful army. The first efforts of the Mahrattas were decisive, they were opposed by Nizr Ahjun Sinh, and a bloody battle was fought between them near the fortress of *Ayagghar*, in which the guardian was slain, and the minor *Rája* Bhagti Balli became the prisoner of the conqueror.

It does not appear, however, that he was ever able to effect a complete conquest of that country. After three years of harassing warfare, he prepared to consolidate his conquests by the capture of *Callinger*: but this was an undertaking far beyond his means and capacity, the siege was almost immediately converted into a blockade, and ten years of fruitless endeavour had passed away, when he died, without the attainment of his object.

On the death of Ali Bahadur, which happened in 1801-2, Himmat Bahadur avowed his intentions of maintaining the government for the Newáb's eldest son, Shamsher Bahadur, who was at *Pánd* with his mother, and, during his absence, the younger son Zulfikar Ali, being then in camp, was elevated, as a temporary measure, under the guardianship of a near relative, named Ghani Bahadur. In the mean time, however, affairs at *Pánd* had taken a very serious turn. The *Peshwa* had been driven to *Bassin* by the rebellion of Jeswunt Rao Holcar, and the other Mahratta chieftains, where he concluded that Treaty with the British Government, which is known under the name of the treaty of Bassin, the stipulations of which occasioned the war of 1803-4 between the British Government and the Mahratta confederates.

One of the hostile plans of the confederates was to invade the British dominions by the way of Bundelkhund, and Shamsher Bahadur, being then at *Pánd*, was chosen as a fit instrument for their plans. He was confirmed in the succession of his late father's rights, and despatched to his government, and in the meantime letters were written to Himmat Bahadur and the other adherents of Ali Bahadur, requiring them to aid in the furtherance of the proposed plan of rendering Bundelkhund the nucleus of the invasion of the British territories which were contiguous to it.

Himmat Bahadur, foreseeing in the success of the plan of the confederates the downfal of his own authority, or perhaps thinking he might be able to make better terms with the English, resolved on abandoning the

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Mahratta interests, and accordingly made overtures to the British Government to assist in transferring the country to them; and the circumstance of the proposed plan of the confederate Mahrattas indispensably requiring that Bundelkhund should be occupied by British troops, as a measure of defence, the proposal of HIMMAT BEHADUR was accepted; and this is the origin of the first occupation of Bundelkhund by British troops.

Shortly after this transaction, the *Peshwa* proposed that the district of Savanore, and other lands, which had been assigned by him to the British instead of subsidy, should be restored to him, and in lieu thereof, and also as an equivalent for a regiment of cavalry, and other matters stipulated in the supplemental articles of the treaty of Bassin, a portion of territory in Bundelkhund to be selected from the conquests of ALI BEHADUR, and amounting to 36,16,000 rupees per annum, should be ceded to the Honourable Company; and this proposal being acceded to, the British thereby acquired a large portion of the province.

It would require a detail of events, too lengthened for the limits of this paper, to describe the course of policy, or the system of measures, which at length tranquillized this distracted country, and introduced order and peaceable habits amongst a race of men, who for years had experienced nothing but the comfortless effects of anarchy and civil war: suffice it to say, that the author of this paper having conducted a survey throughout the whole of their territories, has witnessed the happy results of the system which was pursued, and can feel a pleasure in recording them.

In 1817 the *Peshwa*, by treaty, ceded to the Honourable East-India Company all his rights, interests or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary, in the province of Bundelkhund, including *Sagar*, *Jhansi*, and the lands held by NANA GOVIND RAO, and agreed to relinquish all connexion with the chiefs in that quarter.

Thus terminated the authority of the *Peshwa* in Bundelkhund, and the only advantage which the British Government took of this cession in their favour, was to require from NANA GOVIND RAO the cession of a small portion of his territory, with a view to complete the frontier line; and in return he was constituted hereditary ruler of the remainder of his territory, and released from the payment of tribute. The *Subáddr* of *Jhansi* was confirmed in all his possessions as heretofore, but the chief of *Sagar*, by open acts of hostility, compelled the government to displace him, and occupy his territory, the revenue of which, however, is applied partly in payment of a

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pension to him and the widow of Apa Sahéb, whose manager he was; and the residue, after deducting the expenses of collection and government, and the lawful demand of tribute as settled by the former government, is paid to Nána Góvind Ráú.

This transaction completed the settlement of the affairs of the province; since which, with the exception of the affair of *Gúrócótá*,* there has been no disturbance.

RIVERS.

The *Kén*† river belongs properly to Bundelkhund; it rises in latitude 23° 55′ N., longitude 80° 8′ E., from a range of hills near the village of *Mohar*. Its infant course is northerly, through the *Bandar* hills, which it pierces, and forms a cataract near *Piparya*. Its direction then changes to west, flowing parallel to the range of mountains, until it is joined by the *Patni*, *Bearma*,‡ *Sonár*, and *Mirhanya* rivers, when the united streams are precipitated over a cataract near the village of *Singhóra*, and foam in a deep narrow channel worn in the rocks, in forcing their way through the *Panna* and *Bandhyáchal* ranges of mountains to the plains below. The course then continues northerly, and after receiving the *Bárdad*, the *U'rmil*, the *Cáyal*, the *Chandrával*, and other minor streams, it falls into the *Jamná* at *Chilláud*, after a course of 230 miles. The bed of the river is too rocky for all the efforts of art or labour ever to render it navigable. It is, however, well stocked with a great variety of fish; and the pebbles, which are found in its bed, are so exquisitely beautiful, as to be in great request for ornaments.

The *Dásán* is the next great river which peculiarly belongs to Bundelkhund. It rises from the *Vindhya* chain of mountains; and pursuing its course northerly between *Sagar* and *Rahatghar*, and viâ *D'hámoni* and *Jerár*, receives its tributary streams, the *Cálení*, the *U'r*, the *Sapra*, and *Lakhairi* rivers; after which it falls into the *Betwáti* or *Bétwá* river near *Chandwár*, after a course of 220 miles. This river is more rocky than the *Kén*, and is equally well stocked with fish.

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* Gurra Kota.—*Maps, and Hamilton's Hind.*

† Cuana of Pliny.—*Rennel, Hamilton's Hind.* i. 396. ‡ Bearmah.—*Maps.*

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The *Betwaut* or *Betwa* (*Vetava*) river belongs partly to Malwa and partly to Bundelkhund. It rises near *Bhópál*, and pursuing a north-east course, pierces the *Bindhyáchal* mountains, about ten miles south of *Chandri*, and after receiving its tributary streams, the *Ur*, the *Jámni*, the *Désán*, and *Barwá* rivers, it falls into the *Jumna* near *Anurpur*, after a course of 350 miles.

The *Póhúmj*, the *Ramj*, and *Paisuni* rivers, exclusively belonging to Bundelkhund, are minor streams. The latter is sacred amongst the Hindus; and its cataract near *Jorai*, as well as its romantic course to the plains below, is exceedingly interesting, and particularly so to the Sanscrit student, who may here fancy himself on classic ground.

There is no cut or canal, nor are any of the rivers navigable, throughout the whole of Bundelkhund, except that, in the rainy season, when the river is swollen, boats lightly laden may proceed up the *Ken* river, as far as *Bándá*, but in the dry season the above remark is without any exception.

LAKES, RESERVOIRS.

There are numerous reservoirs of water, which have been artificially constructed; of these the principal, east of the *Désán* river, are at *Jaitpur*, *Mahóba*, and *Ghora*. But the great field for these stupendous works is west of that river. The former *Rajas* of the *Bundela* dynasty expended vast sums of money on works of this nature, and the lakes of *Berwa-Ságar*, *Aryál*, *Bur-Sagar*, *Nandana-wara*, *Hámírí*, *Jhatárí*, *Gúrá*, *Bhund*, and many others, are striking proofs of this fact. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the immense piles of masonry, which in some cases have been heaped up to stay the current of the stream, and force its waters to expand, or of the extreme simplicity by which the same object has been effected in others: the lakes of *Nandan-wara* and of *Aryál* are instances illustrative of both these remarks.

The great object of these reservoirs was irrigation, and their waters in some instances are diffused, by means of small drains, to lands which are many miles distant. The general sterility of the soil required these aids, and without them, nearly the whole tract would have remained an unprofitable waste.

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MOUNTAINS, HILLS, &c.

The mountains of Bundelkhund run in continuous ranges parallel to each other, each successively supporting a table land, one above the other, and hence they are called *ghâts*.

The first of these ranges is called the *Bindhyáchal* mountains. They commence at *Kesúghar*, five miles north of *Séunda* on the *Sindh* river, and making a circuitous sweep by *Naraeér*, *Chandrí*, *Hirapur*, *Rájghar*, *Ajeyghar*, and *Calanjara*, they cease, near *Barghar*, to belong to Bundelkhund, and continue their course, by *Bindhyachâsni* and *Tará*, until they approach the Ganges at *Surájghara*, and again at *Rájmahl*.

Nothing can be more striking, as a topographical feature, than the plains of Bundelkhund, which resemble a vast bay of the ocean formed by these natural barriers, crowned with the fortresses above mentioned, and what is somewhat remarkable, the progressive elevation of the soil from the bed of the Jumna, as towards the apex of this bay: hence the diminished altitude of the range at that point, being scarcely 500 feet above the surface, whilst at *Calyanghar* the same range is 800 feet. The most elevated summit does not exceed 2,000 feet above the level of the sea.

Another remarkable feature is the picturesque appearance of numerous isolated hills, which seem to stand alone, and entirely unconnected with any other mountains: but this appearance is deceptive; they are portions of ranges which alternately disappear and emerge, sometimes in the form of isolations, and sometimes in continuous ranges; and it is also worthy of remark, that they all radiate from the apex of the bay, as if from a common centre, and diverge from it like the sticks of a fan.

The second range is called the *Panná* range, which runs parallel to that of *Bindhyáchal*, preserving a distance of about ten miles from summit to summit.

The third range is called the *Baudair* range; and in topographical feature it resembles an acute spherical triangle, the apex of which is near *Nágaund*, the area being table land, and the sides of the triangle having their abrupt faces outwards. This range gives rise to the *Ken* and *Patní* rivers. It is the most elevated portion of the province; and its contour describes in miniature the greater curves of the lower ranges, as if it was the nucleus on which they were formed.

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The *Kaimur* hills do not belong to Bundelkhund, but they run parallel to the other ranges, and therefore may not improperly be mentioned here. In *Baghelkhand* they are called *Kaimur* hills, in Berar the *T'haman* hills, and afterwards the *Vindhya** mountains.

FORESTS, JUNGLES, &c.

There are no forests in Bundelkhund, nor any timber which could be turned to use on an enlarged scale; the jungle of the low lands, of which, indeed, there is too much, particularly in the native states, consists generally of the wild jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and wild carandas (*Carissa C.*), with a considerable proportion of gigantic swallow-wort (*Asclepias gigantea*), and other brushwood, which is convertible into no other use than to burn as manure or fuel: but the jungle of the hills is more useful. The bamboo is plentiful, the teak is here and there found of a small size, and, generally speaking, almost every kind of timber common to India is found, of a diminutive growth. Perhaps the most valuable productions of these hills, after their diamonds, iron, and bamboos, are drugs, gums, the chironjia nut, and catechu extract, the produce of the mimosa catechu, which grows here in great abundance.

The preparation of catechu, from its great simplicity, deserves to be noticed. At the season when the sap flows most copiously, a few *Gonds* take up their temporary residence in some solitary glen, where the khair tree (*khadira*) abounds. All the implements they require are a hatchet, a few earthen pots, and the convenience of water. The tree, after being felled, is barked and chipped whilst the sap is flowing, and in the mean time the earthen pots, half filled with water, are ranged in rows over fires; the chips, as soon as cut, are thrown into the water, and boiled until the inspissated juice acquires a proper consistency; the liquor is then strained, and suffered to cool, and it soon coagulates into a mass, which is the catechu, the quality of which depends very much upon the freshness of the tree from which it is obtained.

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* This is the same name with the *Rikshyachal* or *Rikshcha* before mentioned. *Vindhya* is the tropical zone of mountains across India. This mountainous tract comprises several ranges nearly parallel. Those which face the north and south are particularly known by the general appellation. The intermediate have discriminative denominations.—Ed.

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MINES, MINERALS, AND MANUFACTURES.

The diamond mines of Bundelkhund have long been famous, they are situated on the table land between the first and second ranges of hills near *Panna*, and extend from the *Ken* river eastward as far as the *Chúk nadi*, and it is perhaps worthy of note, that beyond these limits no diamonds are found. They are the exclusive property of the *Rája* of *Panná*, but adventurers may dig for them if they chuse to pay the expenses, and a tax of one fourth of the produce to the *Raja*. The mines, however, are so much exhausted, that this privilege is rarely accepted, and is oftener attended with disappointment than gain. The diamonds are found in a red gravelly soil, at various depths below the surface, from three to fifteen feet, but generally at three or four feet, and they are separated from the soil by washing and sifting it, the diamond is of the table or flat kind, and is rarely found perfect.

The iron mines are contiguous to the former, the *Ken* river being the line of separation between them, they are said to be inexhaustible, though at present they are but partially worked by a few adventurers, who pay a certain sum, varying from four to seven rupees a season, for each furnace. The other expenses consist in digging the ore, which is obtained close to the surface, and in the preparation of charcoal, and so simple is the first process, that the metal in its earliest stage can be purchased at the mines for one rupee twelve anas per maund. When taken from the mines, it undergoes a second and sometimes a third refinement, under more skilful hands, in which state it usually comes to market.

The miners are generally of the *Gónd*, or other hill tribes, who prefer a wretched subsistence in these barren regions to the plains below, and in times of scarcity, numerous robberies are committed by them. If, therefore, a small capital were judiciously employed in working these mines, and means of constant employment afforded to these people, great beneficial results might be expected in a philanthropic point of view; and in this light it might be worthy the attention of the British government, as the produce would serve to supply their magazines and arsenals.

The manufactures peculiar to Bundelkhund are a coarse kind of cloth, which is stained red by a colour extracted from the root of the *Morinda citrifolia*, or *aal* plant, much cultivated in some parts of the province. *Garauli* and *Kótrá* are the chief places of this manufacture, but *Calpi* is the usual

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mart. *Calpi* is also famous for its sugar-candy and paper; and *Jhansi* may be particularized for its carpet manufactory. A coarse kind of sacking is also made in great abundance along the banks of the *Betwa* river, and at *Chhattrapur*, which supplies wrappers for the bales of merchandise passing to and from the *Dekhan*.

SOIL, PRODUCTIONS, MODE OF HUSBANDRY

The soil of Bundelkhund exhibits every variety, from the rich black loamy soil to sterile *kankar*, or Calc-tuff. The valleys and low lands are generally of the former kind, and if properly irrigated, it is as productive as any in Hindustan. It produces the sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, the *sat* plant, wheat, barley, holcus sorghum, holcus spicatus, and every species of the pulse and lentil tribe. In the more sterile parts are grown several species of grain of the millet kind, panic and paspalum: but even these inferior kinds are not attainable by the lower orders in times of scarcity, and the fruit of the *mahúd* tree (*Bassia latifolia*), on such occasions, may be ranged amongst the necessaries of life. Thousands of human beings are supported by the produce of this tree; and in extraordinary times of dearth and scarcity, the pounded bark of the *katbel* tree is often mixed with the fruit of the *mahúd*, but it is a melancholy reflexion, that those poor wretches, who are reduced to the necessity of using the bark of the *katbel* tree, are observed soon afterwards to fall victims to its effects.

The mode of husbandry varies in no respect from other parts of the country. They plough with oxen, and tread out their corn with the same animal, and if there is anything remarkable, it is that the simple Chinese wheel, set in motion by oxen, and admirably adapted to raise water which is near the surface, is employed in some parts to irrigate the lands.

The waste lands of Bundelkhund afford matter for observation, and thousands of acres, particularly in the native states, which now lay waste, and covered with jungle, might by ordinary means and management be brought into cultivation. The method is simply to root up the jungle and burn it on the spot as manure; but there is either a want of capital, or a want of confidence between the governing and the governed, which retards this desirable improvement, and these vast wastes continue to remain, to the disgrace and prejudice of their owners.

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Buffaloes and oxen in this country, as in most parts of India, are the chief domestic animals; the former are in request as beasts of burden, and the latter for every purpose of husbandry. The best breed of oxen is in the perganahs of *Chandlá-Bichháwan*. The sheep are small, but the goats are superior, the term *Jamna-pári* (or across the Jumna), is applied to denote their superiority.

REMARKABLE BUILDINGS, RUINS, NATURAL CURIOSITIES.

There are no very remarkable buildings now extant; but there are several ruins, which mark the site of buildings that must have been magnificent in their time: for instance, at *Mahóbá*, at *Cajrau* near *Rajnagar*, at *Málhan* above the hills near *Jódhpur* (*Yuddhapura*), at *Sirsadghar* near *Saliya* on the *Pahuaj* river, and in many other places. These vestiges, and the numerous inscriptions which are to be found in many parts of the country, have all a reference to its ancient history.

Amongst the natural curiosities may be reckoned the subterraneous cavern called *Gúpt-godávah*, near *Chitracota*, another cavern, called *Bíya Cúnd*, in the hills near *Bijáwar*, the cataracts of *Bedhak*, near *Calyanghar*, of the *Paisuní* river, near *Jorai*, of the *Bhdgi* river, south of *Calinjer*, and of the *Rany* river, south of *Ajaygkar*, but perhaps the greatest objects of curiosity are the forts of *Calinjer* and *Ajaygkar*.

INHABITANTS AND RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS.

I shall conclude this paper with a short account of the inhabitants and religious establishments, commencing with that class, who, from the respectability of their origin, are still considered as chiefs, and are seldom found in a capacity inferior to that of a zemindar. Of these, 1st, some descendants of the *Yadawans Ahirs*, who in very early times had possessions above the hills, near *Jodhpur* and *Shárwagar*, a few of whom are still to be found in the country. 2d. The descendants of the *Chandela* race. 3d. The *Raghuwans* tribe, of *Baraunda*, east of *Calinjer*, who still enjoy property and power. 4th. The *Bundela* race, who are always in the capacity of chiefs, and who never cultivate the soil. 5th. The *Pihár* tribe, who were originally expelled

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from *Malwa*, and have small possessions tributary to *Jhánsi*, at the foot of the hills south of *Narwár*. 6th. A tribe calling themselves *Dhandéha*, who came from *Shahghar*, and occupy a small tract of country tributary to *Jhánsi*, above the hills south of *Narwár*. 7th. The *Gújer* tribe of *Sampthir*. The Mahratta Pandits of *Jalaun*, and, 9th, The *Chóbés*, who were lately expelled from *Calinger*.

Of the interior tribes, the following are the most common: *Lód*, *Cúrmi*, *Cúli*, *Canghán*, *Ahír* (*Abhira*) and *Chamar* (*Charmacára*). The native chieftains seem to find these castes more tractable, and accordingly they are found in every capacity, from the zemindar to the lowest tiller of the soil, but there is another caste which inhabits *Ranphars*, a small tract in the perganah of *Chandá*, who are called *Ranjfers*, and are the descendants of Alla and Udal, two famous champions of the period of Parwal Dáó. They seem to preserve a portion of the rough character of their ancestors, and are often discovered in groups with their spears planted around them, chanting verses in praise of their exploits. Formerly they were desperate thieves, and used to go armed to their daily occupations, but latterly they have become more tractable.

The Bundelas have been generally allowed to be a brave race of men, and there is something rudely haughty about them to the present day. They are certainly attached to the soil they inherit, and have a term, *Bhúmyádi*, which may be translated patriotism, and which they use to express their exertions in behalf of their country.

The principal Hindu religious establishment is at *Chitracote* on the *Paisuni* river, where Rama Chandra is said to have rested on his way to *Lanca*. There are also some *Jain* temples at *Senawal* and *Kondalpur* for the worship of *Buddha Jina*. But the most singular religious establishment is at *Panna*, and was founded by an enthusiast named *Ji Sáheb*, who emigrated from the *Panjáb* in the time of *Rája* Chhatrasal.

This man assumed the appellative of *Prdnandth*, or Lord of Life, and declared himself to be the promised *Imám* Mehedi, mentioned in the Koran. His first attempts to set up his new religion were in the *Panjáb*, that fertile spot for religious innovation. Afterwards he removed to *Delhi*, and finally, to avoid the persecution of the Muhammedans, he fled into Bundelkhund, where he found protection under the rising power of *Rája* Chhatrasal.

None but converts to his religion are allowed to read his book, which is

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entitled *Kalmm*, but having procured some extracts from it, and other information concerning it, I ascertained that his principal arguments for the necessity of this new religion are founded on the discrepancy which exists between the practice of Muhammedans and the precepts of the Koran; and he professes to promulgate in his book the remaining 30,000 words, which Muhammed, on the occasion of his miraculous ascent into heaven, was told should be reserved for the coming of *Imám* Mehedi.

The followers of this sect are called *Dhamans*, and their dress is after the Hindu fashion, to favour their interpretation of that passage of the Koran, which says that *Imám* Mehedi will appear in disguise. They are to be found in the *Panjab*, in *Gujerat*, *Delhi*, *Lukhnow*, *Benares*, *Muthra*, *Faizabad*, and *Nagpur*, but *Pannd* is their Mecca. Latterly they are said to have made some progress, but their whole number does not exceed 1500, of which about twenty are employed at their place of worship at *Pannd*, and the remainder are engaged in trade. The present establishment was endowed by *Raja* Hindupati with a small portion of the diamond mines, which affords subsistence to the devotees employed in their temple, and at the shrine of their founder at *Pannd*.

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XVIII. *Observations on the Lepra Arabum, or Elephantiasis of the Greeks, as it appears in India.* By Whitelaw Ainslie, M.D. M.R.A.S.

Read June 4, 1825.

It is, I presume, a truth pretty well established, that all such cutaneous affections as are not ushered in by particular febrile symptoms, are more common and more inveterate in hot than in temperate climates: but, with the exception of Doctors Hillary and Towne, I am not aware that any author on tropical diseases has bestowed much attention on maladies of this description, though some of them are singular in their character, and most of them very untractable.

Travel writers, foreign as well as English, have been more liberal of their observations. Pocock * mentions those of Damascus; Volney † notices the cuticular complaints of Egypt; Stedman,‡ in his work on Surinam, is equally considerate; Browne,§ in his travels in Africa, makes particular mention of the *Baras* (Leuce) and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), both in Egypt and Syria: he indeed says that the leprosy is more rarely to be met with in the first than the last named country, which it might not perhaps be difficult to find a reason for; and, in support of his assertion, we may cite Savary, who, in his "Letters on Egypt," informs us that he never, while there,‖ saw one unfortunate leper, though, by his "Letters on Greece," it would appear that he found several in the islands of the Archipelago (pages 110, 111). Galen,¶ however, gives us a very different account of that land in his days. "In Alexandria quidem Elephas morbo plurimi corripiuntur propter victus modum, et regionis fervorem." It is, notwithstanding,

* See Pocock's Travels, vol. ii. page 122.

† See Volney's Travels in Egypt, vol. i. page 248.

‡ See Stedman's Surinam, vol. ii. page 285.

§ See Browne's Travels in Africa, page 332.

‖ On the other hand, Pliny tells us that Elephantiasis was common in Egypt.—Nat. Hist. lib. xxvi. cap. 1.

¶ Vide Op. Galen, class vii. page 107, F.

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strange, that neither Strabo nor Herodotus, so far as I can learn, makes the least mention of it. Niebuhr,* in his "Travels in Arabia," speaks of the *Bohak* (Aphos), *Baras* (Leuce), and *Dzudham* (Elephantiasis), as all common amongst the Arabs. On Ceylon† such affections are but too frequent. In the Island of Candia, leprosy was observed by Sonnini,‡ who seemed to think that it was the only contagious disease which the inhabitants had, and that it was originally brought to them from Asia. In the more remote parts of that quarter of the world, in China,§ in Sumatra,‖ all along the shores of the Malaya peninsula, the most piteous wretches are often seen, covered with scurf, or deprived of their fingers and toes, and on the different islands,¶ which constitute the Indian Archipelago, similar sufferers are perhaps still more common.

I shall now proceed to give some account of Elephantiasis, as it appears in our Eastern dominions.

Sauvages has given perhaps the best nosological definition of the disorder "Facies deformis tuberibus callosis, ozæna, raucedo, cutis Elephantina, crassa, unctuosa, et extremis artubus anæsthesia."

This, it will be seen, differs from Cullen's description in two essential points, the latter author having omitted ozæna, which is a never-failing symptom of the disease in its advanced stages, and moreover calls it a *morbus contagiosus*, of which there are great doubts, notwithstanding the assertions of the learned Darwin, indeed, for my own part, after the most minute inquiry, I am led to conclude that it is not a contagious disease, and should be further inclined to believe, with due deference to the high authority just mentioned, as well as to *Pierre Campet*,** *Aretæus*,†† and *Dr Towne*,‡‡ that

* See Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, vol. ii. page 278.

† See Marshall's Medical Topography of Ceylon, page 43.

‡ See Sonnini's Travels in Greece, page 390.

§ See Dr. John Clarke's Observations on the Diseases of long Voyages, vol. i. page 199.

‖ See Marsden's Sumatra, page 151

¶ Leprosy is so frequent in those islands, that the Dutch were obliged, and we afterwards followed their example, to allot a small island for the exclusive use of the unhappy sufferers, it is called Lepers Island, and is near that of *Saparoa*, under the government of Amboyna. For the frequency of the disorder in those islands, the reader is referred to Mr Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i. page 94.

** See Maladies graves de la Zone Torride, page 290.

†† Vide Aretæus, lib. ii. cap. xii.

‡‡ See Towne's Treatise on West-India Diseases, page 190.

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the supposition of its ever having been so, must originally have proceeded from the desire every one naturally evinces to shun all such as are afflicted with this frightful and loathsome distemper. The most intelligent Tamool doctors, with whom I have conversed on the subject, informed me, that what they call *Kústam* (*Cushi'ha*) (Lepra Arabum) cannot be caught by infection during the common intercourse of life; but that it might perhaps be given by introducing leprous blood, or ichor, into a sane habit, by means of inoculation, and this appears to be a rational enough conclusion, when we reflect that the complaint is not, like *Prurigo*, confined to the skin, but seems to be connected with a degeneracy of the whole fluids. I cannot find any well authenticated fact of an Indian having caught the disease, by associating with those who had it, nor, of three Europeans whom I have known to die of Elephantiasis, did either the wives or servants, who had lived with them for several years, become infected.

There is every reason to believe, however, that this species of leprosy is hereditary. It is certainly so far so, that children born after the malady has commenced on either of the parents, are liable to be attacked by it. The Hindu medical men have no doubt that the *Cushi'ha* descends in this way, but at the same time they tell us, that some of the children may escape it altogether, while others, though they may have remained quite healthy for a number of years, will at length fall victims to the disease. they have also made the same observations in this instance, which we have done with regard to other hereditary evils in Europe; that is, that one generation may escape the constitutional infirmity, and the next in descent suffer from it. Some authors,* who have noticed the affection as it appears in other parts of the world, have told us, that men labouring under it are very salacious, I cannot learn, however, that any such peculiarity attaches to the lepra in Hindust'han on the contrary, it has been questioned† whether the miserable objects afflicted by it are capable of sexual intercourse but there appears to be no good reason for supposing that they are

* Such as Hillary in his Diseases of Barbadoes, pages 325, 326, Sonnini in his Travels through Egypt Bancroft in his Natural History of Guiana, page 365, &c., MM. Vidal and Johannis in their account of the disorder at Martigues. See a treatise on the supposed hereditary nature of diseases, by J. Adams, M.D. page 91.

† Dr Adams, in his work on Morbid Poisons, speaks particularly of a wasting of the genitals in Elephantiasis, as he found it at Madeira.

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not, at least during the early stages of the disorder, before the numbness of the extremities has proceeded to its greatest height, or the general debility becomes excessive. Nay, do we not every day see children, the professed offspring of a leprous parent, whose legitimacy we have no right to doubt?

Perhaps there is no class of human infirmities into which greater confusion has crept, than into that of cutaneous diseases; the ancients themselves appear to have adopted names in the most vague and indefinite manner, and the Arabian writers, their translators, and commentators, have unfortunately been little more distinct, this much, however, is certain, that the *Lepra Arabum* is the *Elephantiasis* of the Greeks, the *Elephantia* of Haly Abbas; the *Juzam*, also *Dâul'asad* of the modern Arabs, the *Khorah* of the Persians, the *Ara mauny wanny* of the Cingalese by the Hindoos it has got various appellations, *Jagâru*, *Bar'a âadr*, &c. In Dakhnî it is often termed *Ruggit Pitthe*, it is the *Untut* and *Keddi* of the Malays; the *Tubug*, also *Chewreuh* of the Javanese; the *Ma-fung* of the Chinese, the *Nambi* of the Sumatrans, and the *Kûstam* of the Tamools. The Sanscrit name of it is *Kushi'ha* (कुष्ठ) whence Hindi, *Kor*

Dr. Hillary, in his work already cited (pp. 332, 335), makes an erroneous distinction betwixt the malady now under consideration, and what he calls "*the leprosy of the joints*," for the latter is nothing else than an advanced stage of the former, and is termed by Dr. Towne, in his diseases of the West-Indies, "the joint evil." Dr. Hillary further supposes, that the leprosy of the joints is no where noticed by the Greek physicians, and only by *Haly Abbas* amongst those of Arabia, a mistake, which, after having made, however, he seems inclined to correct, by adding, "without indeed they meant that sort of leprosy in which they mention the falling off of the limbs."

Aretæus* of Cappadocia, who wrote in Greek, has given us, under the title of Elephantiasis, perhaps the most perfect picture of this distemper that has ever appeared; and takes particular notice of the falling off of the fingers and joints of the feet; he farther adds, perhaps a little extravagantly,

* A knowledge of the exact period at which Aretæus lived appears to be one of the desiderata in medical history. Le Clerc, in his "Histoire de la Médecine," says it is probable that he may have been contemporary with Galen but this is merely conjecture and of the two (Galen and Aretæus) so much is only correctly known, that they lived during the long interval betwixt Pliny and Paul Egineta, and Aetius.—See Hist. de la Médecine, pages 516, 517.

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that, before death ensues, the leper is sometimes actually torn limb * from limb. The medical men of his day and country not unfrequently called the affection *Leonia*, from the circumstance of its distorting the human countenance, and giving it somewhat the appearance of that of a lion when enraged; others again, the same writer observes, bestowed on it the appellation of *Satyriasis*, from the shameless lasciviousness that attends it.

Modern French writers have named this leprosy "*Le mal rouge*," and it may be found described under that name by Pierre Campet, in his "*Maladies graves de la Zone Torride*" (p. 290). But, although he gives upon the whole a tolerably good account of it, he does not bestow on it its proper name of Elephantiasis, that he thinks fit to reserve, like Dr Thomas,† and some others, for what we term the *Barbadoes* or *Cochin leg*, which is the *Elephas* of Haly Abbas, and the *Elephantia* of Avicenna. Modern Arab‡ physicians call it *Dau'l-fil* داء الفيل. It is the *Anay taal* of the Tamools: the *Kanilgay-kaloo* of the Gentoos; in Dakhini it is *Hati ka paõn* هتي کا پاں in Sanscrit गजपाद *Gaja-pada* (Elephant's leg), and in Cingalese, *Goney Parangy*.

Dr. Adams seems to be of opinion, that the Greek authors were not only totally unacquainted with the leprosy, distinguished by the tumefaction on the limb, and which afterwards got the name of Elephantia, from some of the Arab authors, but that the Latins§ themselves were practically ignorant both of this and the true Elephantiasis of the Greeks. In this last inference, however, which is perhaps drawn from Lucretius,‖ I presume that the Doctor has made a slight mistake, of which the reader may satisfy himself by turning to Pliny's¶ Natural History, where he will find that the genuine Elephantiasis was well known in Italy, but not before the time of Pompey the Great; yet it would not appear to have been of long continuance in

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* Vide Aretæus, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

† See his Modern Practice of Physic, vol. ii. page 188.

‡ It would appear that *Abubékir Mohamed Rhazes* has, of all the Arab writers, given the best account of this disease: he lived and practised in Persia upwards of eight hundred years ago, and has made an exact distinction betwixt Elephas and the true Elephantiasis.—See Histoire de la Médecine, by Le Clerc, page 771.

§ See Adams on Morbid Poisons, page 269.

‖ See Lucretius, lib. v.

¶ See Pliny's Nat. Hist., lib. xxvi. cap. v.

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that country, in which I believe it is at present no where to be found; at all events very rarely.

We have to regret that the very able writer cited above (Adams), who has allotted several pages of his valuable work to leprous impurities, did not do something more than he has done to remedy the want of arrangement, which has been so long complained of in this class of diseases: for, notwithstanding his great research, and evident conviction of what was wanting, he seems finally to have taken without distrust the nomenclature such as he found it, however vague and indiscriminate, and, after detailing with a master's hand many of the most marked symptoms of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, under its proper name, he adds: "But when I use the single term Elephantiasis, my wish is, to confine it to the modern disease, the Barbadoes leg:" in this way the old confusion is carried on, and to two complaints, very opposite in their nature, is given the same appellation.

There are no less than three names bestowed by the Tamool doctors on the Elephantiasis of the Greeks: *Kústam*, *Cárin Kústam*, and *Péri Véthadi*, the first signifies in their language the disease that cuts short, the second has the word *Cárin* prefixed, to denote the black or rather purple colour of the tubercles, and of the countenance and skin altogether, of such as labour under this dreadful affliction. The third and last name, *Péri Véthadi*, or great disease, is a term used by the Brahmins, and others of high rank, merely from delicacy, to avoid pronouncing the word *Kústam*, which when spoken never fails to excite a degree of disgust.

The leprosy of the Arabians, by which I must be understood to mean the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, is by no means of rare occurrence in the Indian peninsula, and spares no caste nor sect, though it is certainly more commonly found amongst the poor than the rich, owing no doubt to their manner of living, and consequent languid circulation. It is not often, as I have already remarked, that it shews itself before the age of puberty, but when it does, it seems to repress in a wonderful degree the growth of the body. Boys or girls so disordered never attain to any graceful stature, but soon become meagre, shrivelled, and miserable, their voices are shrill as well as nasal, and continue so. With coming years they evince little sexual desire, and that hair which usually covers the chin of boys, and pubes, after a certain period, either never appears at all, or is of a very delicate texture, and but thinly scattered. When the disease begins at this early stage of life, the mind as well as body seems to suffer in the general wreck. Such

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lepers are poor in spirit, drooping and listless: they are rarely seen to smile, and have not unfrequently a weakness of intellect approaching to idiotism. But the malady commonly begins its depredations about the age of twenty-three or twenty-four, seldom later than forty; and the following are the symptoms, so far as I have been able to observe, which mark its first approach, progress, and termination.

The unhappy person fated to perish by this slow but relentless affliction, first perceives an unusual dryness and slight roughness of skin in his hands, feet, arms, and legs, which, even after violent exercise, do not transmit the perspiration readily; he begins to fall off a little in his appetite, and to be much troubled with flatulence and other signs of indigestion, but he is as yet not ill enough to be alarmed, and pursues his customary occupation; his sleep, soon after this, in place of being refreshing to him as it used to be, is disturbed by wild dreams and he frequently during the night starts up in a fright, with a palpitating heart and sense of suffocation. About six weeks or two months from the time of his first being taken ill, his colour begins to change; if he was a rather fair man, he grows at least two shades darker, and his features lose much of their natural aspect, becoming somehow tumid and less agreeable than formerly. The dryness and roughness of skin increase, and about the end of the third month he complains of a strange numbness in his hands and feet, which he can allow to be pinched without feeling pain; his pulse, which was most likely always feeble, will, if felt, be found to be extremely languid, small, nay at times scarcely to be perceived. The aridity and unevenness of skin now extend further, reaching as high as the middle of the arm and leg; indeed, the cuticle over the whole body seems rigid, harsh, and to have entirely lost that smooth and healthy look which it had before the lepra made its primary attack. About this period many dark coloured spots and purple tubercles usually appear on the ancles and wrists, and partially on the legs and arms; they are in shape not unlike segments of ripe currants, but flatter at top, and of a angular shining and oily aspect; they are not attended however with any pain, neither are they particularly itchy,* which in truth they could not well be, when we consider that they are subsequent to the want of feeling

* Dr Thomas Heberden, in his paper on this leprosy says, I think erroneously that the tubercles are attended with great heat and itching.—See Medical Transactions of the College of London, vol. i.

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which I have above described. Some of the tubercles occasionally disappear suddenly, and return again, without evident cause; others generate a small quantity of ichorous matter, which drying, occasions a trifling scurfy desquamation. At this stage of the malady I have met with one or two cases in which glandular swellings at the upper and inner part of the thigh made their appearance, similar to those mentioned by Dr. Adams,* but, as far as I can learn, this is by no means so constant a symptom of the disease in India as it seems to be in Madeira. The leprosy advancing, the tubercles increase in size and number, and seizing on the face, render the infected person a most unsightly object. It must here be remarked, that up to this period the breast, abdomen, and back either remain tolerably smooth, or the tubercles are comparatively much fewer upon them, they are moreover smaller in size, nor ever on those parts do they occasion much white desquamation, the natural consequence of their greater vitality. About the end of the first year every symptom is much aggravated the dryness and rigidity of skin becomes universal, is distressing in the greatest degree, the numbness has extended to above the knee, and is so great, that the poor sufferer may, through inadvertency, burn his hands or feet to the bone without perceiving it the surface of the whole frame assumes a bright yet unctuous appearance, when narrowly examined, it looks wrinkled longitudinally, and not unfrequently feels, in those parts where feeling remains, as if stung with nettles, rising up into wide spreading irregular bumps, which come and go. The skin about the wrists and ancles, where the tubercles have scaled off, has a scurfy appearance, and here and there a raw excoriation may be perceived, the consequence, perhaps, rather of chafing than ulceration. The countenance alters still more; the cheeks grow bloated and puffy, and are studded, if I may so say, with irregular dark protuberances, the muscles of the forehead enlarged, seem as if pushed downwards; the eyebrows, thickened and swollen, hang over the eyes, which being in every instance inflamed and rheumy, and having been made to look rounder by the pressure from the neighbouring parts, resemble those of some wild animal; the lobes of the ears are rough, knotty, and misshapen; the tongue is foul, and is in some cases blistered with tubercles, which bleed, the breath is fœtid, the voice sounds unpleasant, the urine is plentiful, and generally turbid, having a most

* See Adams on Morbid Poisons, page 273.

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unnatural odour, the bowels irregular, the hairs of the head gradually fall off, the parts of generation shrink, the nails break and waste away, the fingers and toes seem as it were withered, the former bending inwards as if crampt, and the heels and soles of the feet are disfigured by deep fissures. The disease gradually going on, and the humours of the body becoming, from the impeded transpiration and general stagnation, daily more corrupt, the voice, which was but six months before only unpleasant, owing perhaps to tubercles on the uvula and palate, has now a most discordant, nasal, and unnatural sound, the *alæ nasi* are swelled and scabrous, and the bones themselves of that organ are in certain cases flattened, and twisted in some degree to one side, giving to the countenance a distorted look. A most offensive odour now issues from the nose, neither rest nor food tend to refreshen or invigorate, and all carnal appetite, in place of being increased, as some authors* imagined, entirely dies away.

In this condition, with many of the grand functions which support Life deranged, it may easily be imagined that existence must be a state of misery, and the conviction that there is no hope whatever of recovery, makes the wretched leper still more an object of pity.

In the advanced state to which I have brought, in description, the Lepra Arabum, as it appears in India, the malady will sometimes continue for several years, apparently having come to an alarming stand, but, alas! with declining years is sure to come progressive misery, every symptom is finally rendered worse, the already ugly become loathsome, on the most trifling motion the respiration is hurried, and the dyspepsia is most tormenting, owing in all probability to the perspiration being obstructed over so great a part of the surface of the body, and the certain accumulation of morbific humours: when any exertion is used sufficient to excite diaphoresis, the only parts that perspire are the neck and a little round the waist; the face, legs, arms, and thighs are thereby merely rendered clammy, and the tubercles on them turgid. At this time a feverish attack comes on regularly every evening, which may be discovered by the increased heat of the axilla, and the eyes assume that dim but brassy appearance, so properly noticed by Aretæus,† pulsation is no longer felt any where, but

* See Sonnini's Travels through Egypt, page 559. See also Aretæus, by Moffat, page 278 also Hillary's Diseases of Barbadoes, page 325—326.

† See Aretæus, page 288.

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by pressure over the heart itself; the whole frame is emaciated, the face is frightful to behold, the voice sounds hollow as if from the tomb. the hands and feet now, from long want of due nourishment, begin to give way, partially blistered-looking ulcerations taking place over their joints, they gradually drop off, and so add helplessness to misery and long-protracted calamity. Soon after this stage, comes the last closing scene, worn out by lingering and hopeless wretchedness, dead almost to every feeling of body as well as mind, the poor leper hastens to his grave: yet, cadaverous as he is, he is not deserted in his expiring moments, but finds a humane and charitable support from the more prosperous of his race. If a Pariah, he is taken care of by those of the same rank till death comes to his relief: if a Hindu or Muhammedan, he is cherished by the individual benevolence of his sect or caste, and having been conveyed to the vicinity of some pagoda or mosque, breathes out his dying prayer on what he conceives to be sacred ground!

I have been informed by my much respected friend Mr H. T. Colebrooke, that the Lepra Arabum is supposed by the Hindus of Upper India to be inflicted as a punishment for sins committed in this world, and that any person dying of it is liable to a return of the disease in his next birth; an evil that may be averted by voluntary death, by which means former crimes are expiated. the sufferer is born again, clean, and no longer subject* to the same disorder.

I have so far taken a view of the malady as it appears unchecked by any medicine whatever, it however will be found to vary according to existing circumstances, to the peculiar constitution of the leper, and as it may or may not meet with any other disorder in the habit. In poor people, who are badly fed, who do not keep themselves perfectly clean, who may be perhaps during the first stages of the complaint harassed with labour, and perhaps unavoidably exposed to the vicissitudes of heat and cold—in such, in fact, whose circulation must from a combination of debilitating causes, become every day more languid, the lepra will soonest reach to its greatest height, but amongst the more affluent, whose means enable them to take greater care of themselves in regard to diet and non-exposure to excessive heat, it will prove more tardy in its progress, owing to the better preserved

* See Ward's Hindoo Mythology, vol. ii. book 4. chap. ii. sect. iii.

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vigour of constitution: nor has it on those last-mentioned individuals by any means so unsightly an appearance; for though there are present, in every instance, the affection of the nose, the altered voice, the clouded colour, and that constant characterizing symptom the want of feeling in the extremities, yet in such cases the joints sometimes do not fall off, at all events not till a very late period of the malady, and the skin on the legs and arms does not put on the scurfy look in so great a degree, but, though rough, furrowed, and shining, is kept comparatively smooth by frequent bathings, and the external use of cocoa-nut oil.

Mr Robinson, in a valuable paper on Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindusthan, and which may be found in the Medico-Chirurgical Transactions, Vol. X., has described two varieties of the disease, which he thinks are often confounded under the same name. The one he calls *Elephantiasis Anæsthetos*, the other *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*: the first, as the name implies, marked by a want of feeling in the extremities; the second, by tubercles. I cannot say that I ever was led to believe that there were two distinct varieties, though the malady no doubt assumes varying appearances in different individuals, the natural consequence of age, peculiarity of habit, mode of living, &c. &c., and thus much I can affirm, that I never met with a single case of the genuine disease, which was not equally distinguished by want of feeling in the hands and feet, and by tubercles.

In the first volume of the Edinburgh Medical Transactions may be seen a paper on this Lepra by Mr Playfair, in which he particularly notices the virtues of the *madár* powder,* as a remedy for it.

I have already expressed a doubt whether this lamentable disorder ought to be considered as contagious, and I at the same time assigned my reasons for believing it to be hereditary: there is, however, another question which naturally offers itself regarding it, and that is, whether it may occur independently of constitutional predisposition. I confess that I am inclined to be of opinion, that in most regions of the Torrid Zone it may be brought on by a particular combination of causes, which I shall soon mention, operating on a habit distinguished by certain peculiarities. Such instances, however, amongst Europeans, we may safely suppose are extremely rare; and I cannot here omit noticing a singular fact, connected with leprosy; it

* Powder of the bark of the root of the Asclepias Gigantea.

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is this, that in every case of it I have known, in an European habit, the affected person was a German, a Dane, or a Swede, but never an Englishman: now as we learn from various accounts, that this horrid scourge is still occasionally met with in the northern* parts of Europe, though long banished from Britain and Ireland, it becomes a query, whether those men may not have brought the seeds of the disease with them from their native country.

To ascertain the true cause or causes of this leprosy would be no easy task; and I fear, as happens in the instances of many other affections to which the human frame is subject, that here little more is in our power than to offer a probable conjecture. Dr. T. Heberden, in his account of the malady, distinguishes it into two species, according to its manner of attack, viz. that by *fluxion*, and that by *congestion*. The first he thinks is often the attendant of crapula, or surfeits from some gross food, whereby the latent mischief may be called into action, violent† agitation of mind is supposed to be a not unfrequent cause of the disorder, and, in the female sex, a suddenly suppressed menstrual discharge by bathing the legs in cold water at an improper time. Aretæus‡ calls it, according to the theory of the age in which he lived, a refrigeration of the innate heat, or rather a congelation similar to the conversion of water into snow, and perhaps this comes as near the truth as any thing that has been said on the subject in these more enlightened days.

Some time towards the end of the year 1811, I requested Mr. Charles Stewart, a medical officer then under my superintendance, and stationed at Tranquebar, in the vicinity of which town the leprosy of the Arabians is very common, minutely to examine as many persons labouring under the disease as he could collect together, and to report to me accordingly. Mr Stewart obeyed my instructions; and the following are the general conclusions which I drew from that gentleman's observations on fifty lepers, male and female —

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* It would appear by some late accounts, that the Lepra Arabum is very common in Iceland and Norway, in which first-mentioned country it is mentioned under the name of *Skyrbjugur*. See an excellent description of it, as it appears in those parts of the world, in a letter from Chevalier Bech to Dr. Trail, in Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, vol. i. page 712.

† See Edinb. Practice of Medicine, vol. iv. page 511.

‡ See Aretæus, page 279.

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1st. That women are less liable to suffer from Elephantiasis than men.

2d. That the disease is most certainly hereditary.

3d. That its being in any degree contagious is extremely problematical.

4th. That every leper, suffering from an advanced stage of the malady, doubts whether he is capable of propagating his species.

5th. That a fish diet is found to render every symptom worse.

6th and lastly. That poor living, want of cleanliness, mendicant misery, and exposure to cold and damp, are but the too constant attendants of this dreadful affliction.

Lorry, in speaking of leprosy, says, "Universum totius corporis cancrum est ut omnes medici veteres eam vocant," and seems to have believed it to be occasioned by black bile. The same author informs us that, on opening the body of a soldier who died of the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, the liver* was found enlarged and indurated. Schilling† imagined, that the malady might be caught by sleeping in the same bed with an infected person, also from the fetid odour of the ulcers. He prescribed for it the decoction of a plant common in the marshes near Surinam, and there called *Tondin* it is of the genus Paullinia. The Lepra Arabum is well described by Alibert in his work on cutaneous disorders (page 40), under the name of "*La Lépre Tuberculeuse*" he is of opinion that it is an affection of the lymphatic system, and tells us that it is sometimes to be met with at Paris. As to the mode of treatment, he speaks in rather desponding terms, and appears chiefly to have trusted to wine, decoction of bark, and aromatic fomentations.

Most authors agree that improper food, and especially rotten or decayed fish, is an exciting cause of the disease, and we know that Sir William Jones‡ informs us, that the Hindu doctors commonly ascribe it to drinking copiously of milk after eating fish. On the other hand, we learn from an account of the Lepra as it shows itself at the Isle of France,§ that it is to be cured by the use of turtle. That the complaint could ever be brought on by the over use of maize or millet, as Casal supposed, is highly improbable; but such a notion it would appear prevails in the Asturias|| that

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* See Alibert on Diseases of the Skin, page 94.

† See same work, page 90.

‡ See his works, vol. i. page 556.

§ See Edinburgh Medical Journal, October 1823.

|| See Alibert, page 96.

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the use of pork, when the hog had been improperly fed, may do mischief on such occasions, I can more easily conceive, nay, know to be a fact.

As far as regards the more remote causes of the leprosy of the Arabians, it may, I think, be safely admitted, that hereditary taint is a prime agent, accompanied by an extremely languid circulation, and a somehow defective* condition of the skin, which prevents a free transmission of the cutaneous discharge, thereby retaining in the habit what under other circumstances would have passed away: some or all of such peculiarities being present, the disease may perhaps be produced by one or more of the following exciting causes, creating in the body a viscid, acrid, and morbid humour: unwholesome food, such as decayed salt fish, taken at the same meal with buffalo milk, the flesh of swine or fowls, which had been permitted to feed promiscuously on musty grains and certain acrid vegetables,† irregular living, fear, grief, surfeits of various kinds, particularly of glutinous fish after long and painful fasting, alternate exposure to heat and cold, night damps; want of cleanliness; the use of impure water, and mendicant poverty.

In proceeding to notice the treatment best suited for this lamentable affection, it grieves me to say, that Elephantiasis has ever been considered as one of the most difficult of all those disorders to which the human frame is liable. Aretæus, of old, tells us, in the beginning of the chapter in which he treats of this malady, "It is necessary that remedies should be more powerful than diseases, in order to overcome them; but what cure can be devised sufficient to encounter so dreadful an evil as the present." Dr. Turner,‡ in his work on diseases of the skin, declares that the Elephantiasis of the Greeks is a most dreadful malady, if at all curable. Dr Heberden himself observes, that excepting in one patient, he never saw or heard of a confirmed case of it terminating favourably. Nay,

* Dr Quincy supposed the cause of leprosy to be some original malconformation, in the necessity of one secreting organ doing the office of another to which it is not naturally fitted.—See his Medico-Physical Essays, Essay VI., on Leprosy.

† Amongst the great variety of vegetables taken as food by the Hindus, some of these picked up by the road side and eaten by the poor are of a deleterious nature, such as the *Toomboy keerey* (Tam.) Phlomis Indica.

‡ He defines it as contagious, and calls it a cancerous *cachexia* of the whole habit, arising from some fault in the liver or spleen, and consequent *atrabilis* or adust humour.—See his work, pages 3 and 4, second edition.

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Dr. Towne* in his treatise on the disorders of the West-Indies, frankly acknowledges that he had never performed a perfect cure of what he called "the *joint evil.*"

I have already observed how certainly the *Keratan* of the Tamools has been ascertained to be hereditary, a fact which must tend most effectually to damp our hopes, when called upon to treat any case of it springing from that source. When this leprosy descends from parent to child, it appears earlier in life than in other attacks; when the malady is either acquired, or perhaps when the taint has been less powerful, it does not shew itself till a much later period, and it is in those last-mentioned instances that our chance of affording relief is the best, as the habit must be then stronger, and the patient more manageable.

In this, as in all other hereditary complaints, much good may be done by avoiding what has been termed exciting causes; a caution which cannot be too forcibly inculcated, to those who may have reason to dread a visit from this distemper. The ancient Greek physicians were in the habit of ordering bleeding at the beginning of this disease, and giving freely as a drink a decoction of the *Hæra picra*. Aretæus as well as Galen† recommended viper's flesh, with the exception of the head and tail of the animal; the latter prescribed, at the same time, emetics of the white hellebore, and purgatives of the black, sea bathing, the tepid bath, and a generous use of rich wine, he considered as powerful assistants, and advised that the diet should be of easy concoction, and such as produced good juices: he moreover enjoined exercise, and, unlike the medical men of the present day, allowed his patients to eat fish and pork.

The modern Arabian physicians seem to trust chiefly to mercury for the cure of the *Juzám*, which the reader may assure himself of by looking into a work entitled *Almaghni fi sherh al mujiz*, written by Seyid Abdul Gazerang, also, *Sherh ashab en Kamat* (a celebrated treatise on the causes, signs, and remedies of diseases of Neje Addin Modin al Samarkandi, by Nafis ben Awis, dedicated to *Sultan* Ulugh Beg Gurgán.

Dr Hillary was of opinion, that all preparations of mercury except the *mercurius calcinatus*,‡ given in small doses as an alterative, with antimonials,

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* See his work, page 191. See also Hoffmann, part v. cap. v.

† Vide Op. Galen, tome vii. page 197, F.

‡ See his Diseases of Barbadoes.

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aggravated and increased the disease; he gave at the same time a decoction of sarsaparilla. Dr. Towne found that antimonial preparations afforded the greatest relief, and that mercury in any shape rendered every symptom worse. Pierre Campet,* in his "*Maladies graves des pays chauds*," observes that Dr Joseph Flores had announced a wonderful specific in cases of this leprosy, and which at Mexico, Malaga, and Cadiz had met with the greatest success; it was the small lizards, called in the French Encyclopedia *Anolis de terre, ou Gobe-mouches*, after having cut off the tail and head of the little animal, and taken out the intestines, it is cut into small pieces, and eaten fasting, while the parts are warm and yet palpitating. He further adds, that at Guatemala, and in Mexico, not more than five or six lizards had been required to cure the disease at the rate of a lizard a day, but that many more became necessary to produce the same effect in Europe. It would appear however, by Dr Pearson's† account, that these animals,‡ by trials made with them by Carminati and others, have no positive medicinal effect in such complaints. Dr Quincy§ thought that mercurials were undoubtedly beneficial in this, as well as in all other disorders proceeding from sharp saline humours retained in the body. Dr. Hugh Smith,¶ on the other hand, appears to have disapproved altogether of the use of mercury in this complaint, preferring pure antimonials, with the use of the *Decoctum Ulmi* as a diet drink, in the quantity of four or five ounces twice daily. Dr. Good¶ tells us that a free use of sarsaparilla, mezereon, and guaiacum has been found beneficial, and that even the *Lobelia* has had its advocates. Dr. T. Heberden, who had frequently occasion to treat this malady at Madeira, mentions a case of it in which a perfect cure was performed, by means of an electuary composed of powdered bark, with a third part of sassafras root, impregnated with syrup; of this, the quantity of a large nutmeg was ordered twice daily, the patient having his legs bathed in an embrocation consisting of an ounce of liquor of tartar and two drams of spirit of sal

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* See the work, pages 299, 300.

† See his Synopsis of Materia Medica, page 41.

‡ For a particular account of the use of lizards in leprous affections, the reader is referred to the London Medical Review, vol. iii. pages 905, 906, where will be found observations by M. Demoumade of Cadiz, and M. Delarche of Madras.

§ See his Medico-Physical Essays, Essay vi.

¶ See his Formulæ Medicamentorum concinnatæ.

¶ See his Study of Medicine, vol. ii. page 659.

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ammoniac, intermixed with half a part of proof spirit. I cannot say, however, that I experienced any good whatever in prescribing the bark in affections of this nature in India, on the contrary, it appeared to heat and irritate.

In every attempt I made to combat the Elephantiasis of the Greeks on the Coromandel coast, the first thing I did, previously to ordering any medicine whatever, was to bring the general health of the patient into a better state, by nourishing diet, and due attention to exercise and cleanliness, the necessity of attention to this caution must be evident, seeing that the disorder is so frequently found amongst the mendicant poor, whose reduced habits are but ill suited to stand the operation of any powerful medicine.*

The corrosive sublimate has been given by some medical practitioners in this affection, in small doses, in conjunction with the muriatic acid and antimonial wine,† but this is a prescription I cannot recommend from my own experience.

In whatever form mercury is prescribed, great care must be taken not to push it so fast, or so far, as to bring on a weakening *ptyalism*, which cannot fail to be productive of infinite mischief; it will be necessary, however, to touch the mouth, and keep it so for some weeks. Warm bathing is frequently to be had recourse to (let the plan pursued be what it may), and when we have done our utmost by the use of mercury in one shape or other, to overcome the disorder, we must continue to support the frame by giving generous wine or other cordial.

The mineral acids are unquestionably of great service. The *tinctura guaiaci ammoniata*, as a stimulating sudorific, has been supposed to possess considerable virtues in such affections, in doses of one to two fluid drams. Of the *tinctura gambogiæ ammoniata* I have had no experience, it has been ordered to the quantity of a tea-spoonful or two night and morning. The *unum antimonii compositum* of the *Pharmacopœia Chirurgica* is a valuable medicine in this, as well as other cutaneous complaints.‡

From what I have said under the head of the exciting causes of this malady, it need scarcely be observed, that the diet ought to be generous.§

Hindu medical writers reckon no less than eighteen different kinds of *Kústam* or Lepra, the two worst are called in Tamool, *Vén kústam* or scaly

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* See Note A. † See Note B. ‡ See Note C. § See Note D.

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leprosy, and *Cara kústam*, or black leprosy; the first corresponding with the *Lepra Græcorum*, the last with the *Lepra Arabum*. These, Agastia, in his celebrated work entitled *Vaidya Acerum*, and also in his *Pérnál*, informs us, descend from father to son, and may, he adds, be hastened by the following causes:—

1. By drinking milk* after eating glutinous fish to excess.
2. By eating food which is of a windy nature.
3. By eating (when urged to it by great hunger) victuals of a disagreeable taste or odour.
4. By worms in the body.
5. By eating too much *yellow* (seed of the *sesamum orientale*).
6. By checking vomiting, so retaining in the body what ought to have been ejected.
7. By habitual costiveness, by which means morbid humours are pent up.
8. By the union of a morbid, gastric (hypochondriacal) humour and vitiated bile.
9. By a viscid acrid humour in the blood (serum).

Certain varieties of *kústam* (leprosy), he is of opinion, are occasioned by the bites of different noxious animals of the beetle kind.

Others again, the same author tells us, are brought on by the bites of snakes and venomous lizards.

There are a great many medicines in use amongst the Hindu practitioners, which are supposed to possess virtues in leprous affections. They have for ages past considered the white oxide of arsenic as a powerful remedy in the *Kushi'ka* (Sans.), and as such it may be found noticed by Athar Ali Khan, of Delhi, in the Asiatic Researches, vol. x. page 153. I have had occasion to prescribe this medicine in several cases, but I am sorry to say not with any marked good effect, and I perceive that Dr Bateman† had no better success in administering the same remedy for the malady in question.

The root of the plant called by the Tamools *Eraporel* (mimosa scandens), is ordered for this leprosy in the form of decoction, to the quantity of half an ounce, twice daily. An extract prepared from the leaves and tender

* I perceive this cause of the disorder is noticed by Sir William Jones.—See his works, vol. i. page 556.

† See Bateman's Practical Synopsis of Diseases of the Skin, page 211, note.

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shoots of the plant called *Mâruddâni* (*Tam.*) *Lawsonia Spinosa*, is also sometimes given, to the extent of half a spoonful, twice daily

The kernel of the nut called in Tamool *Nirchmâtâ*, is, with other medicines, prescribed in the form of electuary, to the quantity of half a tea-spoonful, twice daily, I believe the plant to be a species of *Jatropha*. Different preparations of mercury are recommended by the Tamool physicians in leprous cases, as may be seen by turning to the *Materia Medica of Hindustân* (pages 106, 107). In the Tamool sástram entitled *Pérnâi*, written by AGASTYA, will be found a prescription which has great repute in lower India in cutaneous affections; it is a distilled oil prepared from a combination of nineteen different plants, chiefly aromatic, it is given in the quantity of two gold fanams weight, twice daily, in conjunction with a little sulphur the same oil is also recommended as an external application for the ulcerated joints. But of all the alterative and deobstruent remedies employed by the native practitioners of India in this complaint, none is of equal repute with the concrete milky juice of the plant called by the Tamools *Yerrum* (Asclepias Gigantea), it exudes from the leaves and tender shoots on being pricked, and has at first somewhat the appearance of cream, but on drying becomes a little darker coloured, and has a rather nauseous and acrid taste: the dose is about a quarter of a gold pagoda weight, given twice daily, together with a little sulphur, and continued for some weeks. The plant is termed, in Sanscrit, *Arca*, also *Vásuca*, and *Pratápasa*.* In the Canarese language it is *Yeréki*, in Hindustâni it is named *Madár*,† in Dukhani, *Akra*, in Javanese, *Widâri* and in Arabic, *Usher*, according to Avicenna (233), though it would appear that in Arabia Felix, the *Asclepias Gigantea*‡ has got the appellation of *Oschar*, which, however, may be a corruption of the same word. In the Materia Medica of Hindustan, above cited, which I published at Madras in 1813, will be found (page 128 some account of the *yercum* plant (*Asclepias gigantea*), and its use amongst the Hindu doctors, also some notice of what has been by some considered as a variety of the same plant, and termed in Tamool *Vellerkâ*, but I have since had reason to believe that this last is of a

* The *Arca* or *Vâsca* is the rosy variety the *Pratapasa* or *Alarca*, is the white sort.—H.T.C.

† From the Sanscrit, *Mandâra*.—H.T.C.

‡ The reader will find further notice of this plant in Sprengel's "*Rei Herbariæ*," vol. i. pages 252, 253 also in "*Hortus Hemphi sive Scrap*," cap. 60; also in "*Alpinus Exot.*"

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different genus altogether, and what was named by the late excellent Dr. Klein, of Tranquebar, *Erucum Hyssopifolium*, and is in all probability that which is said to be often confounded with the true *asclepias gigantea*, in the upper provinces of India, and there called *Akand*.* I have said, that the dried milky juice of the *asclepias gigantea* was considered in southern India as powerfully alterative; and late accounts, which I have received from that country, tend the more to convince me of it. I should therefore venture a query, whether, as such, it might not be tried in cancer, that most intractable of all maladies. The bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, as it appears in the bazaars of lower India, is of a pale colour, and has a bitter, and somewhat nauseous and pungent taste: the natives consider it as alterative; also as a gentle stimulant, taken in decoction to the quantity of two table-spoonfuls twice daily. And Rheede, in his *Hortus Malabaricus*,† where the plant is mentioned under the appellation of *Erura*, says, that a decoction of its root is given in intermittent fever, and in those swellings of the limbs which women sometimes have after confinement. The powder of the bark of the root of the *asclepias gigantea*, called in Bengal *madár* powder, has been highly extolled of late as a valuable remedy in lues venerea, leprosy, and cutaneous diseases in general. Mr Playfair, in a paper already mentioned, and which may be seen in the first volume of the Edinburgh Medical Transactions, goes so far as to say that it is one of the most useful medicines hitherto derived from the vegetable kingdom; and it would seem, by an excellent paper‡ on "*Elephantiasis as it appears in Hindustan*," by Mr. Robinson, that he also bears witness to its powerful effects as a deobstruent and sudorific, in almost all cutaneous eruptions; the dose of this powder is from three grains to ten.

Dr. Good, in his Study of Medicine,§ notices two other species of Elephantiasis: one common in some parts of Italy, and termed *Elephantiasis Italica*, the other as occurring occasionally in Spain, which he calls *Elephantiasis Asturiensis*; but, as I have already observed, respecting Mr. Robin-

* In the Hortus Bengalensis, published by Dr. Carey, from Dr. Roxburgh's MS., *Akand* is given as the *Hindi* name of asclepias gigantea.

† See Hortus Malabaricus, part ii. page 55.

‡ See Medico Chirurgical Transactions, vol. i. See also Dr. James Johnston's most valuable work on the influence of tropical climates, page 269.

§ See work, vol. ii. page 556.

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son's *Elephantiasis Tuberculata*, and *Elephantiasis Anaesthetos*, I consider them as the same disease in every instance, only differing a little in the symptoms in different habits, owing to age, mode of living, peculiar state of the body, &c.

The appearances of the body on dissection do not throw much light on the peculiar nature of the malady, further than that I have observed in such cases the heart to be usually small, and the arterial system altogether shrunk and collapsed: the liver I have in one or two instances found indurated, and the gall bladder for the most part distended with viscid and very dark coloured bile; the contents of the abdomen had, generally speaking, an unusually pale and wasted appearance; the bones, when laid bare, were dry and brittle; the testicles, in one or two instances, were almost entirely obliterated; and, on opening the head, it has appeared to me that there was a more than ordinary determination of the blood to the membranes of the brain.

Besides the Lepra Arabum, there are several other cutaneous or leprous disorders but too common in India. The Lepra Graecorum is much less frequent, however, than that which we have made the subject of this paper: the Hindus of Lower India term it *Venkilatum*, also *Sheruttay cudey mayghum*, from a notion that it is occasioned by the bite of a small red reptile with numerous legs; it is often to be seen in the Malay countries, and there has the name of *Sakit Bercudis*, or scaly disease.

The *Elephas*, or Barbadoes leg, I have already had occasion to mention.

The *Leuce* of the Greeks (Λευκη) is the *Vellay kustum* of the Tamools, and the white *Baras* or *Beres Abéz* of the Arabians; in *Dukhni* it is *Sufaid khóre*, and in Telinghoo, *Tella kústum*. Haly Abbas has exactly described this affection in his *Theoria* (cap. xvi. lib. 8). It is but a trifling evil compared with the Elephantiasis of the Greeks, and does not appear to have called forth much attention amongst modern medical writers. Celsus* has placed it under the same head with *Alphos* and *Melas*, considering the three affections as different species of *vitiligo*: though certainly the *Leuce* bears no resemblance whatever to the other two, which are nothing more than slight and innocent desquamations of the scarf skin, the one called *alphos*, from its white colour, the second *melas*, from its black. The first of

* Vide Celsus, lib. v. cap. xxviii.

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these two is the *Vellay Taymbie* of the Tamools; the *Aldzuh* or *White Bohdk* of the Arabians, and the *Sufaid Saim* of the Muhammedans of India. The last, the *melas*, is the *Carra Taymbie* of the Tamools, the *Kala saim* of the Muhammedans of India, and the black *Bohdk* of the Arabians.

What are called *Albinos*, or white Indians, are often met with in the more inland tracts of the Peninsula. It is no place here to enter minutely into the singular affection which distinguishes those miserable beings. *M. Blumenbach*, of Gottingen, *M. Ruzzi*, a surgeon of Milan, and *Saussure*, in his "Voyages dans les Alpes," have given us much curious information regarding them: in Tamool they are named *Ven Pandoo*, in Tellinghoo, *Tella Pandoo*, and by the Muhammedans of Lower India, *Góra lóke*. Their colour is that of a dead European of a very fair complexion. They are almost blind till brought into some dark or shady place, so painfully susceptible are they of the common light of day. Their constitutions are extremely delicate, they are for the most part timid and irresolute, and are seldom known to live to an advanced age. the females rarely bear children, but, when they do, their offspring is of the natural colour of the tribe to which they belong.

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XIX. *Eggraphia Sinensis; or, the Art of Writing the Chinese Characters with Correctness: contained in Ninety-two Rules and Examples. To which are prefixed, Some Observations on the Chinese Writing. By John Francis Davis, Esq., M.R.A.S., F.R.S., &c.*

Read June 16, 1825.

ON THE CHINESE WRITING.

The graphic beauty of a written language, which approaches so near to the hieroglyphic as the Chinese, where many of the characters are intended as pictures of the idea to be conveyed, where the variety of the lines, or strokes, is so great, and their combinations are so numerous, must be allowed at once to exceed, and to be more difficult of attainment than, that of the alphabetic writing of Europe. The number of the simple characters, or elements, of which all the compounds of the language are formed, greatly exceeds that of any one alphabet, but, when compounded, their relative juxta-position and arrangement, the shortening of some strokes and the lengthening of others is of course subject to some general rules, which, from the very nature of the subject, must be more numerous and complicated, than the mere joining together of our European letters. The advantage of simplicity (and a very great advantage it is) constitutes the chief merit of alphabetic writing, that of variety and graphic beauty may fairly be claimed by the Chinese.

It must be observed, however, that there are two forms, under which the character generally appears: of these, the *Sung pan*,* in which books are commonly printed, being stiff and inelegant, lays claim only to correctness; the other, viz. the *Kaou shoo*,† in which all papers of consequence are written, and which occasionally is also used in print, combines both correctness and beauty,‡ it is at once the most elegant, the most useful, and

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* See Plate IV, No. *I.* † See Plate IV, No. *II.*

‡ There are several other forms, and among the rest the seal character, which is somewhat analogous to our black letter; and which being hardly ever used, does not deserve much attention from Europeans.

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the most studied form of the Chinese character. To attain skill in writing it, is more or less the aim of every educated Chinese; and to impart that skill, is the object of the work, whose rules I have translated, and given its examples, in the following pages.

Of the two points, correctness and elegance, the first only is absolutely required of students, at their public examinations;* though, of course, if the latter exist, it is held to be an additional recommendation. If graphic skill be ever held cheap in China,† it is only in the possession of him who can lay no claim to the higher attainments of solid erudition. It will always procure as much consideration as it is worth, and that it is worth a great deal, when combined with learning and critical accuracy, is proved by the care with which it is studied.

Having derived some advantage, in writing the character correctly, from an observance of the rules that follow, I concluded that they might prove equally useful to such Englishmen, or others, as studied the language, of which the written character must be allowed to form an important department. It is well known, that the Chinese themselves write with a hair pencil, but partly with a view to make it more difficult for them to forge such papers, and partly because it is a readier method. The British Factory at Canton, in their correspondence with the local government, are accustomed to have their letters, &c. in the native language, written with a pen, on English paper, though it certainly is not possible with our pens exactly to imitate the pencil strokes of the Chinese, yet by dint of practice much may be done with it, even in point of neatness and beauty. the form of the character, and its proportions, may be most accurately preserved, and there is no reason whatever why, in point of correctness, the writing of the pen should not be fully equal to that of the pencil.

The rules and examples that follow include every possible class of written character; and indeed, some few of them are little more than mere repetitions of the same general directions, though, as they were made for the instruction of the Chinese themselves, I have thought it right to omit none,

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* To prove how much stress is laid on this, the Chinese have a common story of some candidate, who having written the character for a horse, with a horizontal line at the bottom, instead of with four points, was rejected altogether, being told "it was impossible for a horse to walk, without its legs."

† See Chinese Moral Maxims, page 175.

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in my translation. It may be as well to notice, in this place, two or three leading precepts, which, as they apply to the writing of every character in the language, are more especially to be kept in mind.

First, it is a rule both in printing and writing, that each character should occupy about the same space in the page, or be nearly of the same size as the rest, whether it consist of only one or two strokes, or of a great number.

Secondly, it follows from the above, that where the strokes are few, they must be thickened and enlarged in proportion; and that where they are many, they must be proportionably diminished, and written close to one another.

Thirdly, in forming a character, it is proper to commence at the top, towards the left hand, thus, in writing *Lan*,* it is right to begin with the horizontal stroke in the left portion, then to bring down the perpendicular across it, next the left oblique stroke, and lastly the right: this being done, the right hand portion of the character is completed in the same manner. The remembrance of a few such rules greatly simplifies the subject, and, joined to regular practice, renders the acquisition of a sufficient portion of skill, for every useful purpose, by no means a difficult undertaking.

But it is not alone for the purpose of learning to write, that Chinese writing is to be studied; without some practice in this way, it is impossible to fix many characters in the memory, and no man can properly be considered to learn the language, who does not devote a portion of his time to this important branch of the subject.

No reasonable person, at the present day, will deny the necessity that there is, for some few, at least, of our countrymen being possessed of a competent and practical knowledge of the Chinese language. He who ever carries his thoughts back to the past, will allow how ill we should have fared without it, on many critical discussions with a people, of all others the most extravagant in their assumptions, and the most difficult to manage; and he who can look beyond the present day to the future, may not only foresee (as long as our government neglects to make some sort of provision against such contingencies) the possibility of discussions still more embarrassing, and more difficult, than have ever yet occurred at Canton, but

* See Plate IV, No. *III.*

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when he takes into consideration the extension of our Indian frontier to the northward and eastward, may easily anticipate the chance of our being, some day, unavoidably placed, with respect to the Chinese empire, in relations of a far more weighty and important nature, than such as are simply commercial.

The Chinese, themselves, are cunning enough to know, that "knowledge is power," and, though they have, of late years, gradually relaxed in their vigilance, and may at length be considered to have relinquished the point,* the jealousy with which they, not very long ago, regarded the attainment of their language by Europeans, sufficiently shewed the importance that they attached to it, and the consequences that they foreboded, from such knowledge, to their selfish interests.

Every step that renders us independent on native aid, in acquiring and making use of the language, may be considered as something gained: not to mention, that such aid is hardly procurable by the student in Europe. The Chinese might, at a future period, revise and greatly increase the penalties against such of their people, as give instruction to Europeans, at Canton; and the very occasions, on which the use of the language was most required, would be those on which the assistance of natives was most likely to be cut off. Besides, as experience has shewn that the local government, notwithstanding its pretended pride and indifference, has condescended to employ spies upon our actions and intentions, these persons, being necessarily acquainted, in some measure, with our counsels, would be the most convenient that it could select for the purpose.

The assiduous labours of our countrymen, during the last ten or twenty years (I, of course, especially allude to the valuable dictionaries of Dr Morrison), have done nearly all that was required towards this desirable independence on native aid. Something, however, seemed still wanting, which might make us acquainted with the general rules by which the Chinese are guided, in writing the great variety of their characters: and the object of the present compilation, imperfect as it is, has been to supply, in some measure, the defect.

Macao, 5th July, 1824.

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* It was insisted upon by the British Factory, in the discussions of 1814, and at length yielded to them.

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All characters are composed of the six following kinds of strokes, or lines,* viz :—

Hang	Horizontal.
Shoo	Perpendicular.
Pe̍	Left oblique.
Na	Right oblique.
Kow	Hooked, or bent.
Teĕn	A point, or dot.

THE NINETY-TWO RULES FOR WRITING THE CHINESE CHARACTERS WITH CORRECTNESS.†

1. The upper part should cover in what is below.

2. The horizontal stroke below should be rather extended, as a foundation for what is above.

3. In these, the left-hand portion should be elevated, and the right depressed.

4. In these, the left-hand portion should be small, the right full and extended.

5. In these, which are compared with something carried on a pole, the horizontal stroke in the middle should be long.

6. Let the perpendicular, in these, be drawn down perfectly straight through the middle.

7. The 30th of the 214 Chinese keys, or radicals, should not be much deflected nor short, in these.

8. Let the 20th radical in those be neither too upright nor too long.

9. The horizontal line in these must be short, the oblique long.

10. The horizontal lines must be long, the oblique short.

11. The horizontal strokes short, the perpendicular long, and the oblique at full length.

12. The horizontal lines in the 75th radical, at the lower part of these characters, must be long, the perpendicular short, and the two oblique contracted into points.

* See Plate IV. No. 11.

† For the Chinese examples, see Plate IV. to XI. No. 1 to 92.

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13. The transverse stroke long, the upright short.

14. The transverse short, the upright long.

15. When there is an horizontal stroke at the top and bottom, the upper one should be short, and the lower one long.

16. When there are perpendicular lines at the left and right, the left should be short, and the right full and extended.

17. When there is an oblique stroke to the left, and a perpendicular to the right, the former should be contracted, and the latter brought down.

18. When there are perpendicular strokes to the left, and oblique ones to the right, the former should be short, and the latter free and extended.

19. When there are several dots, their relative size and position should be varied, to prevent uniformity.

20. Where horizontal strokes are repeated, they must be of different lengths, like scales, or feathers, to prevent stiffness of appearance.

21. Both sides being nearly equal, they must be even at the top and bottom.

22. Where a character is compounded of three simple parts, placed sideways, the middle one should be narrow and upright.

Note.—As every character ought to approach, more or less, to a squarish form, it follows, that where the component parts are placed sideways, each should be narrow and long, as in this example; but, where they are placed one above the other, each should be broad and short, as in the next example.

23. The two separate parts must be broad and flat, that the whole may approach to a squarish form.

24. Where a character is composed of three, placed one above the other, let some of the horizontal strokes be short, and some moderately long.

25. Where the left-hand portion is small, it should be even with the top of the character.

26. Where the right-hand portion is small, it should be even with the bottom of the character.

27. Where four characters are repeated on the outside of another, the whole should have a square form.

28. Where four characters are repeated on the inside of another, they must be written very close together.

29. Here the long strokes should not be horizontal, but written with an inclination.

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30. The long lines should be horizontal, and the perpendicular without any inclination.

31. The oblique stroke should not be too much elongated.

32. The long oblique in these should be nearly straight, with a certain appearance of strength, that is, as if drawn with a firm steady hand

33. Let the hooked stroke below be sufficiently bent.

34. Here the bent stroke should include, and, as it were, embrace the character at the side.

35. The lower strokes must be placed centrically under those above.

36. The hooked strokes in the left-hand portion must be contracted.

37. The point of the hooked stroke should be directed towards the middle of the four dots.

38. These should be even at the top.

39. These should be even at the bottom.

40. Where there are many right oblique strokes, some must be at full length, and some contracted.

41. Some of the hooks in the component parts must be suppressed, and some indicated.

42. The hook in the upper portion should be slightly, and in the lower, more strongly indicated.

43. The hooked stroke at the top should be contracted, and the one below extended.

44. The upper part of these characters should be broader than the under.

45. The under part in these should be broader than the upper

46. Let the left-hand portion yield in size to the right.

47. Let the right-hand portion yield in size to the left.

48. Let the two sides be large, and the middle small.

49. In these the middle portion should be fully written

50. The middle portion in these should be small.

51. The hooked stroke in these must be bent, and with an appearance of strength, as if drawn with a firm hand.

52. The bent stroke must be round and flowing.

53. The oblique stroke to the left must not be too thin and elongated.

54. The two left oblique strokes must not be parallel to each other.

55. When there are three oblique strokes together, let the top of each proceed from the middle of the one immediately above it.

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56. In writing the contracted form of the 85th radical, the lowest dot should be drawn up in a point towards the highest.

57. The 25th radical in these characters must be upright, and placed immediately under what is above.

58. The 32d radical in these must be erect, and the perpendicular stroke in a line with the perpendicular stroke below.

59. Where characters consist of a great number of small, uneven parts, care must be taken lest they become confused.

60. Where the strokes are thickly placed, more care is required in writing them.

61. The descending stroke must be thick at top, and diminish towards the bottom.

62. The descending stroke should be of nearly equal thickness throughout.

63. Though the lines of these be inclined, "the heart of each character must be centrical."

64. The lines should all be straight and strong.

65 The body of these characters should be of a long shape, and the strokes rather slender.

66. These should be of a dwarfish shape, and the strokes rather thick, partly because there are few of them.

67. The oblique strokes which cover in what is below must balance each other.

68 The foregoing rule also applies when they are in the middle of the character.

69. Though the lines in these should be thick, let them not be clumsy.

70. Though in these the strokes should be rather long, let them not be meagre.

71 Where there are but few of them, the lines should be thick.

72. Where there are many strokes, let them be small, and equally blended.

73. Where the same character is thrice repeated in a compound, each must be nearly of a size with the rest.

74. Where the strokes, from their number and form, are involved, care must be taken lest they become confused

75. The horizontal line below must meet, and be carried a little beyond, the descending stroke to the right.

76. Let the hook below be strongly indicated.

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77. When a character is compounded with the 162d radical, the upper part of it should be written larger than the lower.

78. Where the oblique strokes are short, and the horizontal long, the oblique stroke on the right must be contracted.

79. In these, let the upright ones to the left be short, those to the right long.

80. Let the perpendicular stroke to the left of these be extended a little beyond the others.

81. The hook in the upper part of these should be turned inwards.

82. These characters require skill and care in writing them.

83. Examples for writing such characters as are compounded of the 86th radical.

84. Examples of such as have the 163d radical on the right.

85. Examples of such as have the 170th radical on the left.

86 to 92. Examples of characters compounded with various radicals, &c.

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XX. *An Account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu Medals, found in India. By Major James Tod, M.R.A.S.*

Read June 18, 1825.

I have the honour to present to the Society fac-simile engravings of two medals, which fill up a chasm in the Numismatic series of the Greek Kings of Bactria, viz. Apollodotus and Menander.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ

is the epigraphe of the medal of Apollodotus. The figure is very properly that of Apollo, armed with a dart or spear inverted, in the left hand; denoting clemency after victory. Towards his right hand, is a monogram, indicating the date, which would appear to be the Bactrian era, composed of the letters ΟΕΔ

On the reverse, is a figure which appears to represent a portable sacrificial tripod, or altar, having around it an inscription in the ancient Zend, or Pehlavi character, as in the Sassanian medals of Sapor, and the inscriptions* of Nakshi, Rustam, and Kermanshah.

The other medal is of a name better known to history—Menander. It bears the effigies of the prince, the head covered with a helmet, the epigraphe—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ..... ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

Though the two first letters of Menander are wanting, not a doubt can exist of its being his coin. I will leave to others to conjecture what were the letters, now indistinct, which filled up the space between *Basileôs* and *Menandrou*.

The reverse bears a winged figure,† having a palm branch in the left hand, and in the right a wreath. Around is the same Zend character, as in that of Apollodotus, and the monogram‡ composed of two letters, ΙΔ

* See De Sacy. Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse.

† This winged figure is Victory.—N

‡ No. 323 of Mionnet.

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The *Zend* characters, common to both these medals, afford a proof, which may be considered as decisive, that both these princes held Bactria, or Balk'h, as the seat of empire; for, though the discovery of these coins gives validity to the reported extent of conquest of these princes, yet, had they held the seat of government within the Indus, they would have adopted the ancient *Nágari* character on the reverse, not that of Parthia.

I shall now state how, and where I found these coins, and describe the method I adopted in my search, which, if persevered in by others, may lead to more discoveries of this nature. For the last twelve years of my residence in India (amongst Mahrattas and Rajputs), the collecting of coins, as an auxiliary to history, was one of my pursuits; and in the rainy season I had a person employed at *Mat'hurá* and other old cities, to collect all that were brought to light by the action of the water, while tearing up old foundations, and levelling mouldering walls. In this manner, I accumulated about 20,000 coins, of all denominations, among which, there may not be above 100 calculated to excite interest, and perhaps not above one-third of that number to be considered of value: but, among them, there is an APOLLODOTUS and a MENANDER, besides some rare medals of a Parthian dynasty, probably yet unknown to history.

By the acquisition of this coin of APOLLODOTUS, I made a double discovery, namely, of the coin itself, and of an ancient capital city.

Conversing with the principal disciple of a celebrated *Jain* priest of Gwalior, about ancient cities, he related to me an anecdote of a poor man, about thirty-five years ago, having discovered, amidst the few fragments left of *Súrapura*, on the *Jamuná*, a bit of (what he deemed) glass: shewing it to a silversmith, he sold it for one rupee; the purchaser carried his prize to Agra, and sold it for 5,000, for it was a diamond. The finder naturally wished to have a portion of the profit, and, on refusal, waylaid and slew the silversmith. The assassin was carried to Agra to be tried, and thus the name of *Súrapura* became known beyond its immediate vicinity. This was a sufficient inducement to me to dispatch one of my coin-hunters, and I was rewarded by APOLLODOTUS and several Parthian coins.

The remains of *Súrapura* are close to the sacred place of pilgrimage, called by us "Betaisor," on the *Jamuná*, between Agra and Etawah. Tradition tells us, that it was an ancient city, and most probably was founded by SURAS'ENA, the grandfather of CRISHNA, and consequently the capital of the Surasens of the historians of Alexander, which name they very appro-

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priately assigned to the kingdom of *Mat'hurá*. Arrian mentions two capital cities on the *Yamuná*, "Methoras and Cisobaras." We easily recognize the first, yet, much as the Greeks disfigured proper names, we can hardly twist the latter into *Súrapura*. Amongst the ruins of ancient *Mat'hurá*, I obtained two other medals of Apollodotus, one of which, very indistinct, I gave to Major Miles, who, I believe, has since presented it to the Literary Society of Bombay.

At *Mat'hurá*, where I obtained a few good medals, after many years' search, I found Menander.

The illustrious names of Apollodotus and Menander, are a sufficient theme to fill many pages of the journals of the Society, and would require more classical historic knowledge than the nature of my pursuits and occupations could afford me a chance of acquiring, in order to illustrate their history. Nevertheless, as I possess some knowledge of the geography of their conquests, and have not come altogether unprepared for the task, I shall trust to the indulgence of the Society, in the attempt I am about to make.

Had not Apollodotus and Menander despised the narrow limits of the kingdom usurped by Theodotus, I should never have ventured west of the Indus, in search of the princes of Bactria, but as both of them contemned the Indus as the boundary of their sovereignty, and invaded the seats of Puru in *Saurástra*, on the Indian shore, and on the *Yamuná*, where they left these memorials of their conquests, they placed themselves within the sphere of my pursuits.

It was from a passage in Dr. Vincent's "Translation of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," that I discovered Apollodotus appertained to the Bactrian dynasty. Moreover, Sainte Croix, in his "Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre," takes notice* of the conquests of Menander; from both I had references to other authorities, which I had no access to in India.

"Our author (Arrian†)," says Dr Vincent, "redeems his error‡ by the

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* Page 798.

† Supposed to have written his book during the reign of Aurelian. He resided at Barygaza, or Baroach, in a commercial capacity.

‡ The error alluded to by Dr. Vincent is of a geographical nature, in Alexander's departure from India.

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preservation of a circumstance which fell under his own observation, which is, that *coins with the Greek inscriptions of Menander and Apollodotus, who reigned in this country after Alexander, were still current in Barugaza.**

This Apollodotus is hard to discover, even by the scrutinizing accuracy of the learned Bayer; but Menander he has introduced into the catalogue of his Bactrian kings, and with a most peculiar distinction, that he had extended his sovereignty down the Indus, and over the Delta of the Patalène.†

BACTRIA.

On the division of the provinces, by the successors of Alexander, of the enormous empire he so rapidly acquired, those between the Caspian Sea and the Indus formed several extensive Satrapies.‡ Of the various authorities who treat of this partition, none agree with each other in the names of the governors to whom the allotments fell, for they were repeatedly changed by those who were the real masters of those provinces. In that portion of the empire held by Antipater, according to Arrian, Stasanor had Bactria and Sogdia, Philip had Parthia, which included Hyrcania; and the tracts east of Bactriana, almost to the Indus, were held by Pithon while the Hindu princes, Taxiles Porus, and Sandrocottus, exercised their sway on each side, and within the Indus. It is immaterial to notice the fluctuating alterations in this arrangement, down to the extinction of the Macedonian kingdom, and the partition of Asia amongst the officers of Alexander.

Twenty-five years after the death of Alexander, Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, having made himself master of Syria, and assumed the regal title, brought all the provinces, up to the Indus, under subjection, and nominated governors. He even designed reconquering those held by the native Hindu princes, but troubles in the West, added to the bold attitude of Sandrocottus, at the head of 600,000 men, compelled him to enter into

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* The Greeks have well preserved the ancient name of Barooch, if classically written—Bhrigu-gacha, the residence of the sage Bhrigu. The site of his hermitage, tradition has placed at some distance from the present city.

† Periplus of the Erythræan sea, vol. ii. page 101. Vincent's Navigation of the Ancients.

‡ Parthia, including Hyrcania, Aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Arachosia.

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terms with him; and, for the price of 500 elephants, to leave him in undisturbed possession, and even to recognize his sovereignty.

The other provinces, first mentioned, remained attached to the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, until the third prince in descent from the founder; when Bactria, from a dependency of the Seleucidæ, was erected into a kingdom, by the revolt of Theodotus, the governor from Antiochus* Theos, while this monarch was engaged in a war with Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt.

That event occurred in the 58th† year of the Seleucidæ, the first of the Bactrian era, and 256 years before Christ. This minor Greek monarchy lasted 122 years, when it was overthrown by an irruption of the same Getic, Jit, or Scythic tribes,‡ which destroyed Cyrus and his host. They were the people of that country where Alexander was wounded§, and where he built the most northern of his Alexandrias, on the site of Cyropolis; a spot, perhaps, now answering to *Ajend*, on the Jaxartes, which river is the Sirr, or Sihun, of the Persians, also called Araxes and Orxantes,‖ by the Greek geographers, most probably the Arverna of the Hindu Puraus, the Silis of the "Carte des marches d'Alexandre:"¶ that word is of Sanscrit origin, implying a mountain** stream, from having its fountains in the grand range of the *Himálaya*.

It is scarcely feasible to assign precise limits to the Bactrian kingdom, for Bactria itself was soon overstept; and what might be termed the Bactrian kingdom at the period of the revolt, comprehended Sogdia as well as the province of Bactria, which had the Oxus, or Jihún,†† as its northern boundary. The kingdom of Theodotus, therefore, included all Transoxiana, or the Do-áb of the Oxus and Jaxartes, or Mawer-ul-Nehr of the Persians; and to the south, the Parapamisan range. To the west it was kept in check by its alternate rival and ally, the Arsacidæ of Parthia;

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* Ann. Univ. Hist., vol. II. page 84d.

† Historiæ Regni Græcorum Bactriani, page 38.—*Bayer.*

‡ The Asi, or Aspii, the Tocharí, and Getic Saca.

§ Arrian, chap. iii.

‖ Arrian, book iii, quoting Aristobulus.

¶ St. Croix.

** *Silas*, a mountain stream from *Sil*, a rock. Hence *Saila*, the personified appellation of *Himálaya*; whence *Saili*, his daughter, one of the names of the river goddess, Gangá.

†† One of the rivers of Paradise, according to Marco Polo.—*See Marsden's Edition.*

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but to the east its frontier cannot be fixed, for we are left in doubt whether PITHON declared himself independent, or whether the provinces he held gradually merged into Bactria: the latter is probable, while there are circumstances which render the other opinion plausible, so that we should not allot to Bactria all the medals of Greek princes we may discover in the highlands of Central Asia. Six kings are quite enough for the 122 years that dynasty endured, but, on these points, the dates contained in the monograms must be consulted.

It is probable that the Greeks took the word *Bactra*, which was the name of the capital of the country, from *Balk'h*, they also called this town *Zariaspa*,* probably signifying, in the original language, a settlement of the *Asi*, a Scythic tribe,† of an extensive Scythic race. For *Aspa*, *Aspasiæ*, the *Asura*, or *Haya*, of the ancient Hindus, have perhaps the same derivation. *Asva* is a very common termination of the names of the early Hindu princes, especially those of the lunar line, one of whom, prior to the *Mahabharata* is stated, in the genealogy of the Purans, to have erected a sovereignty near the Indus, built its ancient capital *Campéhagara*, and to have left a numerous progeny. His name was *Bhjanva*, and of his issue was the celebrated *Draupadi*, who became the wife, in common, of the five *Pandú* brothers. This savours strongly of the Scythic, and is entirely repugnant to existing Hindu manners. Doubtless, at that period the similarity was great, or it might be more just to surmise, that the difference of many of the races between the east and west of the Indus, was originally slight.

Balk'h, or *Bactria*, is of very remote antiquity; it is mentioned as the birth-place of *Zerdusht*, or Zoroaster, and was the residence of Cyrus the Great. As the oldest city in the world, it was distinguished by the title of *Am-ul Belad*, "the mother of towns." This ancient metropolis is now reduced to insignificance. Its ruins still cover a great extent, and are surrounded with a wall: but only one corner is inhabited.

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* Perhaps from *Seker*, a city, and the race *Aspa*, or Aswa.

† *Asi*, in a sword. *Asva*, *Aspa*, a horse, in Sanscrit and Persian: what more proper name for Scythic warlike tribes, almost all horsemen? Most probably from one or the other of these words originates the term *Asa*, not from the wife of Prometheus, as Diodorus asserts, though Isa, a goddess, might afford a claim. The Scythic tribe, which invaded Scandinavia, was known to the prior inhabitants under the name *Asi*.

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The country of Bactria has always been extolled, both by ancient and modern travellers, as highly fertile* and productive; and, to its natural riches, is properly ascribed the power which the revolted princes so rapidly acquired.

That portion of the kingdom of Cabul, which embraces the provinces of Balk'h and Khorassan, according to the boundaries assigned by the best authorities,† with the tract north of the Oxus to the Sirr,‡ forming a part of the modern kingdom of Bokhara, in Turkistan§, constituted the kingdom of Theodotus.

The more celebrated, and far more extended dynasty of the Parthian Arsacidæ, which first contributed to aggrandize, and afterwards curtailed the Bactrian power, rose into eminence about the same period.

The first Arsaces was a Bactrian by birth, and with his brother Tiridates had opposed the ambitious designs of Theodotus, but being unsuccessful, fled to the governor of Parthia,‖ by whom being treated with indignity, he raised troops, expelled him, and following the example of Theodotus, declared himself independent. Three years after he was succeeded by his brother Tiridates, who bears on his medals the title of "Arsaces¶ the Great, King of Kings." That he was much indebted to the Greeks of Bactria, we may judge from the epithet his medals and those of his successor bear, of *Philhellenos*. His friendship for the Greeks can only be understood towards the Bactrian Greeks, for he had scarcely been two years on the throne, when Seleucus** *Callinicus*, having made peace with the Egyptian monarch, left Syria with a large army to recover Parthia, and the "Great King" was obliged to fly to his Scythic brethren, the Getic Sacæ of the Jaxartes; till a rupture between the brothers, Seleucus and Antiochus, gave

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* "Elle est vaste, et produit de tout, excepté des olives."—*Strabo*, xv. 2.

† See map to Elphinstone's Cabul.

‡ For more minute boundaries, Strabo may be consulted.

§ Or *Tocharistan*, the abode of the Tachari, one of the races mentioned by Strabo, as aiding to overturn the Bactrian kingdom. In Tachari we find the origin of the word Turk. the Usbeck Tartars, or Turks, are still in the old abodes of the Tachari, the name is also found, by the Chinese and Tartar historians, in the words Tak-i-uk.—*See De Guignes.*

‖ Lewis, Parthian Empire. Ancient authorities differ in the name of this governor on the part of Antiochus Theos: by one he is named Agathocles, and by another Thericles.

¶ See Vaillant.

** Lewis, Parthian Empire, quoting Justin, lib. xxvii. and xli.

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him an opportunity to re-enter Parthia. Seleucus, having prevailed over his rival, resumed his Parthian expedition, but the second Theodotus, who had succeeded to the Bactrian throne, formed a close alliance with Tiridates, and sent him a large body of Bactrian troops, by whose aid Tiridates defeated, and made captive, the Assyrian monarch. The day, on which this battle was fought, became the anniversary* of the foundation of Parthian liberty. This alliance† sealed the independence of both states, and, to this opportune succour, afforded by Theodotus, we may ascribe the epithet we have mentioned, as freely retained by the successive Arsacidæ, from a grateful recollection.

It is somewhat singular, that, while there is an abundance of medals of the first Arsacidæ, we should have so few of the Bactrian princes, and none of the founders; and that of two so conspicuous, as APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, those under our consideration, the only memorials of them should have been found upon the *Hamaad*, which is a decided proof of the extent of their conquests, and influence.

The names of nine princes have been, by various authorities, brought forwards, as appertaining to Bactria, but not only is the order of their succession liable to doubt, but some are asserted, by good authority, never to have reigned in Bactria at all, but to have belonged to a collateral dynasty, within the Indus, and of these, Bayer pronounces APOLLODOTUS to be one.

To illustrate the subject, I shall here insert his catalogue of princes —

1. Theodotus I.
2. Theodotus II.
3. Euthydemus.
4. Menander; Rex Indus et Bactrianæ.
5. Eucratides I.
6. Eucratides II.

To these have been added,

7. Apollodotus.
8. Demetrius.
9. Heliocles.

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* Lewis, Parthian Empire, page 14.

† This alliance is ascribed, by the author of the Anc. Univ. Hist., vol. ix. page 846, to Theodotus I., but erroneously: he, to his death, remained jealous of the Parthian.

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These three last names were well known to Bayer, who has, however, rejected them (for reasons which he assigns) as kings of Bactria. Heliocles, it is true, he does not mention by name distinctly, perhaps as some ground existed for believing that Demetrius and Heliocles were the same person.

The Chevalier Sestini, in his work on Coins,* introduces APOLLODOTUS between Euthydemus and MENANDER, and Heliocles after the latter. He gives a medal of the latter prince, a description of which will be found in Mionnet,† where also a medal of Euthydemus is engraved.

Another valuable acquisition to the very few existing medals of these princes has been in that of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, described in a treatise entitled "Supplément à la suite des Médailles des Rois de la Bactriane."‡ Both father and son have the same type on the reverse, viz. Hercules with the club and the lion's skin.

The ancient authorities on the succession of these princes are so little satisfactory, that the writers, who have followed them, have come to very different conclusions, not only in the order of succession, but in the relationship of those princes. Thus, one§ makes Euthydemus the brother of Theodotus, whose sceptre he usurped; while another,‖ quoting Polybius, calls him a nobleman of Bactria. But this is of little importance; Demetrius was the son of Euthydemus, and, by marrying the daughter of Antiochus the Great, secured the crown of Bactria to his father, against any further attempt from Syria. A more important question is, whether Demetrius ever reigned in Bactria. It is certain, he did not succeed his father, and the majority of opinions is against that point, though the compilers of the Ancient Universal History say, "MENANDER was succeeded by his nephew Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, in whose name he had governed, that prince being very young, at his father's death." They further say,

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* Classes Générales Géographiques Numismatiques, by the Chevalier Sestini, who was kind enough to present it to me at Florence.

† Description de Médailles Antiques. It contains the description of the only two Bactrian medals yet found, Euthydemus and Eucratides, besides Heliocles, of "an uncertain epoch."—Vol. v. page 704.

‡ This was obligingly given to me by the Chevalier Sestini, but I have not been so fortunate as to meet with the account of those prior to Demetrius, by the same author. The Supplement is printed at St. Petersburgh.

§ Anc. Univ. Hist., History of Bactria, vol. iii. page 846.

‖ Lewis, Parthian Empire, page 91.

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"that he added to the empire, and left Bactria, in a flourishing condition, to his son Eucratides."* Bayer combats this opinion, which was held by J. Vallus and others; and says, "I shall prove from Strabo and Plutarch, that Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, neither succeeded MENANDER, nor was king of Bactria"† and he seems to be supported in this notion by others.‡

The time, allotted by Bayer to the reign of Eucratides I., is sufficiently long to admit of an additional prince, being thirty-five years from his assuming the government. It is here that Heliocles has his place assigned by Sestini, and hence the identity conjectured of this prince and Demetrius. The reason given of his unfitness§ to succeed his father Euthydemus, as being too young, falls to the ground, when it is considered that he was old enough to form a treaty with Antiochus.

The author of the description of the medal of Demetrius,‖ quoting Strabo, says that, along with MENANDER, he had conquered even to the Hypanis, and that he founded a city, called after his father, Euthydemia, near the Indus. Respecting the extent of the conquests, as far as the Hypanis, a very judicious note appended to the French translation of Strabo may be referred to.¶ Bayer has also commented on this passage of Strabo, and it will enable us to proceed at once to the consideration of the medal of MENANDER. The passage in question is as follows:** "Some of these princes subjugated more nations even than Alexander, especially MENANDER, who, having passed the Hypanis,†† advanced towards the east as far as the Isamus, but if it was to him that the Greeks were chiefly indebted for their conquests, the obligation was in part due to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. Thus they subjugated the Patalene, then spreading over the coast, they conquered the kingdom of Tessanoustas, and that of Segestes. These same Greeks carried their victorious arms as far as the countries of the Syn‡‡ and Pharn."

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* Anc. Univ. Hist., vol. iii. page 344.

† Hist. Reg. Gr. Bactr., page 74.

‡ Note 1. "Demetrius, le fils d'Euthydemus, ne paraît point avoir jamais porté la couronne," &c. &c.—Strabon, liv. xi. sect. iv.

§ Anc. Univ. Hist.

‖ Supplement, page 4 and 5, quoting Strabo.

¶ Page 75.

** Strabon, liv. xi.

†† The Hyphasis, the Sutlerge of modern geography, one of the five eastern arms of the Indus.

‡‡ Or Saras, as Bayer, more nearly approximating to the original Σαρας, writes it.

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This passage would serve to furnish a comment on what little has been handed down to us of the actions of MENANDER and APOLLODOTUS who both followed the same track of conquest. But if APOLLODOTUS belonged to Bactria at all, he must precede MENANDER.

The claim, however, of MENANDER to participate in the honours of Indian sovereignty, has been questioned, and his career confined to the states dependant on the "Mother of Cities,"* while the obscurity in which the name of APOLLODOTUS was enveloped, originated in an error of Trogus Pompeius, which was adopted by Justin and Strabo. These writers confound the king APOLLODOTUS with APOLLODORUS, the historian of Bactria. The mistake would not have been cleared up, but for the incidental mention of APOLLODOTUS, by Arrian.

To the learned Bayer the merit must be ascribed of having discovered and rectified this error. He observes,† "The preface of Trogus Pompeius, where reference is made to Eucratides, the Bactrian, thus says: *To India also are added the exploits carried on by the kings* APOLLODOTUS *and* MENANDER. Johannes Vaens is offended with these words, remarking, that it is a most erroneous passage, for APOLLODOTUS was not a king of the Bactrians, but an historian who had committed to writing, according to Strabo, the exploits of the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians."

"Neither has Trogus (he continues) handed down, nor do we require it to be granted, *that* APOLLODOTUS *was king of the Bactrians: but it is evident that he was king of India, or some other part*, and Strabo distinguishes the Greek kings of India from the Bactrians, when he thus speaks:—"APOLLODORUS, *therefore, who wrote the Parthian History, making mention of the Greeks who caused the revolt of Bactria from the Syrian kings, says, they held all the nations between the Hydaspes and Hypanis in subjection, to the number of nine: and that they had five thousand cities, of which none was less than Cos, in Meropé*," and, immediately after, he brings forward the passage already given, from the Periplus,‡ "Even to this day, ancient drachmæ make their appearance in Barugazá, inscribed with Grecian letters, the legends of those who reigned after Alexander, viz. APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER."

"But there must have been another besides, either before APOLLODOTUS

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* Balkh, or Bactra. † Hist. Reg. Græc. Bact., sec. xxxii. page 77 ‡ Bayer, page 79

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or after him, in order that we may place the commencement of the Indian kingdom equal to the beginning of the reign of Tiridotes. Besides, it may be collected from obscure fragments of ancient authorities, that many *Greek kingdoms arose together, and existed for some time among the Indians*; nor do I doubt that the Sriptolemœus, or Siripolemus, of Claudius Ptolemy,* was of the number; for the latter part of the word is Greek, but (Σῆ) *Sri* is the Indian *Sri*."

One of the best grounds for assenting to the opinion of the Purânas having been remodelled at a comparatively modern period, is the mention, in them, of these very *Yavan* or *Greek kings*, while, at the same time, it proves that such a recasting composition we cannot call it took place at a time, when these events were fresh in the memory, and, perhaps, even while some descendants of these princes still existed. Arrian composed his History of the Navigation and Commerce of the Red Sea, in the second century, and he mentions these princes. Ptolemy wrote his Geography about the same period, and the authors, or renovators, of the Puranas, in the beginning of the sixth century. To colour this anachronism, and render it palatable to their votaries, the spirit of prophecy was assumed; and, of the dynasties which were to reign in time to come, these Yavans, or Ionians, are not only mentioned, but *Balick Des*, or Bactria, is specifically assigned to them, and, what is a curious and valuable fact, the precise number of princes of this dynasty is named — "*For eight generations, the Yavan*,† *for twenty, the Turshka*,‡ *for thirteen, the*

* In the same section, Bayer, quoting from Ptolemy the geographer, "There were many kings of India." Name of Tiastanes. Barthana, the seat of Sriptolemæus." doubtless *Upayana*; and Patna, on the Godâveri river. "Kamara, the palace of Kerrabotheus. Modoura, the palace of Pandion. and Arbocara, the palace of Sarmas." the first most probably the abode of the *Caurapavas*, or *sons of Cura*; the second, clearly *Mathura*, held by the Pandu princes, the descendants of Puru, which they actually did at Alexander's time, and for eight centuries before Arbocara, the abode of Sarmas, may be *Avara*, on the Indus, the *capital of Sakra*, also a generic appellation of the sons of Sahl, another of the names of the great one.

† Thus the Greeks are termed.

‡ The Scythic race of the Yuen and Jaxartes, the Turshka and Tukyæ of the Hindu, Tachari, or Tochari of the Greeks, and Tagutai or Chagitai of Turkisthan, and the Tartar historians of Tochareestan, be Sacæ-desa of the Purâns, the country of the Sacæ or Sacæ, the race of which the Parthians were, the Sacæ of the province of Aria, hence the similar appellation of all its princes, Arsaces; and from Sacæ-dwipa, which D'Anville properly places about the fountains of the Oxus, the Greeks composed the word Scythia.

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Gor-ind * *for eleven, the Maunas*,† *in Balich Des, thirteen generations; Pushpamitra Dumitra, after the descendants of Agraj, seven generations.*" I give the passage as a guide to others; whether *Dumitra* is Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, we have nothing but the analogy of the names, and the introduction of Balich in the same passage, for support to our conjecture. *Agraj*, the Hindu prince, after whom, it appears, this dynasty of seven princes reigned, may be the *Aggrames* of Quintus Curtius, *the Prince of the Gangarides and Prasii*, the report of whose immense armies was the barrier to the further advance, beyond the *Setlej*, of the arms of Alexander. With every probability, we may consider the ancient city of Agra as the residence of Aggrames,‡ and, as a proof of its great antiquity, and at the same time as throwing some new light on another interesting series of medals of a Parthian dynasty, to which we are strangers, I present drawings of a few of those medals, out of a considerable number, which were discovered in an earthen vessel, found in its ruins some years ago, in the course of my researches.

There are remains of another *Agra*, or Aggurua, fifteen miles to the north-east of Hansi Hissar, of which tradition says, that it occupies the site of an old capital. It would have been precisely in the line of march of Alexander into India. This *Aggarua* is in the tract termed *Hariana*, the cradle of the *Agarwal* race, who, though now only traders, claim a princely origin. Quintus Curtius mentions Aggrames not being of gentle blood, nor is it improbable that this prince, whose sons were merchants, was the formidable opponent, of whose power such exaggerated accounts reached Alexander's army, as to cause them to murmur against the king's further progress into the plains of Hindust'han.

There is very good ground for believing that Apollodotus, or Menander, or both, penetrated beyond the altars of Alexander on the banks of the *Setlej*, the Hyphasis of his historians; and here I must again refer to the quotation, already given from Strabo.§

Among the princes, who had carried their arms into the interior of India,

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* *Gōrind*, the lords of Gor — *Ind*, a contraction of *Indra*, in poetical composition, very commonly applied to a prince.

† *Maunas*, perhaps the Macwana tribe, still found in the Saurāshtra peninsula.

‡ Agra-grāma (town), Īsa (lord).

§ See page 93, Strabo, lib. xi.

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the geographer especially mentions Menander and Demetrius, and though it is not asserted by him that they were contemporary, it is by no means improbable. "Having passed the Hypanis (he says), they advanced *towards the east, even to the Isamus*."

Several authors, and amongst them Bayer, have put a construction on this passage which entirely fetters the meaning of the original, this being descriptive of the wide sweep of the Bactrian arms. They have corrected the reading, by substituting *Imaus* for *Isamus*. These are Bayer's comments *: "They advanced as far as the Imaus, where are the sources of the Ganges, in order to reduce the tracts which had been in the possession of Sandrocottus." Would this be advancing from the Hyphasis *to the east*, either in the common sense, or according to Hindu geographical acceptation of the east quarter? The misnomer has been noticed, in a note of the French translation of Strabo,† and the opinion here expressed would remove all difficulties, if it were admitted that "L'Isamus seroit un fleuve nommé aujourd'hui *Zemma*," but this is advanced on authority‡ in the interpretation of which the commentators do not coincide. They are inclined to conclude, from a subsequent passage,§ that it is the river Hydaspes which is meant, a construction that cannot be supported, as it would imply absolute retrogression, and a westerly, instead of an easterly, movement from the Hyphasis. The *Jamuna* would well answer our purpose, but I know of no authority which recognizes *Isamus* as one of its many appellations. In the ancient cities that were on its banks, were found almost all the Greek and Parthian medals I obtained. Wilford had conjectured the Isamus to be the small stream which flows into the Ganges, called the *Isa*, which would so far apply, as it pointed to an eastern progress of the Greek arms, for, although small, it had geographical importance, as we learn from the bard Chand, being the boundary of the Hindu kingdoms of Delhi and Canouj, seven centuries ago. It might be so in the days of Alexander and Menander, when the sons of *Puru* and *Curu* reigned, and when "the palace of Pandion (Pandu)‖ was at Madoura (Mat'hura)."

Strabo proceeds "They subjugated the Patalene, then spread over the coast, and conquered the kingdom of Tessartoustus and that of Sigestis."

* Hist. Reg. Gr. Bact., page 81. † Strabo, note 2d, liv. xv., com. iv.
‡ Mannert Geog. § Strabon, liv. xv. ‖ Bayer, quoting from Ptolemy.

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This is the route of conquest by which they were made known to the author of the Periplus, who has handed down to posterity the names and exploits of APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER. Their coins were current at Baroach in the second century, within the confines of these conquests, according to my interpretation of what follows:

"They subjected (Strabo says) the Patalene." This tract was supposed to have occupied the Delta of the Indus, but more recent geography limits it to a much smaller extent,* by curtailing the eastern boundary. *Patalene* is derived from the Sanscrit word *Patal*, the lower region. It was connected with *Minagara*, the capital of the Lower Indus, and governed by Sambus, when Alexander sailed down the Indus. It is not Arrian, the historian of Alexander, who calls the capital of Sambus *Minagara*, but another writer of that name, who was the author of the Periplus. The latter mentions it as the capital of a Parthian dynasty, in his time. The former gives the name of *Sindomana* to the residence of Sambus, who wisely propitiated "Macedonia's madman," dreading the fate of the crucified Musicanus, and the massacre of the Brahmins.

Captain Pottinger very ingeniously supposes *Minagara* to be the ancient isolated capital of Sinde, the Sogdi of Alexander, so called from *Medinaggar*, signifying the insulated *Bukkur*. This, however, is greatly too high for the *Sindomana* and *Minagara*† of the two Arrians, who agree in the position, their verbal difference, I think, may be reconciled. Some light may perhaps be thrown on that ancient period, and it may be made to appear that the *Jâregas* of *Cutch* and *Cant'ha*, now occupying the haunts of Tessarioustus, lived but at a short distance from their ancient kingdom, the abode of Sambus, the friend of Alexander, who was in fact their progenitor.

When (eight centuries before Alexander) the deified Crishna was slain in *Saurâshtra*, by the aboriginal tribes (whom he and the Pandus had expelled), and his followers in the "Great War" left India, a part of them settled in *Zabulest'hán*, and another division in *Seweslhán*, on the Indus.

Of the former it would occupy too much space here to speak, and of the

* Arrian, however, makes it longer than the Delta of the Nile.

† Inland on the north, the district of Barugasa (Baroach) joins to Sinde, and is subject to the Parthians of Minnagar; and the sea-coast from Sinde towards Guzerat is called Surastrene.—*Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, vol. ii., page 393.

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latter I shall only mention, that the native annals state that Samba,* one of Crishna's sons by his favourite wife Jambuvati, was the founder of the *Sude-sama* dynasty, on the Indus, and that their capital was anciently called *Samanagara*, or *Sambanagara* the fortress of *Sama*, or *Samba*, well known in the *Jareja* annals, at this day. On its site now stands *Tatta*, also called *Delevi*, properly *Dewal*, or *the Temple*, for there is a celebrated temple, the situation of which corresponds with the abode of the Brahmins, whom Alexander massacred for instigating the princes to oppose him.

This *Minagara* is the Parthian capital of the author of the Periplus, and the *Sindomana* of Arrian, and its sovereign was *Sambu* (a titular appellation), the *Sambus* of Alexander. When the *Járejas* sacrificed the Hindu character to maintain their dominion, and became proselytes to Islám, it required but the change of a letter to make these the descendants of the mildest of the gods of Hind, the offspring of the Persian *Jamshéed*, and *Sam* and the exploits of Crishna, the Apollo of *Iry*, were lost in Jam. Abul Fazil describes the Jam raj (government), which ruled on the Indus, one branch of which is now fixed in the *Saurashtra* peninsula, their capital, *Jamnagar*. They are neither Hindu, nor Mahomedan, while their Jareja brethren follow the Hindu manners, but are too much degenerated from purity of blood, to admit of its mixing with that of the princes of *Rājast'han*.

Had not the afore-mentioned passage of Strabo pointed out the Hyphasis as the first object, when speaking of the conquest of Menander, we might have imagined that, passing over the intermediate country, which forms the eastern portion of the valley of the Indus, he had proceeded directly from Bactria, through Aria and Arachosia, to the Patalene, but we have evidence of the route of march having extended from the eastern frontier of the land watered by the five grand streams which feed the Indus; and we are also in possession of the important fact, that there existed a capital of a Greek kingdom on the Hyphasis, called, in the native tongue, *Sangala*, which was the residence of Demetrius, and the Greek dynasty

* Sáma, or Syáma, was one of the names of Crishna, from his dark complexion, hence Samba and one branch of their family having lost sight of their origin, say they came from *Rúm Shám*, or Syria. The Batti and Járeja annals fortunately aid each other to develope the little that is to be gleaned of that remote period.

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in India proper, and by Demetrius named *Euthydemia*,* in honour of his father.

If Apollodotus does not belong to the Bactrian dynasty, we must give *Sagala*, or *Sangala*, to him, in preference to Demetrius, and even Menander. Perhaps the monograms may tend to clear up these doubts.

Sangala is placed on St. Croix's map† *within the Hyphasis*, which coincides with D'Anville‡ and the historians of Alexander, and brings it on one side of *Lahore*, the supposed site of the capital of Porus. At this point the progress of Alexander terminated, and here he erected what is called his *Altars*. Major Rennel has not fixed the position of *Sangala* in his map, though he intimates where it should be placed,§ which does not differ from St. Croix.

Wilford, quoting most respectable native authority,‖ says, that there are the ruins of a most extensive city, which he supposes to be *Sangala*, to the westward of Lahore.¶ This was the last city which the Macedonian conqueror sacrificed to his ambition, in his career towards the plain of Hindust'han. Good fortune saved the cities on the Yamuna and Ganges from sharing the doom of *Sangala*, which was itself levelled to the ground, after a massacre of 17,000 of its people, and the captivity of 70,000.

After Alexander's departure, it seems to have sprung up again from its ruins, but only to become the possession of another Greek. But if we suppose Menander to have been this Grecian, which can hardly be doubted, though he also was master of Bactria, it is gratifying to humanity to think,

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* "I find from Claudius Ptolemy, that *there was a city within the Hydaspes, called Sagala also Euthydemia*, and I scarcely doubt that *Demetrius* called it so from his father, though after his death, and that of *Menander*. When *Menander* subdued Bactria I cannot define; but we may conjecture that *Demetrius* was deprived of his patrimony (A.U.C. 662 A.C. 192). —*Bayer*, page 84.

† Carte des Marches d'Alexandre.

‡ Page 105. This great geographer, quoting from Ptolemy, says, "Sagala is called *Euthymedia*, but that he would fain read *Euthydemia*."

§ 48 miles S.W. of Lahore.

‖ Mirza Mogul Beg, part of whose journals and remarks this very intelligent Mogul presented to me many years ago.

¶ As. Res.

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that the beneficence of his character may have obliterated from the remembrance of the Hindu the barbarous deeds of Alexander.

A more honourable testimony of regard was never paid to departed royalty, than that which Menander received from his subjects. Bayer, quoting Plutarch, thus describes it: "A certain king, Menander, who had reigned with justice over the Bactrians, having died in camp, the cities in common had the care of his funeral rites, but afterwards contended for his ashes, they at last divided his remains equally amongst them, and agreed that monuments* to him should be raised amongst them all."

I possess two notices from the native Hindu annals of a city of antiquity, which I have little doubt is the *Sagala* of the Greeks.

I have already hinted, that in the destruction of the *Yadava* power, which predominated in all India about 1100 years before the Christian era, one branch retired to *Yabutest'han*, claiming *Guzni* as their ancient capital. Doubts might be raised on this point, but the same annals those of *Jesselmer*, give us an intermediate place of halt, in their migration from the plains of the *Yamuna* and *Saurashtra*.

This intermediate place was *Behera*, on the *Behat*, or Hydaspes, in the hilly tract styled by them *Jadú*, or "*Yadu ca dang*," the *Jidáu*, or *Yadu hills*, a name they still preserve, and which is to be found in Rennel's Geography. The MSS from which I had this, are of some antiquity, but of the real situation of the hills of *Jidáu*, no information is any where to be obtained. These people were again driven back on India, and have retained a great impression of their foes in a Grecian garb. *Subhava*, or *Subhág*, established himself in the Parapanisan range, from those of Yadu, east of Indus, his son was Gaj, who founded Gajni. The king, *Mamrey*, of Khorassan (Bactria), often attacked the Yadu princes of Gajni. Subhava had always

* On first reading this passage, it struck me that the singular monument described by Mr. Elphinstone as the "Tope (Barrow) of Manikyala," might be one of these trophies to merit.

It is, however much nearer to *Taxila* than *Sangala*, and which, doubtless, was within *Menander's* control. "There was nothing at all Hindu in the appearance of this building: most of the party thought it entirely Grecian." See *Elphinstone's Cabul*, page 130. vol. i. and plate in vol. ii., second edition.

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been victorious, but aided by the king of *Rum*,* the Bactrians renewed hostilities against Gaj; but, while he was in great danger, Mamrej suddenly died of indigestion. The period assigned for this is the year 3008 of *Yudhishthira*.

The relation is so mixed up with facts of a later date, that it seems, among other matters, to contain something of the history of Antiochus and his Hindu antagonist, SOPHAGASENUS, who made his peace with him by a present of money and elephants.

Bayer says, we have already stated, that SOPHAGASENUS was an Indian king in the Bactrian regions near to Paromisus,† almost south; that he was rich, and surrendered his possessions willingly to Antiochus.

Euthydemus seems to have despoiled him of the kingdom, by means of Demetrius (if it was not Menander, as we might almost be tempted to conjecture, by the similarity of the name *Mamrej*), and to have taken from him all the countries to the west of the Indus, which had been a province of Macedonia, by the Parthians called *White India*.‡

Raja Gaj was at last slain, and his issue compelled to flee to *Salbhanpúr*, in the Punjáb; but this event is referred to the year 72, *after* § *Vicramáditya*.

I have already adverted to the *Sal-indra-púr*, the residence of a Scythic prince of the Gete or Jit race, in the sixth century, and remarked that the annals of Guzzerat, in speaking of the conquest of the celebrated *Chandrpál* of Anhulwara‖ Patan, say that he carried his arms as far as *Salpúr*, towards the Sewaluk mountains.

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* Rumi part, in the original. The term Rumi, applied to Syria, appears to have been used long before the removal of the seat of government by Constantine. Alexander is always called "Sekander Rumi," and wherever the Roman sway prevailed, the country was termed Roumiah.

"Les Orientaux distinguent entre les anciens Grecs qui avaient leurs Rois ou leur gouvernement particulier, et ceux qui étaient joints et soumis à l'empire Romain. Car ils appellent les premiers *Younes*, Janes, de *Javan*, et ils donnent à ceux-ci le nom de Roum." *D'Herbelot, Art. Roum.*

† Robertson, quoting Polybius, note 15. page 209. See also Maurice's History, vol. i. page 59, who has collected what has been written on Antiochus and the Hindu princes.

‡ This answers well to Ghizni, or Gajal.

§ Had it been *seventy-two years before Vicrama*, it would have answered for the period of Eucratides, the son of Demetrius, undoubtedly following Menander.

‖ In the twelfth century.

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All these testimonies seem to point to one particular city, for which a successful search might yet be made. The antiquities of that interesting region are still unexplored, but a persevering and extensive investigation would not be fruitless. There are many important objects yet left to be ascertained, but above all, a rich harvest might be expected in the countries radiating from the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, in Bactria and Sogdiana. The enterprising and intelligent traveller might avail himself of caravans of horse merchants, in his journey.

In the cave temples of Bamian, inscriptions might be met with; and were but the single fact established, that the colossal figures in the temple were Bud'hist, it would be worth a journey, perhaps no spot in the world is more curious than this region.

But let us return to the countries subjugated by Apollodotus and Menander, after the Patalene, namely, "the kingdoms of *Tessarionstus* and *Sigestis*." As to the first, there is little doubt that the kingdom of *Tessarionstus* was the modern kingdom of *Cutch*, the coast of which is called by the ancient geographers *Cauthis*, a name used by the natives to this day. Hence the name of the old capital, *Cût'h-cot*, which signifies built of wood: it may have been *Cauth-cot*, the fort of *Cauth*. *Tessarionstus* might be a corruption of *Teja-rája*, or king *Teja*, a common Hindu appellation, if it was not *Gujarâshtra*, the J being changed to a T.

The last excursion I made was to "the coast of the kingdom of *Tessarionstus*, and towards the Patalene." I obtained a knowledge of several facts, which it is not the place here to dwell upon, though I have added to the number of engravings some medals* of a very ancient date, in a character of which no specimen has ever yet been given. I found these characters also cut on the rock of the ancient residence of the chiefs of the peninsular *Surastrene*, or *Saurâshtra*, erroneously designated *Katiawar*, which I shall again notice.

Bayer† has gone to the mouths of the Ganges, in search of the kingdoms of *Sigestis* and *Tessarionstus*, but his conjectures have no great probability in them. Strabo‡ proves that nothing but the tract east of the Delta can have constituted the kingdom of *Tessarionstus*.

That of *Sigestis* is more difficult to discover, especially when named

* See Plate XII. † Page 81. ‡ See note 4, liv. xi, Strabo.

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together with that of *Tessarioustus*. If I am not mistaken, the kingdom of *Sigestus* ought to have been mentioned before the *Patalene*, when the conquests of Apollodotus and Menander were spoken of. Thus a gap in their route from the *Panjáb* frontier would have been filled up; for the only position which can be assigned to this kingdom, in reference to the line of conquests alluded to, goes to strengthen the opinion I before expressed, that the subjugation of the *Patalene*, or Delta of the Indus, proceeded through the western provinces from Bactria, and did not descend through the valley from the *Panjáb*. Then the kingdoms of *Tessarioustus* and *Sigestus*, being contiguous, would have been attacked in the succession I have stated. A passage from Abul Fazil will throw light on that of Strabo.

In his summary of the princes of Sinde he says, "*In ancient times there lived a Rája, named Sahras, whose capital was Alore*, and his dominions extended to Cashmere† and the ocean. An army of Persians invaded this kingdom, and the *Rája* was killed in battle, and the Persians returned home." This relates to a period long antecedent to Muhammed.

Alore is stated by Abul Fazil, in his geographical description of the province of Sinde, to have been called *Debeil* and *Tatta*. This would bring the capital of *Sigestus* near that of *Tessarioustus*, but there is no need of encroaching on the domains of the descendants of Sahras of *Sauvirágara*, or the chief of the Patalene, in order to give *Rája* Sahras, or Sindastenes, a proper abode, the situation of which has been mistaken by Abul Fazil.

I was so fortunate as to discover‡ this ancient city, the original capital of the Sogdi of the Indus. It is situated seven miles east of the island of

* Ayin Akbery, vol. ii. page 118.

† "To the East Cashmere" is *Abul Fazil's* definition of that limit of the kingdom of *Sahras*, which is either a mistake for Ajamere, or the quarter should be north. "To the west the Moras," that is, the Indus, or Sind, both having the same meaning distinctively—*the river*. Both are, I believe, words of Scythic or Tartar origin. The *Sin* or *Sind'h*, or, as the Chinese would write it, *Yun*, is only known locally in the valley as the "*Moota Moran*," the *Great River*, by the natives. By written authorities he is styled *Abe-sin*, the father of the first of rivers. By others, and amongst them *Ferishta*, "*Nil-áb*," the blue stream, or Nile. Query? If Abyssinia has not the same derivation, the land on the *Abe-sin*, or Egyptian Nile?

‡ It was in 1840 I sent my first party to explore that tract, and to bring to me intelligent natives of the desert and Indus, and I repeated these parties till I exhausted the subject, and had matter for a sketch of its geography.

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Buk'har,* on the Indus, a place celebrated in Alexander's voyage. Its name is pronounced *Arore*, and amongst its ruins are the remains of a bridge over a stream, which, branching from the Indus at Dura, seven miles north of Buk'har, skirts the desert down to the ocean. On this stream is situated the port of Lukput, formerly so called. As the place bears the name of Sangra lower down, I have little doubt that it is the Lankra which Nadir Shah, in his treaty with Mahmud, made the boundary of Persia and India, thus lopping off from the latter all the fertile valley of Sinde.

The inhabitants of the desert, or rather one particular tribe, are called *Sehras*, but I know not from what circumstance. It is a curious fact, that the tribe, which from time immemorial has had possession of this desert region, and which was, not very remotely, master of *Iskardo* or *Bukhar*, and all the valley, was the Hindu tribe *Soda*, one of the branches of *Pûar*. May we suppose that the term *Sogdi* applied to the people of *Bukhar* by Alexander, originated from that tribe? The best proof of the antiquity of their genealogy is their connecting, in an old couplet, the period of the cessation of the streams flowing through the desert, with one of the *Soda* princes.

In a chronicle of occurrences given me by a learned *Jati*, mention is made of the same prince, called Raja *Sehl*, and it is related that he ruled over all the countries east of the Indus, that he was of the *Puar* (*Pramâra*) race, and contemporary with *Vicramaditya*. Tradition further adds, that the Desert, now constantly increasing to the eastward, had no existence in his time. *Sehl*, or *Sal*, was also the name of one of the Pandu league in the Great War, and *Samanagar* and *Arore* were in the route of retreat of the remains of the *Yadus* and *Pandus*, under Yudhishthira and Baldeva, when they left India, after Crishna's death, on the shores of *Saurâshtra*.

I have visited the spot where the Apollo of India (Crishna) received the wound from the *Bhilla's* arrow, and also that, where his remains were burnt on the banks of *Rupen-ni* (Argentina). A never-dying Pippala (*Ficus religiosa*) marks the spot, and the scion of this immortal stem of 3,000 years, appeared to be a sapling of about five years' growth. The intolerant Muhammedan had polluted the spot, sacred to the Hindu votary, by erecting a Mesjid almost in contact with the altar of Crishna. It is all holy ground to the Hindu: the ruins of the Temple of the Sun are very

* The Mussoors of the Arabians, and erroneously supposed by some to be Musagara.

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near the shrine of Chiahna, and not a mile beyond the famed *Somnauth'ur*, whose wealth surpassed that of Delphos. With this wealth Mahmud constructed his "Celestial Bride," of Ghizni. Within the walls, and with the remains of this ancient fane before my eyes, I listened to the recital of a metrical composition which we met with, descriptive of the destruction of the most holy temple. It was a singular composition, evidently, from the display of imagery, the work of the Hindu bards, aided by some refined Persian scholar. It has, with many Persian words, a mixture of pure *Hindi*, the choicest phrases of its colloquial dialects, and was withal incomparably simple.

Wilford,* treating of the geography of the Indus, says, that the country to the east of the Indus was called *Seke*, or *Seke-des*, and its inhabitants consequently *Sekæi*, and that west, *Lehi*. Lah is a considerable territory westward, and one of the largest communities in Baochistan is that of *Nasmeir*, or *Lasmeir*,† a colony of the Scythic Geta, or Jit, though now Muhammedan, of this race is a great part of the population of the valley.

I do not think we can find a more appropriate place for the abode of Sesostris, than *Arore*, the capital of *Sehris*, while the kingdom of Tessanotisitis is expressly said to be on the sea-coast, beyond the *Patalene*.

I shall now venture a remark on another passage of Strabo, and endeavour to elucidate a point which has caused discussion, respecting the countries which bounded the conquests of Alexander and Menander.

Strabo, namely, adds to what has been before quoted: "These same Greeks subjugated the country as far as the territory of the *Seri* and *Phryni*." Bayer, following the original orthography, Σῆρας, writes *Særa*, and on this he has commented, as have the French annotators.‡

He finds fault with Casaubon for altering *Phrunôn* to *Phrunôn*, and approves of the conjectures of J. Valens, who makes them the *Seres* and *Phryni* of the *Sacæ* nation, bordering on Chinese Tartary.

This emendation is noticed, but not confirmed, by the French annotators of Strabo, who prefer carrying the Bactrian arms to Syria and Phœnicia. The compilers of the Ancient Universal History have also adopted this

* Essay on Numerals, Lyra and Saliyahana.—*As. Res.* vol. ix. page 220.

† At the angle of the Indus and Mekran coast. Query. If the *Lyrmiæ*, or *Lyrnitæ*, of Alexander's geographers?

‡ Note 2, lib. xv. page 988, vol. iv. Amsterdam.

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ides, but only my Menander died when about to carry his arms into Syria.

The misfortunes which befel Antiochus the Great, at this period, certainly afforded an opening to the Bactrian prince to attempt such an invasion, but the historians of the Syrian monarch would not have failed to notice such a powerful diversion in favour of the western foes of Antiochus, as the advance of the Bactrians to the frontiers of Syria, had it taken place. Menander succeeded to the Bactrian throne at the very time when Hannibal took refuge with Antiochus, and instigated him to cope with the soldiers of the mistress of the world, but the fatal battle of Magnesia shewed that neither Grecian phalanx, Scythian bowmen,* nor a multitude of elephants from India the tribute of Subhava and his son Gaj), could withstand the Roman legions, headed by the Scipios. This very victory, however, proved eventually ruinous to Rome for the spoils of Asia and her luxuries enervated and corrupted her citizens, and from this victory, which opened to her the east, is to be dated her decline.

The *Suroi* are mentioned in conjunction with the kingdoms of Tessariostus and Sigestis, and the Patalene, which was very near them, so that they could be approached without the necessity of invading the territory of Antiochus, which would rather have been presumptuous in Menander or Apollodotus, notwithstanding his misfortunes.

The *Suroi* were in fact the *Saurai*, inhabiting the peninsula of *Saurashtra*, the *Saurastrene* and *Syrastrene* already quoted from the Periplus, and the kingdom immediately adjoining, that of *Tessariostus*, to the eastward. That the Seyn. of *Saurâshtra*, and the Syrians of Asia Minor had the same origin, appears from the worship of *Surya*, or the Sun. I have little doubt, we have more than one "city of the Sun"† in this tract, indeed, the only temples of the Sun I have met with in India, are in Saurâshtra. The temple raised to *Bál*, in Tadmor‡ in the Desert, by Solomon, where

* A body of 1 200 Scythian horse, armed with bows, claimed the admiration of the Romans. Antiochus had also 150 elephants, a great part received from Sophagasenus and other Hindu princes, when he invaded India, after making peace with Euthydemus, the predecessor of Menander.—*Ant. Univ. Hist.* page 567

† Heliopolis (*Siryaphra*) was one capital of Syria.

‡ Hence its name. *Bál-bér*. *Bér* is an idol as Ferishta derives it, the idol *Bál*. This, the capital in future times of the unfortunate Zenobia, was translated by the Greeks to Palmyra, for it is but a translate of Tad-mor, or Tal-mor, and can have an Indian derivation, from Tar, or Tal, the date, or Palmyra-tree, and Mór, the head, chief, or crown.

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he worshipped "Bál and Ashtoreth, the strange gods of the Sidonians," was the *Bal-nat'h*, or Great God of the Hindus, the Vivifier, the Sun; and the Pillar erected to him "in every grove, and on every high hill;" the Lingam, or Phallus, the emblem of Bál, Bál-nat'h, Bal-cesari,* or as *Bal-Isuara*, the *Osiris* of the Egyptians; and as *Nand-Iswara*, their *Serapis*, or Lord of the Sacred Bull, *Nanda*, or *Apis*, "the Calf of Egypt," which the chosen people bowed to "when their hearts were turned away from the Lord."

Thus *Bál* was the type of productiveness, and *Ashtoreth*, as destruction, most probably that of the Eight- (Ashta) armed mother. A'SHTA-TÁRÁ-DEVÍ, or the radiated Goddess of Destiny, is always depicted as trampling on the monster *Bhanásúr*, aided by her lion (when she resembles Cybele, or the Phrygian Diana), and in each of her eight arms holding a weapon of destruction: but I have ventured to pursue the subject elsewhere. I shall merely remark on the Suroi of Menander, that amongst the *thirty-six royal races of* Hindus, especially pertaining to Saurástra, is that of *Sarweya*, as written in the *Bhakhá*, but classically *Suryavansa*. The historian of the court of Anhulwarra† thus introduces it: "And thou, *Sarweya*, essence of the martial races."‡ No doubt, it was, with many others, of Scythic origin, perhaps from Zaruspa, or Bactria, introduced at a period when the worship of Bál, or the Sun, alone was common to the nations east and west of the Indus, when, as Pinkerton says, a grand Scythic empire extended to the Ganges. Here I must drop APOLLODOTUS and MENANDER, for the history of their exploits extends no further than the Suroi.

I must, however, reserve for a distinct notice, what that great geographer D'Anville remarks. He had Arore within his grasp, and the addition of one point alone reserved for me the honour of the discovery of the abode and position of SAMUS, if not of SIGERUS.

Describing the tracts watered by the Indus, "le cours de l'Indus, jusqu'à la mer"§), according to the Turkish geographer, whom he justly lauds, and having mentioned *Bukkur* and *Sehwan*, he says, "*Azour est presque*

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* Césari, a lion. Hence the royal appellation of the Cæsars and Lion (*Sha'ha*) Lords of India, have the same meaning.

† Nehrwara of D'Anville and Rennodá.

‡ "Sarweya, Cshatriya tain sár."

§ Eclaircissemens sur la carte de l'Inde, p. 37.

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comparable à Multan pour la grandeur, selon Ebn Haukal dans Abulfeda," but if this authority afforded a positive fact, it is a pity D'Anville did not abide by what he found so correct, for, following *Agrizi*, he says, "Cette ville est située sur le fleuve Mehran, *à trente parasanges de Mansora à Menagara en remontant ce fleuve*." There can be no doubt that Azour is Arore, the r[illegible] by a superfluous point, made a z [illegible], though the only Azour, in Ibn Hauka's Geography,* is one in the route from Sejestan to Ghizni.

It would be well if the successors of D'Anville, who have treated of the geography of the Indus, had followed his opinions of the merits of his authorities.† The names of towns given by him from Uch (the seven towns, capital of the Oxydracæ) to Bekhar, as Bayla, Metra &c., are still in existence, as this geographer has placed them.

Captain Pottinger, in his interesting work on Sinde and Baloochistan, quoting the Persian work "Mujmood Waridat," mentions "Nasor" as the capital of Sinde, at the invasion of the general of Waud, in the ninety-third year of the Hejira. From other sources, he also mentions the overthrow of the dynasty of *Sahir* by *Nuhiruan*, "whose ancestors had governed Sinde two thousand years," but there are several anachronisms combined with the detail, as neither Jodhpur nor Jesulmér had existence then. But it affords additional testimony of the kingdom of Sehris, the Sigestis of the Greeks, whose capital was Arore.

Eucratides the First, who succeeded Menander in the kingdom of Bactria, is said to have dispossessed Demetrius of his Indian sovereignty, probably founded by Apollodotus. Bayer, quoting Artemidorus, says, that Eucratides possessed five thousand cities beyond the Indus, and assumed, like the Parthians, on his medals, the title of "Great King." This account of Bayer seems to be confirmed by a series of coins in my possession, of which I present specimens.‡

That author says, "the obverse has a remarkably high relief of the head and helmet, the ground of the reverse is lower. The *fascæ* which wave round the neck are sufficient proof that the forehead under the helmet is bound with a diadem.

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* By Sir W. Ouseley, page 210.

† Tout ce détail ne paroit précieux pour la géographie bien loin que je croie devoir passer par dessus. Il fournit ce qui n'existe point ailleurs, comme on s'en convaincra par l'examen des autres cartes." This holds good.

‡ Plate XII, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

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On the reverse are two horsemen with the Bactrian tiara, with palm branches and the sarissa, or long spear, of the Macedonians: the inscription is, "of the great King Eucratides," epoch 108. These horsemen are either Greeks in the army of Eucratides, or Bactrians, accustomed to the Macedonian discipline, bearing the sarissa, as Macedonians, the tiara, as Bactrians.*

Unfortunately, there are but a few detached letters, and those of titles; there is also a strange mixture of Grecian and Parthian costume and symbol, especially the sacerdotal instrument for feeding the sacred fire. The figure on the reverse, whether on a horse or camel, has a hawk perched on the extended arm.

Nos. 3 and 4 of the first series are decidedly of Greek princes, but it is to be supposed that they are too mutilated to furnish any useful light. The date of No. 3 is half destroyed, but the numeral N, answering to 50, remains. The medal is altogether in good preservation, having the bust on one side, and on the reverse Apollo armed with a dart, as in that of Apollodotus, and a cornucopia at his right.

Eucratides the Second, in the 110th of the Bactrian era, succeeded to the throne by the murder of his father, but he did not long enjoy it. One hundred and twenty years after its foundation, this kingdom fell.† The parricide was slain during an invasion of the Scythians, or Getes, of the Jaxartes on one side, and the Parthians on the other. The Getes remained in possession of the country they had occupied, till they were, in their turn, expelled by the Huns. Then many of them moved eastward. Strabo has left us the names of these Getic or Scythic tribes, who aided in the overthrow, *viz. Asi, or Aspi, Sacæ Tachari*. The *Sácká Rajputs*, the *Táks* of Northern India: the *Getes*, or *Jits*, may be traced by inscriptions and other evidence.

As to the Parthian and Scythic princes who ruled in India, I have already spoken of those who had their residence at *Menagara*, on the Indus, the Indo-Scythic princes of India, mentioned by De Guignes, Cosmos, Gibbon, and others.

Mithridates (one of the Arsacidæ, or Parthian sovereigns), who made Eucratides tributary previously to the total overthrow of the Bactrian

* Bayer. suet. ut. second series. † Ante C. 154.

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kingdom, had established himself in all the power the Greeks ever had in India. He conquered the whole of the countries from the Indus to the Ganges, including the dominions of Porus; and such were his moderation and clemency, that many nations voluntarily submitted to him. Demetrius Nicator, of Syria, endeavoured to prop the declining cause of the Bactrians, but fell himself into captivity; his son Antiochus was slain in an attempt to release him. The Parthians extended themselves everywhere; and both they and their foes, the Scythic Tartars, had bands of Greeks as allies. To Mithridates, the successors, or a minor dynasty in India, we must assign these medals.*

The third series of medals is of a race of this description. I present a few, viz. Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13, all evidently of the same family. No. 10 represents a priest or king, sacrificing. His head is adorned with the high cap of the Magi, and he is feeding the flame on a low altar. A club is placed in his left. Of several in my possession, though we distinctly read the epithet—"Of the King of Kings, Preserver," and on another, "Of the Great King of Kings," yet no proper name can be discerned. On the reverse is the sacred bull, with a man, perhaps the sacrificing priest, and the epigraphes in the Sassanian character.

Those which follow will deserve attention, and may perhaps be decyphered: the characters have the appearance of a rude provincial Greek. No. , the archer kneeling, speaks for itself. That they belonged to Parthian and Indo-Scythic kings, who had sovereignties within the Indus, there can not be a doubt. I have collected some thousands; but only these few have escaped the corroding tooth of time.

The fourth series is scarcely less interesting. They are *Hindu*, of a very remote period, and have the same character which I have found wherever the *Pandu* authority existed, in the caves, and on the rocks of *Junagur Girnar*, on the pillar of victory in Meywar, and on the columns of *Indra-prest'ha* (Delhi) and *Prayag*. Some of them are not unlike the ancient Pehlavi. These coins are of gold, and in fine preservation. Like all my medals, they are either from *Agra*, *Mat'hura*, *Ujayan*, or *Ajmer*. Dr Wilkins possesses some, found even in Bengal: he thinks, he can make out the word *Chandra* upon them.

* See Lowe's Parthian Empire, page 33.

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On two, the obverse represents a naked figure, with a bow, in the act of shooting at some beast of prey, or fabulous monster. On the reverse is a goddess seated on a lion, holding a diadem, or crown, to reward him.

On the remaining two, Nos. and , we have the same figures, but with this difference, that the monster has disappeared, the bow is unstrung, in the man's hand, he is clothed in the spoils of the foe, and near him stands a trophy, the ancient Grecian or Roman standard, the eagle with expanded wings on a staff. To what can this allude? Is it a record of Chandragupta's success over Alexander, or does the Grecian standard denote the alliance he formed with Seleucus in after-times? They are fine medals, bold in design, of high relief, and I hope the inscription may yet be decyphered.

The fifth series is, like the others, entirely novel and unexplored. All that I can say of them is, that they belong to a dynasty which ruled from Avanti, or Ujjayan, to the Indus, for in that whole tract I have found them. The first I obtained, was from the ruins of ancient Ujjayan, twelve years ago. It was presented to me by a valued friend,* who first awakened my attention to their importance. He found them in Cutch, and in his company I discovered others, amongst the ruins in the Gulph.† The character of the epigraphe I have met with on rocks in *Saurashtra*, in the haunts of the *Suras*, the bounds of the conquests of Menander and Apollodotus.

* Mr. Williams, resident at the Gykwar court, to whose kind aid I am indebted for being enabled to perform the most interesting of all my journies, and with his society

† I have, however little hesitation in assigning them to the *Balhara* sovereigns of Renaudot's Arabian travellers, the Bhalla Rais of Anhulwarra Puttan, who were supreme in these countries. "This *Balhara* is the most illustrious prince of the Indies, and all the other kings acknowledge his pre-eminence. He has, of these, pieces of silver called Tartarian drachs. They are coined with the die of the prince, and have the year of his reign." *Renaudot*, page 15.

The Arabian travellers have by no means attached too much importance to the *Balhara* supremacy. They had a distinct era, 375 years posterior to Vikramáditya, which I had the happiness to reckon amongst my discoveries, but on this dynasty I shall have much to say elsewhere.

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I trust I have provided matter for others to expatiate on, who may by these aids throw new light on Indian history. The field is ample, and much yet remains to reward patience and industry, nor is there a more fertile or less explored domain for the antiquary, or for the exercise of the pencil, both in architectural and natural scenery, than within the shores of Peninsular Saurāshtra.

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XXI. *On the Valley of the Setlej River, in the Himalaya Mountains, from the Journal of Captain A. Gerard, with Remarks by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.*

Read December 3, 1825.

Capt A. Gerard, from whose letters on a survey of the middle valley of the *Setlej*, in the year 1818, a brief sketch of the geology of that part of the *Himálaya* was prepared, which has been inserted in the Geological Transactions (1st vol., New Series), has since continued to explore the same interesting portion of the great Indian chain of mountains. A short narrative of a visit to the same quarter, in 1820, was communicated to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and is published in the 10th volume of the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, (page 295.) In the subsequent year (1821) Capt. A. Gerard, with his brother, Mr. J. G. Gerard, more fully explored the same valley, to complete a geographical survey of it. Their diary, and the geological specimens collected by them, have, at their request, been freely communicated to me by the East-India Company, with the liberal permission of retaining a duplicate set of the specimens. This I accordingly have had the satisfaction of presenting to the Geological Society. But, as the diary contains particulars unconnected with geology, yet not devoid of interest in a more general view, I now offer to the notice of the Royal Asiatic Society a summary of it, interspersed with remarks, and including extracts of the more important passages.

The diary commences on the 6th of June 1821, at *Rol*, near the foot of the *Shatúl* pass, where the previous survey of the same tract in 1818 terminated. *Rol* is a small district in *Chúára*, one of the larger divisions of *Bashar*. It contains five villages, situated upon the south-western declivity of the mountainous range. These villages vary in altitude, from 9,000 to 9,400 feet above the level of the sea. *Rol* itself is 9,350 feet. It is the highest inhabited land without the *Himálaya*. The crops are wheat, barley (H. hexastychon), Siberian barley (H. celeste), called by the mountaineers *U'á*, Polygonum? (phapar) and pease: they just reach to

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10,000 feet. The wheat seldom ripens, and, when the rains fall early in June, most of the grains are cut green.

The travellers proceeded from *Rôl* through a fine wood of oak, yew, pine, rhododendron, and horse-chestnut, with some juniper, and long thin bamboos,* to *Rúchkúlghat*, just overtopping the forest at the elevation of 11,800 feet.

They passed by an extremely difficult and tiresome way amongst piles of loose stones, which seemed to have been but lately precipitated from above, to *Rcami*, a halting-place for travellers, on the bank of a rivulet, at an elevation of 11,740 feet. In the vicinity were stunted birches, dwarf oaks, pines, and juniper, and two species of rhododendron, one, as called by the natives, *Tálsur*. Flowers abounded, such as thyme and cowslips. The soil is a rich moist black turf, not unlike peat.

The *Shátul* pass had not been traversed since the month of September, 1820, when Mr. James G. Gerard effected the passage with much difficulty and danger, and lost two of his servants, who were frozen to death at mid-day. It was attended with less peril at this early season. Messrs. Gerard were the first persons who visited it in 1821. Having before travelled the ordinary road through the pass, they determined to strike directly across the ridge, which they accomplished. Its elevation was found by barometric measurement to be 15,550 feet above the sea,† confirming a similar measurement in the preceding year, which made it but two feet less.

The rocks were chiefly mica slate, and gneiss. In the ascent they had noticed a huge granitic rock, in the chilly recess of which they rested, and their route had led them in some places over heaps of angular fragments of gneiss, granite, quartz, and feldspar, jumbled together in wild disorder, where every step was dangerous.

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* Throughout the diary, with rare exceptions, I have retained Captain Gerard's names of plants. Probably the English names are not always rightly applied: or, if right generically, the species must be for the most part different. They will be corrected in an appendix, so far as I may be in possession of sufficient information for the purpose, before the present volume is closed.—H. T. C.

† The heights of most remarkable places are calculated from corresponding observations of the barometer at Sábáthú: the exact number of feet is in such instances noted. Others were obtained by differences, and they are put down to the nearest fifty feet.

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To the east and south-east was seen a low part of the Himálayan range. Its altitude is much less than that of *Shátúl*, but it is rendered impassable by a perpendicular wall of gneiss, that forms an impracticable barrier for several miles.

The snow became more frequent as they ascended, till they attained the crest of a ridge, at the elevation of 13,450 feet, where it is continuous at that early season. A month later, it would be dissolved. Upon the snow, at the greater height of *Shátúl*, were many insects like mosquitoes: at first they were torpid, but sunshine revived them. Some birds were seen, resembling ravens. Mosses were found on the few rocks.

The travellers halted for the night at *Kanpún*, under the shade of a large rock, at the height of 13,400 feet, whence the steep ascent of the pass begins. There were plenty of flowers where the snow had melted, but no bushes. The firewood was brought from the last camp.

From this spot the ascent seemed appalling. The crest was nearly 2,200 feet higher. Here and there a rock projected its black head, all else was a dreary solitude of unfathomable snow, aching to the sight, and without trace of a path.

The travellers found the snow, which was soft at mid-day, afford good footing, and reached the summit with less fatigue than they anticipated. They remained the night and following day at the crest of the pass, and suffered much from head-ache and difficulty of breathing, usually experienced at such elevated positions. It snowed in the evening. The temperature did not rise above 41° at noon: it was 24° and 26° at sunrise (9th and 10th of June).

On the subsequent day, they descended upon the same side, and proceeded along the dell of the *Andreti*, a branch of the *Pabar* river, rising near *Shatúl*, and halted on the bank of a rivulet called *Dingrú*, at an elevation of 12,300 feet, just above the limit of the forest. The lowest point in the dell was 11,100 feet. Leeks were gathered at the height of 12,000 feet. The ground was here a rich sward, cut up in grooves by a large kind of field-rat, without a tail.*

Capt. Gerard and his brother continued to explore the glens and valleys of the tributary streams of the *Pabar* river; in particular the valley of the

* Spalax (Mus typhlus)?

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Sipon river, and that of the *Pabar* itself, visiting the confluence of these rivers, the summit of the ridge which divides them, and the sources of both rivers.

The Himalayan glens for the most part run almost perpendicular to the range, or from N.N.E. and N.E. to S.S.W. and S.W. The face exposed to the N.W. is invariably rugged, and the opposite one, facing the S.E., is shelving. The roads to the most frequented passes lie upon the gentle acclivity: the difference of the elevation of forest on either side is remarkable. On the declivity towards the N.W., which, as before observed, is the most abrupt, the trees rise several hundred feet higher than those upon the opposite face, which has a more gentle slope, and in some instances, the difference exceeds 1,000 feet. The general height of the forest on the southern face of the *Himalaya*, is about 11,800 to 12,000 feet above the sea. Oaks and pines reach that elevation, birches extend a few feet higher. Descending from the pass of *Bandajun*, the level of the highest juniper was observed 13,800 feet.

From *Sheerghul*, at an elevation of 18,720 feet (which the travellers reached by a very steep path, crossing several snow-beds, where it was necessary to cut steps with a hatchet, and passing among gigantic oblong masses of mica slate, disengaged from the impending crags), the prospect is very extensive. Towards the plains appear the *Chur* mountains, 14,880 feet (one measured barometrically as 12,145 feet), to the S.E., snowy summits of immense altitude in the direction of *Lamanda'dara*, rising one above another in majestic disorder, and presenting mountains of eternal snow, and beyond the source of the *Pabar*, one of the huge *Raldang* peaks, above 21,000 feet. Across the *Pabar*, is the *Chaskil* range, through which are several passes, 13,000 to 14,000 feet high.

The travellers passed through *Tangno*, which gives name to a small district, comprehending five villages. Abundance of thyme, strawberries, nettles, thistles, and other European plants, was noticed. The houses are shaded by horse-chestnuts, walnuts, and apricots. The elevation of the place is 8,800 feet.

Unable to procure guides to the *Sundrú* pass, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to *Jangtig*, a place already visited in 1820. Its height is 9,800 feet, the highest habitation, 9,400 feet.

The *Para* pass, at the head of the *Sipon* river, which is called *Yusi*, in its upper course, above *Dandjún*, is 15,877 feet high. The dale, between

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this and *Bandgán* pass (14,854 feet above the sea), is shut in towards the N.E. by snow-capped mountains, upwards of 17,000 feet high, amongst which the river has its source. The rocks at *Bandgán*, and on the bank of the river, where the travellers encamped at the height of 13,650 feet, were gneiss, and the adjoining mountains the same, and clay slate. The descent was over broken slate, from *Bandgán*.

The ascent of *Yúru* pass was extremely fatiguing. Messrs. Gerard describe themselves as having been so exhausted at first, that they rested every hundred yards, and, had they not been ashamed, before so many people, some of whom they had induced to accompany them after much intreaty, they would have turned back.

At the summit of the pass, there is a plain covered with snow for 400 or 500 yards. The ground slopes suddenly to the valley of the *Sutlej*: the peaks on each side seemed about 800 feet higher.

The *Yúru* river is divided into several streams, all of which, but the principal one, were crossed by arches of snow. The largest, which was forded, was forty feet broad, and six inches deep: the bed full of pebbles, and the margin snow-washed by the stream. With the exception of that principal channel of the river, and some openings partially disclosing the smaller branches, the rest is a bed of snow six or eight inches thick.

The glen becomes more and more contracted, till at last it is bounded by mural rocks of granite, with the *Yúru* forcing its passage between them in impenetrable obscurity, under immense heaps of indestructible ice, running in ridges, and studded with mounds of snow.

The source of the *Pabar* is in a lake, called *Chárámdi*, above a mile in circuit, whence the river rushes forth over a perpendicular rock, forming a fine cascade. Above it are enormous banks of snow, 80 or 100 feet in thickness, which have cracked and partly fallen outwards into the lake. Just beyond them are three high passes, *Mórang*, *Gonds*, and *Ghúsáli*, which lead over the summit of the range, into the valley of the *Baspa* river, and are very steep. The travellers were unable to persuade the guides to conduct them over either of these passes, but subsequently visited them from the other side.

The *Barendo*, or *Bruáng* pass, near the *Pabar*, was again visited. It had been measured barometrically in 1818: the measurement now taken exceeded the former one (which was 15,095 feet) by 153 feet. To that extent the barometric measurements must be considered uncertain. They

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halted two days on the summit of the pass; and, as is usual at so great elevations, were troubled with head-ache and difficulty of respiration. The nights were calm; but the solemn stillness was now and then interrupted by the crash of falling rocks.

They descended into the valley of the *Baspa*, sliding down the declivity of a snow-bed, by seating themselves upon a blanket on the snow. This mode is invariably practised by the mountaineers, where there are no rocks nor precipices. They had then a dreadfully dangerous footpath, along the rugged sides of the dell: it crossed many snow-beds, inclined at an angle of 30° or more, which delayed them much, as they had to cut steps in the snow.

The *Baspa* is a noble river, running through a romantic valley, which, the people have a vague tradition, was formerly a lake, and it has every appearance of it. The valley is bounded, on each side, by abrupt ridges of the *Himalaya*, which present a great deal of bare rock.

The travelers advanced to the confluence of the *Baspa* and *Bakti* rivers; examined the valley of the latter, and reached the confluence of the *Bakti* and *Nalgún* rivers, proceeding along the ridge, which is traversed by several passes before-mentioned, all of which they now visited, viz. *Nilwang*, 16,035 feet high; *Gúnda*, 16,026 feet; and *Ghaual*, 15,851 feet; as also *Rápin*, 15,480 feet.

At *Nara*, a halting-place where there are good caves for shelter, at the elevation of 13,130 feet, and at *Dánsún*, where they halted the following evening, at the height of 14,200 feet, there was, through the night, a continued crash of falling rocks, on the rugged side of the dell. The species of rhododendron called by the natives *Talúr*, was observed in the vicinity of *Dánsún*, at its level.

The *Nalgún* pass, the lowest pass through the *Himálaya* which had been yet visited, is 14,801 feet above the sea. From this pass they descended to the confluence of the *Nalgún* and *Bakti* rivers, and thence proceeded along the *Bakti*, and across the *Baspa* river, to *Sangla*, where they halted several days (23d to 29th of June), and whence they despatched their collection of plants and geological specimens; but the paper envelopes of the latter were rendered illegible, and the whole of the former destroyed, by the heavy rain which overtook the despatch, in the following month.

Messrs. Gerard, resuming their journey, ascended the valley of the *Baspa* to *Chetkúl*, the last, and highest village in it; crossing, the first day, two

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large branches of the *Baspá*, the *Chuling*, and *Gor*, from the *Caúkí* range on the north; and, the second day, two other considerable streams, the *Mangzá* and *Shastí*. They first passed over tremendous blocks of coarse-grained granite, the decomposition of which seems to have formed the sand in the river, it gives the water a turbid appearance. The granite is white, and from a distance looks like chalk.

The first part of the valley has the same general character with most others in the *Himálaya*, but it is considerably broader. The face of the mountain exposed to the S.W., which is part of the *Caúkí* or *Raldang* group, presents abrupt precipices and threatening cliffs, with little soil, and but few trees, the opposite face again is more gently sloped, and thickly wooded with pines, which are overtopped by a belt of birches. Near the top of this chain, there is a good deal of snow. The last half-mile to the village of *Ráúchám*, situate in the western corner of the glen (and 10,500 feet above the sea), is a rugged descent upon enormous masses of granite. The dell has here a pleasing appearance, and it expands to three furlongs in breadth. half of it is laid out in thriving crops of wheat and barley, and the rest is occupied by sand-beds, which form many small islands, with the river winding among them. Just above the village, huge piles of black rock* rise abruptly, in numerous black spires, to about 3,000 feet higher, or nearly 20,000 feet above the level of the sea. Approaching *Chétkul*, the dell becomes more contracted; the right bank becoming very precipitous, and almost mural to the *Baspá*. The altitude of the village is about 11,400 feet, and the highest fields are scarcely 200 feet more. The valley continues about 300 yards wide for two or three miles, the *Baspá* then makes a bend to the southward, and the view is shut up by snowy mountains of great height.

From *Chétkúl* the travellers attempted the *Kanáú* pass, at the head of the valley of the *Rúrá* river, a large stream, derived from a double source, one branch rising in the snow of *Sagú* pass, which bears nearly south; the other, or smallest, in the *Kanáú*, about S.W. Above the elevation of 13,300 feet, the level of the highest birches, the *Rúrá* is increased, in rapidity and turbulence, to a torrent, and foams in dreadful agitation and noise. Still higher up, the road ascends gradually, upon snow of immense thickness in the channel of the current, which now and then shows itself

* Composed of black mica (fine-grained), with a little oxide of iron.

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in deep blue lakes. The travellers passed along the margin of one, 100 feet in diameter: the way was extremely dangerous, upon ice sloping abruptly to the water; in this there was no footing, till notches were cut with a hatchet, an operation which long delayed their progress. Latterly, they travelled over mounds of unfathomable snow, so loose as scarcely to be capable of supporting them at the depth of three feet. The guides had snow-shoes, which were at least five or six inches in breadth. They said, that early in the morning, before the sun had power, the snow would bear the weight of a loaded person, and in May and June, when the pass is most frequented, it does not sink at any time of the day.

The travellers reached the elevation of 15,500 feet, where the pass appeared to be 1,400 or 1,500 feet higher, over vast fields of snow.

The dell is broad (half a mile wide), and covered with snow in high wreaths. The mountains, which have a S.E. exposure, are nearly bare, a few patches of snow only appearing at great heights. The line of cliffs may be 17,500 feet. On the other side, the mountains are nearly of the same height, and they present a chain of mural precipices, eaten away by frost into forms like towers and steeples. Much of the rock near the summits is exposed, and snow, having lost its hold on their steep craggy sides, has accumulated below.

It had rained several hours, the sleet fell thickly, without any prospect of its clearing up. Messrs. Gerard thought it prudent to order a speedy retreat, especially as the guides were greatly alarmed, and strongly remonstrated against their proceeding further, lest they should fall into some deep chasm, concealed by soft snow.

The shower of sleet continued with them the greater part of the descent; and latterly changed to rain, with a milder climate. From the craggy sides of the dell the rocks were loosened by the rain, and followed each other in a continued crashing, and some pieces tore up the path a few yards from them.

Having caught severe colds, they did not renew the attempt to visit *Kimlid* (nor *Sagla*), but returned to *Chéshil*, and were dissuaded from attempting the *Neelang* pass, where, several years ago, eighteen persons perished in the passage, since which time, few loaded travellers have ventured by that route.

Messrs. Gerard proceeded by the *Chárang* pass (17,548 feet high) to the valley of *Nangalti*. The inclemency of the weather rendered it very

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arduous. They were detained three days at *Shalpá* (a resting-place for travellers) by incessant rain; on the fourth day their guides consented to proceed. Many snow-beds were crossed, and, about the height of 16,300 feet, continuous snow-beds commenced, at first, a gentle acclivity, and latterly a very steep slope, surpassing, in terror and difficulty of access, any thing which the travellers had yet encountered. The acclivity was at an angle of 37½°, of loose stones, gravel and snow, which the rain had soaked through and mixed together, so as to make moving laborious, and all but impracticable. The stones gave way at every step, so that it became necessary to use hands as well as feet. The travellers reached the crest of the pass at noon, in a state of exhaustion and numbedness of hands and feet, from continued exposure to snow and sleet, with a violent freezing wind.

The dell leading to the pass is very much contracted, and the ridges on each side are almost bare. The rock is generally a sort of slaty gneiss, sometimes in large masses, but more commonly tumbling in pieces, with little soil and less vegetation.

Here, as at *Shatúl*, Captain Gerard noticed the circumstance of the mercury appearing quite pure [perfectly fluid?], when they left camp; but, at the pass (when used for filling a barometer) it had lost its lustre, and adhered to the fingers and cup as if it were amalgamated.

The descent from the pass, for half a mile, was at an angle of 35°, upon gravel and snow, with a sharp-pointed rock occasionally projecting through it. Some of the loaded people slid down this declivity at the greatest risk. Travelling was rendered laborious on the easier slope of snow, from its sinking one and a-half to two feet. The fissures were beginning to appear, and the guides picked their steps with much caution, leaping over whatever had the least appearance of a rent. The snow fell fast; and a piercing wind blew with fury down the dell.

The principal branch of the *Nangalí* has its source much further to the west, a rivulet joins it from the pass. The mountainous range having a N W aspect, is very rugged; and the snow (often of a reddish colour) presents enormous banks of sixty or eighty feet thick, as shown by the part towards the dell having fallen down where it cracked. This is always the case on the precipitous sides of the valleys, because the ridges, for a considerable way down, are too abrupt for the snow to rest upon them; it therefore accumulates in large quantities, where the inclination is more gentle; it then cracks, and tumbles down by its own weight, during the rainy

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season, and leaves a perpendicular wall of eighty to a hundred feet in depth. The mountains on the other side were less steep, and the snow lies in continuous fields.

The travellers proceeded over heaps of loose stones, snow, and slush, at the point of congelation. They passed by several deep blue lakes, with their banks of frozen snow: these are always to be dreaded; and they made a circuit by a seemingly more arduous road, to avoid the danger. Two avalanches descended opposite to them: one of rock, which spent its force in distance, the smaller fragments just reaching them; the other of snow, but arrested by intervening rocks.

The rocks in the vicinity of *Kiákiche*, an enclosure for cattle, on the banks of the *Nangalti* (where they encamped, at an elevation of 12,400 feet, as indicated by the barometer), were granite, and fine-grained micaceous slate.

Four considerable streams were forded, which rise at the back of the *Caika*, and joining the *Nangalti*, at length mingle their waters with the *Tidang* river.

After fording the *Nangalti*, thyme, and further on juniper, mint, sage, and a variety of odoriferous plants, were met with. At *Kiákiche* there were a few animals of the cross-breed, between the *yak* (bos grunniens) and common cow.

On either side, for a few hundred yards, there is a grassy slope, with juniper and other bushes, and just above it, the dell is inbound by craggy cliffs of conical forms. A little further down, the glen becomes more contracted in breadth, and the mountains present mural faces of rock, which continue for two miles, to the union of the *Nangalti* with the *Tidang*.

Few of the loaded people arrived the same day, two of them stopped all night at the top of the pass, and tore up their blankets to protect their feet. Fortunately it did not snow, and clouds prevented severe frost, or they certainly would not have survived the night. People were despatched to their assistance; and all were up, soon after noon, next day.

Recommencing their journey, the travellers followed the course of the *Nangalti* river, to its junction with the *Tidang*, and explored the valley of this last-mentioned river, ascending to the village of *Charang* (12,000 feet), amidst mountains 18,000 feet high, and proceeding thence to *Thangi*, and afterwards to the confluence of the same river with the *Setlej*. The principal branch, retaining the name of *Tidang*, flows from the E.S.E., having its source in Chinese Tartary.

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The valley of the *Tidung* is very narrow; in parts so much so, as scarcely to afford a passage for the river. The stream is furiously rapid, the declivity very great, and the rumbling of large stones, carried down with velocity by the force of the water, was incessant. For six or seven miles the fall of the river is 300 feet per mile, and in some places almost double: where it presents an entire sheet of foam and spray, thrown up and showered upon the surrounding rocks with loud concussion, re-echoed from bank to bank with a noise like thunder.

The dell of the *Tidung*, at *Hánu*, a Tartar village, is confined by towering cliffs of white granite and mica slate. The mountains in the neighbourhood of *Chárang* are all of blue slate, naked to their tops, and exhibiting decay and barrenness in the most frightful forms. They tower in sharp detached groups to about 18,000 feet. No vegetation approaches their bases, whilst their elevated summits offer no rest to snow.

Where the dell was narrowest, there was so little space for the stream, that the road continued but for a small distance on the same side, and crossed the river repeatedly by *Sangas*, one was inclined at an angle of 15°. The travellers had to pick their way: one while upon smooth surfaces of granite, sloping to the raging torrent, at another, the route led among huge masses and angular blocks of rock, forming capacious caves, where fifty or sixty people might rest; here the bank was formed of rough gravel, steeply inclined to the river; there the path was narrow, with a precipice of 500 or 600 feet below, whilst the naked towering peaks, and mural rocks, rent in every direction, threatened the passenger with ruin from above.

In some parts of the road there were flights of steps, in others, framework, or rude staircases, opening to the gulph below. In one place is a construction still more frightful to behold; it is called *Rapúk*, and is made with extreme difficulty and danger. In the instance, it consisted of six posts driven horizontally into clefts of the rocks, about twenty feet distant from each other, and secured by wedges. Upon this giddy frame a staircase of fir-spars was erected, of the rudest nature, twigs and slabs of stone connected them together. There was no support on the outer side, which was deep, and overhung the *Tidung*, a perfect torrent.

After surmounting this terrific passage, they came to another, where the footpath had been swept away. It would have been impracticable, but, from previous intimation, thirty people had been despatched the preceding

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night from *Thangi*, and had just completed two tolerable *sanga* by the time the party arrived, so that they passed in safety.

The last mile and a half to *Thangi* was better, the road ascended from the river, often by staircases and scaffolding, and at the village, the shade of the *Deldar* and *Neoza* (same with Mr Elphinstone's *Chilgoosa*), two species of pine, was again enjoyed.

Gromang, one of two divisions of *Thangi*, is pleasantly situate upon a southern slope, the houses rising above each other, with the inclination of the soil. There are few fields, but they appeared thriving. The grains were wheat, barley, phapur (Polygonum?), Siberian barley, and millet (Panicum miliaceum), with some patches of turnips and peas. The whole is neatly laid out, and intersected with aqueducts, whose banks are adorned with walnut, apricot, apple, and poplar trees. Above the village is a thick forest of pine and the summits of the surrounding mountains are all peaked, and very rugged. On one side of the river they are fine-grained black mica, so hard, that it was difficult to break off a good specimen with a hammer; across the *Tidang*, the rocks appear to be white granite.

The route from *Thangi* to *Morang* lies through a forest of pine (*Ri*), upon the slope of a hill, composed entirely of blue slate, often crumbling in pieces.

From the confluence of the *Tidang* with the *Setlej*, the town of *Rúde*, or *Ridang*, has a charming appearance yellow fields, extensive vineyards, groves of apricots, and large well-built stone houses, contrast with the gigantic *Raidang* mountains. These are scarcely four miles from the town.

*Morang** is a large town, surrounded by high mountains. Although 8,500 feet above the sea, it enjoys a mild climate. During eight days' halt, the temperature varied from 58° to 82°, and flies were very troublesome. The sun, even at this season (July), does not appear more than nine hours was scarcely visible above the mountains before 6 a. m., and disappeared behind them at 5 p. m. There were alternately light clouds and sunshine, and now and then a little rain, which in the valley never falls heavy the height of the outer chain of the *Himálaya* being sufficient to exclude the rains, which deluge *Hindustán* for three months.

* Already visited by Capt. Gerard in 1818 and in 1820.

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Having collected from the surrounding villages, supplies for ten days, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to examine the valley of the *Tdgld* river, which has its source in Chinese Tartary. They travelled to *Nisang* on the *Tdgld*), a Tartar village, already visited both in 1818 and 1820, crossing the *Tungrung* pass, which was again measured, and the previous measurement (18,739 feet) confirmed.

The pass leads over a spur, which runs down to the *Setlej* river, from a cluster of snowy mountains, upwards of 20,000 feet high. The rocks are slate: it easily splits into large even slabs, which are well adapted for carving the sacred Tartar sentences upon them. Across the *Setlej* the mountains are of white granite, breaking into gravel, and more abrupt than on the hither side.

They proceeded along the banks of the *Tdgld* to *U'rchd*, and thence to *Rakor*, through the *Ruthung*) pass, and near the source of a rivulet of that name, after passing the *Khdtf*, which descends very steeply from the *Himalaya* on the south, in which direction a peak of vast altitude is visible. The elevation of the pass is 14,638 feet, that of the resting-place at *Rakor*, 14,100 feet. A few birches are growing 200 or 300 feet lower.

Upon the left bank of the *Tagld*, the height of the mountains is upwards of 16,000 feet, and no snow appears. The rocks are brown clay slate, and mica slate. Upon the right bank of the river, the mountains appear to be all clay slate, crumbling into soil, and forming a natural declivity. The summits seem to be 18,000 feet high, at least, and there is very little snow in streaks. Farther to the east is a large mountain, white with snow, and near it a naked ridge of rocks, ending in a number of sharp points, apparently formed of slate. In the vicinity of the source of the *Ruthung*, several conical points are seen covered with snow.

The travellers continued along the banks of the *Tdgld* to *Zongchen*, passing several streams which fall into it, and a larger one named *Kegdche*, which comes from the south (S. by W.), and one less considerable, called *Langdrge*, from the S.E., both very muddy. The *Tdgld itself* is quite clear, and its course is from the N.E. They crossed at once by a *zanga*.

The path lay upon broken slate and slippery soil, then upon inclined faces of rock, at one time ascending steeply upon loose stones, at another, descending abruptly upon rude steps and scaffolding, projecting over the stream, and between cliffs that subtend an angle of 60° or 65° on either side. Now and then these crags are perpendicular for 200 or 300

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feet, and they even overhang the pathway. Large snowbeds conceal the river for several hundred yards: an immense load of stones and gravel lies above the snow. In one place the accumulation of rocks, which have fallen from the surrounding peaks, is sixty or seventy feet thick, and the river is seen rushing from beneath a large vault, whose under surface is frozen snow.

The height of *Zoncheng* is 14,700 feet, which, in lat. 31° 36', according to received theory, should be buried under everlasting snow. The situation, however, is far different. On every side of the glen, which is a bowshot broad, appeared gently-sloping hills, for the most part covered with *Tdwd* (Tartaric furze). The banks of the river were covered with grass turf, and prickly bushes. Around, the land was covered with verdure, flocks of sheep were browsing, and deer leaping: altogether it was a romantic spot, wanting but trees to make it delightful.

During the march the sun was found at times powerful, but the temperature was evidently decreasing with the elevation. The highest observed in the day (23d of July) was 68°.

The rocks were limestone, the soil a stiff yellow clay, rent in every direction by small fissures, and seeming to have been under water. The surface was ground to dust.

The next stage was to *Zumtu*, by the *Khárong* pass, after tracing the *Tágli* (crossed frequently by snow-beds), until it was reduced to an inconsiderable rivulet at the foot of the pass.

The ascent of the pass is by no means steep, the angle being only 19° or 20°. But the difficulty of breathing, and severe head-aches, which all the party, not excepting their Tartar guides, experienced more or less, rendered the exertion of walking very laborious. As they advanced, vegetation became more scarce, till at length it wholly disappeared, and the last mile presented a scene of solitude and desolation.

The elevation was found by barometric measurement to be 18,313 feet above the sea. The pass is reckoned the boundary between *Kunáwar* and that part of Chinese Tartary which is under the authority of the Grand Lama of Lahasa.

There was very little snow in sheltered situations contiguous to it, but none in the pass itself. Several birds were heard, and especially the call of a species of pheasant, which lives near the snow.

The mountains enclosing the dell of the *Tágli* river, which lead to the

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pass, are between 19,000 and 20,000 feet above the level of the sea, just tipped with snow, else they were covered with *tóroo*, a prickly bush, to which the travellers in a former journey gave the name of whins, and which they now called Tartaric furze. It is the ordinary fuel of the Tartars; and appears to thrive best among sand gravel, and in the bleakest places. Its upper limit near *Kéúbrang* was observed at something above 17,000 feet.

After halting some time, it began to snow; and though the thermometer was not below 44°, the violence of the wind, added to the difficulty of respiration, rendered the situation unpleasant, and the travellers hastened down to a milder climate.

Zamúrú, a mere halting place for travellers, on the banks of the *Shélti*, to which they proceeded from *Kéúbrang*, is 15,600 feet above the sea, a height equal to that of the passes through the outer range of snowy mountains; yet there is nothing to remind one of the *Himalaya*. Gently sloping hills and tranquil rivulets, with banks of turf and pebbly beds, flocks of pigeons, and herds of deer, would give one the idea of a much lower situation. But nature (Capt. Gerard remarks) has adapted the vegetation to that extraordinary country; for, did it extend no higher than on the southern face of the *Himálaya*, Tartary would be uninhabitable by either man or beast.

It seems surprising (he goes on to observe) that the limit of vegetation should rise higher the further we proceed, but so it is:—on ascending the southern slope of the snowy range, the extreme height of cultivation is 10,000 feet, and even there the crops are frequently cut green. The highest habitation is 9,500 feet, 11,800 feet may be reckoned the upper limit of forest, and 12,000 that of bushes, although in a few sheltered situations, such as ravines, dwarf birches and small bushes are found almost at 13,000 feet.

In the valley of the *Baspa* river, the highest village is at 11,400 feet; the cultivation reaches to the same elevation; and the forest extends to 13,000 feet at the least.

Advancing further, you find villages at 13,000 feet, cultivation at 13,600 feet, fine birch trees at 14,000 feet, and *rámá* bushes, which furnish excellent fire-wood, at 17,000 feet.

To the eastward, towards *Mánasarówar*, by the accounts of the Tartars, it would appear that crops and bushes thrive at a still greater height.

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The travellers descended the valley of the *Shilla* river to its confluence with the *Sárudó* river, and ascended to the crest of the *Hákéó* pass, of which the elevation is 15,786 feet. The soil is reddish, apparently decomposed limestone, with no large stones. The ground is thickly covered with green sward and beds of prickly bushes. No rocky points are seen, the whole being gentle slopes of gravel, much resembling some of the Scotch highlands, the *tárud* at a distance seeming like heath. *Yaks* and horses were feeding on the surrounding heights; and the climate was pleasant, the temperature being 57°.

There are the usual piles of stones to mark the crest of the pass, and a great number built upon all the surrounding heights. At a distance they could not be distinguished from men, and were taken at first sight, by the servants, for Chinese come to dispute the pass. The guides assured them they were piles of stone; and a view through a telescope confirmed the assertion.

Three of the people, who were attending the cattle, watched the party for some time, until being convinced there were Europeans, they mounted their horses, and set off at a gallop. The travellers quickened their pace, determined to advance as far as practicable, but two miles further they were stopped by the Chinese, after they had crossed a rivulet with swampy banks, winding among rich turf, near which, they found many ammonites, at the height of 16 200 feet, on the elevated land between *Hárbo* and *Zinchun*.

The Tartars under Chinese authority were encamped, awaiting their arrival, of which previous intimation had been received, and pointed out a spot for their camp, and a line beyond which they should not pass. Their manners were polite, and their civility was requited by presents of tobacco, the only thing for which they seemed to have any, the least desire.

The height of *Zinchun* is 16,136 feet, and the eminences in the vicinity rise many hundred feet higher. In every direction, horses were seen galloping about, and feeding on the very tops of the heights; altogether there were about 200. Kites and eagles were soaring in the air, large flocks of small birds, like sonnets, were flying about, and locusts jumping among the bushes.

Immediately across the *Setlej*, the mountains are abrupt; but, more to the east, there is a succession of gentle slopes. Beyond them again, appeared a lofty snowy range. It seemed to run N. 50° W. to S. 50° E. Clouds hang about it.

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At this altitude the atmosphere exhibited that remarkable dark appearance which has been often observed in elevated situations. The sun shone like an orb of fire, without the least haze. At night, the part of the horizon where the moon was expected to rise, could scarcely be distinguished before the limb touched it, and the stars and planets shone with a brilliancy never seen, unless at great heights.

With a transit telescope of 30 inches, and a power of 30, stars of the fifth magnitude were distinct in broad day, but none of less size were perceptible. At *Sáhatha*, 4,200 feet above the level of the sea, stars of the fourth magnitude require a power of 40 to make them visible in the day.

The temperature was greater than expected. the thermometer rose to 80° in the shade, and at sunset was 48°. It sank to 30½° before sunrise. About nine in the forenoon a wind from the S.W. began, it was at its greatest strength at 3 p. m., and subsided at sunset.

The climate is very different from that which is experienced in crossing the outer range of the *Himálaya* at the same season. Here, at the height of 16,000 and 17,000 feet, in abundance of fuel *metok*, bearing a beautiful yellow flower, and no prickles), good water, and a serene sky, there, at an inferior elevation, no firewood is nearer than five or six miles, the clouds hang around the mountains, the sun is rarely visible, and showers of rain are frequent.

Not being able to prevail upon the Tartars to allow them to proceed a step further, the travellers unwillingly began their return (27th of July). They again traversed the *Kárabung* pass, and repeated their barometric measurement of it with the same result; halted at *Rúnk Talam*, 15,200 feet high, two miles from their former stage at *Zongrúm*, and proceeded by the *Gungtang* pass to *Rukh Irpá*, on the *Hurlo* river.

At the limit of vegetation (16,600 feet above the sea) it commenced snowing, and they were involved in a dense haze: the guides missed their way, knew not how to proceed, and became alarmed. They halted, therefore, for a while, and, the clouds clearing away for an instant, Messrs. Gerard got sight of a *shoghar*, or pile of stones, the bearing of which they took, and being surrounded by mist, steered towards it by a pocket compass. The ascent was steep, and they often scrambled over sharp-pointed rocks. They proceeded a mile and a-half, guided by the compass; and the lower clouds clearing away, they found themselves within half a

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mile of the *shaghar*. The summit of the pass was measured barometrically, 18,896 feet above the sea.

A stream, that unites with the *Tágla*, lay upon the left the greater part of the way ascending the pass, they descended it along the *Hóchó*, which comes from the left, where there is a great expanse of snow. They followed its course to *Rishi Irpu*. The valley is generally half a mile broad. The river is picturesque; in one part a clear and shallow stream in another it thunders over rocks in a succession of sparkling cascades. There are several arches of snow over it. In several places its course was partly arrested by rocks from above. It is concealed for a considerable space by a huge pile of stones, and it forces its way underneath, bursting forth in a large body of water. In other places it forms large deep lakes, and leaps over the embankments, with tremendous noise, in sheets of white spray.

Limestone, which had been the prevailing rock since they first met with it in the vicinity of *Zongchen*, near the *Tágla*, became more rare as they approached *Irpá*, and disappeared near that place. It is there succeeded by mica slate.

Next day they proceeded down the valley of the *Hóchó* to *Dábling*, a place visited likewise in the preceding year, in sight of the *Setlej*, and of the village of *Pári*, on its banks. By the way they passed the highest cultivation yet seen, consisting of barley, phápur, and turnips, at an elevation of 13,600 feet above the sea. A little lower, the ground was covered with thyme, sage, and many other aromatic plants, besides juniper, sweet-briar and gooseberries. At *Pári* there are vineyards and groves of apricots* at *Dábling*, much cultivation, and plantations of apricots and walnuts.

After a halt of four days for astronomical observations, during which time the temperature was warm, varying from 61° at sunrise to 85° at noon, the wind blowing very strongly from the S.W., and the sky frequently obscured with light clouds attended with a little rain; they moved (4th August) along the banks of the *Setlej*, or in the bed of the river, to *Nangia*. On the right margin of the river, the mass of rock (granite) is

* The apricots form a part of the subsistence of the people. At this season they are pulled, and exposed to the sun on the roofs of houses, when dried, they are not unlike prunes.

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so steep, and the fracture so fresh, as to give it the appearance of having been recently broken.

Several temporary huts, perched high among the crags across the river, are the summer residence of the hunters of *Hango*, who roam among the rocks in quest of deer.

Khás, a village of but two houses, a mile from *Namgia*, is immediately opposite the junction of the *Li* or *Spiti* river, one of the largest tributaries of the *Setlej*, having its source in *Ladak*. The cheeks of the gulph (solid granite) seem perfectly mural for many hundred feet; one of the arms of the *Pargoil* mountain limits the left side of the channel of the *Spiti*. The contrast between the two streams is striking: the *Spiti* issues from its almost subterraneous concealment in a calm blue deep body, to meet the *Setlej*, which is an absolute torrent, thundering over the stones in deafening clamour.

Namgia, containing eight houses, is the last or most eastern village in *Bashar*: the houses are built of granite, but their structure ill accords with the durability of the materials. The want of forests, to supply the timber necessary to give union to the walls, is the source of the bad workmanship: the granite blocks resist the mountaineer's rude implements.

The mountains on every hand are of stupendous height. Those immediately at the back of the village exclude the sun till eight o'clock, and the consequent deficiency of solar heat retards the ripening of the crops. They were here very backward: harvest was yet a month distant.

It had been determined to renew an attempt of penetrating eastward, beyond the boundary of British influence, into the upper valley of the *Setlej*. Accordingly they marched to *Shipki*, in Chinese Tartary, by the *Pooing* pass (13,518 feet), the boundary between *Bashar* and Chinese Tartary. There could scarcely be a better defined limit: in front the face of the country is utterly changed; eastward, as far as the eye can see, gravelly mountains of a very gentle slope succeed one another. No rugged cliffs rise to view, but a bare expanse of elevated land, without snow, and in appearance like a Scotch heath. Just beyond the *Setlej*, the mighty *Pargoil*, an immense mass, rises to 18,500 feet above the bed of the river, more than 21,000 above the sea. To the east of it, in the same granitic range, are several sharp pinnacles, nearly as high, being more than 20,000 feet above the sea: on the S.W., at the back of the town of *Shipki*, is an

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enormous mass 20,150 feet high, crowned with perpetual snow. The *Shárang* mountain, over which the road to *Gárw* leads, exceeds 18,900 feet in actual height above the sea, yet only one small stripe of snow could be detected on it with the telescope.

Shipki had been twice before (in 1818 and 1820) visited by the same travellers. They now received a letter from the *Garpon* of *Gárú* (in reply to one sent by them from *Zinchun*), prohibiting their advance eastward. At the same time the local authorities were instructed to furnish no provisions at any price.

Messrs. Gerard returned to *Namgia* by the lofty pass of *Kóngma* (16,007 feet above the sea): it is the usual resting place for beasts of burden. Furze and grass extend considerably higher on each side; and springs rise, which form a lake at the distance of 150 yards.

Intending to explore the valley of the *Lí* or *Spití* river, and penetrate by that route as far as might be found practicable, they crossed the *Setlej* by a *jhúlá*, or bridge of suspension, made of twigs twisted together. The bed of the river is here 8,600 feet above the level of the sea; the breadth of the stream is seventy-five feet.

From the *Setlej* the path leads up the face of a granite range to *Tan-ka-gang*, perched amidst ruins of a frightful bulk, at the height of 11,850 feet above the sea. The temple and residence of the Lamas are still 500 feet higher. Ascending upon loose rocks to the highest point of the road (13,200 feet), they turned the extremity of the range, and leaving the *Setlej* behind, bent their course to the north, having the *Lí* or *Spití* on the left, about 5,000 feet below, and almost a complete precipice. The road continued at a general height of 13,000 feet, upon granite, crumbling into sand, and producing a few bushes of juniper and furze.

A fine prospect suddenly opened: a village (Náko) in the heart of abundant cultivation already yellow, with a broad sheet of water, surrounded by tall poplar, juniper, and willow trees of prodigious size, and environed by massive rocks of granite.

Separate measurements, at three different times (1818, 1820, and 1821), by excellent barometers, and the boiling point of water, determine the height of *Nako* a little more than 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; yet there are produced most luxuriant crops of barley, wheat, phapur (polygonum ?), and turnips, rising by steps to nearly 700 feet higher; where

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is a Lama's residence, inhabited throughout the year. The fields are partitioned by dikes of granite. At *Tse-ki-gang* they are enclosed by barberry and gooseberry bushes.

The seasons are similar to those of our northern latitudes, the grain being sown in March and April, and reaped in August and September. Snow generally falls towards the end of October. It seldom exceeds two feet in depth, but does not leave the ground for nearly six months. Want of moisture in the air prevents its earlier descent, since the beginning of October is winter, under a clear sky. In the middle of October 1818, the thermometer at sunrise was seldom above 20°; now (in August) the temperature was 75° at noon, and never below 52°.

The effects of particular exposures and localities towards the development of vegetation cannot be more strongly contrasted than between this and *Nangia*, for, although here 3,000 feet higher, the crops were much farther advanced. Vast extent of arid surface on every side reverberates a surprising warmth, and favours an early harvest.

The leaves of poplar are given to cattle. Besides these, junipers and a few willows are the only trees at this elevation. Firewood is of furze (*tama*) alone, and it is scarce.

Messrs. Gerard were desirous of verifying by trigonometric measurement the elevation of their old high station on *Pargéul*, just above *Náko*. In 1818, Capt. G. made it 19,411 feet by three barometers, which agreed exactly (14.675 inches). In 1820 two other barometers were taken to this spot, and they showed 14.67 inches. The result of the trigonometric measurement now gave 7,447 feet above the former camp, which being 11,995 feet, makes the extreme height of the peak 19,442 feet above the level of the sea, differing 31 feet from the barometric measurement.

They proceeded along the banks of the *Li* to *Chango*. Part of the road traversed a plain studded with enormous masses of rock, seeming, as Capt. G remarks, to have been under water at no very distant period. The road then lay along the bank of a rivulet, over waterworn stones of many sorts, and crossing the stream enters the plain of *Chango*. The village is fully 10,000 feet above the sea, but this elevation does not prevent its enjoying a sultry summer, the temperature rising to 80° in August. The situation is pleasant, unlike the rude and sterile character of the country. The seasons are at least a month earlier than at *Náko*, seed time begins in March, and harvest in July and August. Snow falls from No-

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vember to March, but it is seldom a foot in depth, and in April and May, rain is frequent. The grain crops are those noticed at *Nárá*, with *égul* millet, and fine fields of turnips, pease and beans, all well tasted. There are likewise many apricots.

The plain lies east and west, in a dell, through which flow two streams, that no sooner escape from their dark and winding passages, which are bounded by lofty and inaccessible crags, nearly perpendicular, than they are conducted in tamer conduits, by the industry of man, to the fields, which rise one above another in terraces. This glen is terminated on the north and south by bare thirsty ridges, on which nothing animate appears. On the west is the *Le* or *Spiti* river, flowing in a tranquil expanse of bed. On the east, at the head of the plain, is a high-peaked mountain, on whose summit rests snow.

The next march was to *Changrezking* by the *Chárang lúma* pass, of which the elevation is 12,660 feet. Here limestone was again met with, as well as claystate, &c. Pebbles imbedded in clay, and small rounded stones are numerous; all having the appearance of having been acted upon by water, although the *Spiti* is nearly 3,000 feet below this level, and no rivulet is near. The *Chán-dokpo*, a considerable stream from the eastward, extremely muddy, and rushing with inconceivable rapidity between perpendicular cliffs of granite and mica slate, at an altitude of 11,400 feet above the sea, was crossed by a wooden bridge. The breadth of the stream was twenty-five feet.

Changrezking is a dependency of *Chango*, where are a few ruinous houses, inhabited in summer. Its height is 12,500 feet above the sea. The grains cultivated are wheat, barley, phapur, and Siberian barley. The rocks in the vicinity are granite, gneiss, and mica.

Having understood that Chinese were at a short distance in front to stop them, Messrs. Gerard did not move their baggage, but advanced to meet the opposite party. They crossed two rivulets, near which they saw the black currant in the highest perfection, and larger than any which they had hitherto met with. They found fifty Tartars awaiting their arrival a mile S.W. of *Chuvé*, the first Chinese village. Not being able to prevail on them to allow of their proceeding, they returned to *Changrezking*.

In the afternoon they visited the confluence of the *Spiti* with the *Zangchum* or *Parátí* river, which comes from the N.E. The last is the larger river, being ninety-eight feet broad; the *Spiti* (from the N.W.) but seventy-

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two feet, the former rushing with great fury and noise, the latter flowing with a more gentle current. The elevation was found to be 10,200 feet above the sea.

A mile from *Changrezhing*, proceeding towards the river, they got among the crags and waterworn passages, whence it was no easy matter to extricate themselves. Capt. G remarks, that they were evidently on the former bank of the river: the whole bank was a concreted rubble, hardened by the air on the retiring of the waters. After descending a series of difficult steps or ledges, each seeming to have once been the bank of the river, they arrived at its bed. The distance from *Changrezhing* was three miles and a half.

They proceeded by the *Chinghá* pass (11,900 feet above the sea), and crossing the *Spití* by a good bridge of three fir trees planked over, to *Shiúlkhar*, where there is a fort in a commanding situation, on the brink of the channel. The walls are of loose stones and unburnt bricks, with houses all around the inside. It is in the parallel of 32° N. lat. The river is here 10,000 feet above the sea. The climate resembles that of *Chango*. The grain crops are the same, and apricots are plentiful, and of very superior flavour.

Lárí, the first village in *Spití*, a dependency of *Ládák*, is distant about eleven miles to the N. W. Messrs. Gerard wished to visit it, but the *Spití* intervened, and was then unfordable, and there are no bridges. For the same reason they could not see the hot wells between the *Spití* and *Zangchum*, four miles north of *Shiúlkhar*. They are in great repute in this quarter, and diseased people resort thither from long distances, either to bathe in them, or drink the waters.

The travellers proceeded along the glen of the *Spití*, to *Lakh*, which is 12,300 feet above the sea, whence they descended into the bed of the *Yúlang* river, a middling sized stream, rising among perpetual snow in the west. It is increased by rivulets from either side, and above the ford, a stream gushes from the brow of the mountain, and is precipitated into it in a transparent cascade. Hence the angle of ascent was 34°, rising 2,000 feet perpendicular, in a distance of one mile, over hard gravel. Difficulty and danger in a thousand forms attend the traveller's progress: when he clings to the bank, he frequently brings away a piece of it. In some places there are many large stones amongst the gravel, which it requires much caution to avoid setting in motion, for one displaces others, so that sometimes

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a space of 100 yards of gravel and stones moves downwards at once, and the larger stones, bounding over the slopes, are showered to the bottom amidst much confusion and noise. Now and then notches for the point of the foot were cut; and Messrs. Gerrard, not taking off their shoes, as their followers did, were often obliged to grasp the nearest person's hand. They reached the top without accident, much wearied with climbing, and rested upon the verge of the gulph, and enjoyed a refreshing breeze at the height of 12,700 feet, blowing over an extensive tract which resembles a heath. Thence they descended to the village of *Lee*, which occupies a slip of land on the right bank and in the bed of the *Spiti*, embosomed by sterile masses, glowing under the ardor of a tropical sun. From this the climate acquires a delicious softness. On the east is a solitary rock sixty feet high, which was formerly the site of a fort now in ruins; southward, the plain is washed by a stream called *Lepak* falling into the *Spiti* a bowshot distance.

They halted on the 15th August, on account of rain. In the evening, when it cleared, they visited the *Spiti*, which is here broad. It was measured 258 to 274 feet wide. The river is rapid, and at this season appears to contain a greater body of water than the *Setlej*. The snow had within two days descended on the granite range of mountains across the *Spiti*, to 18,000 feet. At *Nako*, judging from the heights before determined, it was certainly not under 18,500 feet.

Crossing the *Lepak* under the village, by a firm and well raised *sango*, they resumed their journey (16th August) and ascended, by a steep path over granite and mica slate, to the height of 11,600 feet above the sea, and proceeded at this level for a mile, winding round sharp projections of rocks into recesses, in and out again, where the pathway bordered upon precipices of 2,000 and 3,000 feet. They turned their backs upon the *Lee* or *Spiti*, and its deep abyss, and entered the *Nding* del., which sends its waters to that river.

The mountains have an extremely sterile and parched aspect. No grass covers them, and a few tufts of aromatic plants are all the vegetation they here present. The appearance of a village and green fields was singularly refreshing. Those of *Chilling* and *Hurd* were passed to encamp at *Hango*.

This village is 11,400 feet above the sea, situate at the head of a dell in the bosom of cultivation. There are a few poplars, but no apricots. The luxuriance of the crops can scarcely be exceeded. The ear of the Siberian

barley showed so large and full, that the average of eight picked casually was seventy-eight fold. Most of the fields were yellow, and a few had been cut.

The glen runs east and west, and has a nearly level surface. A stream flows on each side of it, and one through the middle; and the supply of water never fails.

The mountains around are limestone: the same had been observed at *Chóling*. Those on the north are steep and naked, on the south more gently inclined, and they are covered with grass and furze.

The march of the next day was to *Súngnam* by the *Hangrang* pass (14,800 feet above the sea). The limestone is broken by the action of the weather into a gravelly surface, thickly clad with furze, juniper, and short grass, the food and pasturage of the cattle. Horses were seen loose, feeding at the height of 15,000 feet above the sea.

From the pass the view extended to the elevated range between the *Setlej* and *Indus*, from N. 15° E. to N. 10° W. It is most probably a continuation of the lofty range seen from *Kaubrang*: it was so completely covered with snow, that not a rock could be distinguished by a telescope of large magnifying power.

Limestone disappears, and clay slate is frequent, near *Sangnam*. This populous place, in the valley of the *Dárbúng*, had been already visited by Messrs. Gerard (in 1818). It is 9,350 feet above the sea. At this place, where they halted for several days (17th to 28th August), Capt. Gerard remarks: "The situation is fine, in a glen bounded on the north and south by lofty ranges of mountains, the passes through which are nearly 15,000 feet above the sea. On the N. W. up the course of the *Dárbúng*, is a high pass to *Spiti*, and to the S. E., the *Setlej*, at the distance of several miles. For the space of five miles, this valley presents a sheet of cultivation. There are two crops here, and the grains are barley, *ogul?* and *phapur?* there is plenty of pease, beans, and turnips, and wheat and Siberian barley thrive at great elevations upon the slopes of the dell. Around the village are vineyards, and orchards of apples, apricots, and walnuts.

"In this neighbourhood the pine, to which we had long been strangers, begins to raise its head; it is stunted in growth, and thinly scattered upon the surrounding mountains.

"We stopped here till the 28th August, and at times we were somewhat incommoded by the heat; during our halt the temperature of the open air

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ranged from 60° to 82°. For two or three hours after sunrise low clouds were seen hanging about the hills, but they dispersed as the day advanced. In the evening, and during the night, dark clouds charged with thunder appeared towards the N. W. but there was scarcely any rain. About 1 p. m. an easterly wind sprung up, and it increased in violence till five, when it subsided till 9 p.m.

"Snow falls in November, and covers the ground more or less until March; but it is seldom two feet in depth.

From *Sungnam* the travellers proceeded to visit the *Manerong* pass, and thence to *Manee*. I continue to transcribe Captain Gerard's account of this excursion, in his own words, unabridged.

"The road from *Sungnam* to *Ropa* (four miles) lies in the dell along the bank of the *Durbung*. Fields and hamlets are scattered on either hand, and apricots and apples occur at every step. The glen is about a mile and a half in breadth, and the mountains on each side are crumbling clay-slate and limestone, bearing a few dwarf pines. Near the village of *Skibe* is a copper mine, which was formerly worked. The height of *Ropa* is 9,800 feet; so the seasons and productions are similar to those at *Sungnam*.

"We had with us twelve days' supplies, which, from the goodness of the roads, were transported upon horses, mules, and asses. Here, however, we were obliged to exchange our carriage for sheep, and the adjustment of the loads occupied so much time, that we found it necessary to halt for the night.

"The next day we proceeded to a resting place for travellers, named *Pamarkha* (ten miles and three quarters). At first the road was level for a short way, and it led through fields of beans and bowers of apricots; then there was an ascent of two miles and a half, latterly steep, but the path was good to *Tsookea* pass, 13,800 feet high. The surrounding hills are earthy, and crumble away at the surface, which is almost naked, a few dwarf pines and juniper bushes occurring now and then.

"Below this the first branches of the *Durbung* are concentrated. The streams are for most part covered with snow and rush down from different directions in clamour and foam to unite their waters.

"The next four miles are of an extraordinary nature, scarcely to be described. Rugged cliffs, banks of hard gravel much inclined to the river, mural precipices, and sharp pointed rocks succeed one another.

"After a series of difficulties and dangers, we descended to a considerable

stream, which we crossed by a wooden bridge, and proceeded upon level soil to *Sumdó*, a few huts occupied by the shepherds and their flocks. Hence to camp, a distance of two miles, the path was nearly plain, and we passed through a belt of birches at the immense elevation of 14,000 feet.

"It is so named, after the species of juniper called *Panna* (which is the only wood for fuel found in the vicinity) and is 13,700 feet above the sea.

"This was a very fatiguing march for loaded persons. *Sumdó* is the usual stage, and the next does not cross the pass, but it had been snowing for some days upon the heights around, and our guides preferred crossing the chain on the second day from *Hópa* for fear of bad weather.

"Part of the baggage arrived during the night, and from this time forward the tent, with some other things, were lost sight of.

"The *Darbáng* is here much reduced in size. The cliffs rise from the water's edge in wild disorder, and every year marks them with decay. Their sharp summits crumble away by frost and snow, and large portions of rock are precipitated into the bed of the river.

"The following day we marched to *Sopóná*, a halting place for travellers, distant eight miles and three quarters.

"The road lay upon the bank of the *Darbáng*, which it crossed thrice by immense arches of snow, covered with heaps of stones that had fallen from above.

"The mountains are of limestone, and end in peaked summits of many curious forms, inclined to the north at various angles. Not a trace of vegetation meets nourishment there, and the snow cannot find a rest, but is hurled down, together with the rock itself, and is exhibited at the bottom in accumulations of a frightful magnitude.

"We had now come two miles and three quarters, and the dell was terminated, and close round. The *Darbáng* is lost among the fields of snow where it is generated, and the whole space on every side is floored with ice and frozen snow, half hid under stones and rubbish. In some places the snow is of incredible depth, and lies in heaps. Having accumulated for years together, it separates by its gravity, and spreads desolation far and wide.

"We had never before observed such enormous bodies of snow and ice, nor altogether so wonderful a scene. So rapid and incessant is the progress of destruction here, that piles of stone are erected to guide the traveller.

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since the pathway is often obliterated in a few days by fresh showers of splinters.

"Our elevation was now upwards of 15,000 feet, although we had but ascended in company with the river against its stream. Here only began our toils, and we scaled the slope of the mountain slowly, respiration was laborious, and we felt exhausted at every step. The crest of the pass was not visible, and we saw no limit to our exertions.

"The road inclined at an angle of 30°, and passed under vast ledges of limestone. The projections frowned above us in new and horrid forms, and our situation was different from any thing we had yet experienced.

"Long before we got up, we were troubled with severe headaches, and our respiration became so hurried and oppressive, that we were compelled to sit down every few yards, and even then we could scarcely inhale a sufficient supply of air. The least motion was accompanied with extreme debility and a depression of spirits, and thus we laboured for two miles.

"The last half mile was over perpetual snow, sinking with the foot from three to twelve inches, the fresh covering of the former night. The direct road leads in the centre of the gap, but we made a circuit to avoid the danger of being swallowed up in one of the deep rents, which were now covered up with the new snow.

"The day was cloudy, and a strong wind half froze us. The rocks were falling on every side, and we narrowly escaped destruction. We twice saw large blocks of stone pass with incredible velocity through the line of our people, and between two of them not four feet apart.

"We reached the summit of the pass named *Mancrang* at half past two p. m. Its elevation is 18,012 feet by barometric measurement.* There is here a very circumscribed spot, where is a *shaghur*, or pile of stones, free from snow.

"Leaving the pass, we travelled over snow, and descended gently for a mile. The wind blew with great violence, and benumbed us, but the sun above bright and caused a reflexion that affected our eyes, but did not inflame them much: for at this season the snow is soft and somewhat soiled; but in winter, when it is frozen and sparkles like diamonds, the inflammation is very distressing and painful.

* The particulars of the measurement are omitted.—C.

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"After quitting the great snow-bed, the road became extremely rough and difficult, leading over the scattered wrecks of the cliffs and patches of melting snow, and along the edge of a stream in a channel of solid ice.

"The adjacent ridges are wholly limestone, without a vestige of vegetation, they are even deserted by the snow, and exhibit an enormous extent of pure rock, and shoot into slender summits of a great variety of forms.

"We encamped at the foot of the slope that stretches from the pass, where the glen takes a regular shape, the stream spreads out and ripples upon sand and pebbles, the mountains slant away, and some stunted vegetation appears at their bases.

"The elevation of the camp was 15,200 feet above the sea.

"At sunrise of the following day the thermometer was at 31°, but the night must have been colder, for the dew which fell upon our bed clothes (we had no tent), was so completely frozen, that in the morning our blankets were as tough as the hardest leather.

"We proceeded towards *Mánes* (distant six miles and a quarter) through the dell that leads to *Manerang* pass, along the bank of a rivulet which has its source amongst the snow-beds in that direction. There is a good deal of soil and bushes, and we passed fine crops of wild leeks at the height of 15,000 feet.

"Three miles and a half from camp we came to an open valley, being an expanse of sand and pebbles. We followed the stream till it entered a lake upwards of a mile wide, and here, leaving it to the right, we proceeded to *Mánes*, winding through low gravelly hills covered with *tamd* bushes.

"*Mánes* is a large village (of about fifty houses) in two divisions, separated by a stream. It is elevated 11,900 feet above the level of the sea, and lies on the right bank of the *Spíti* river, 400 or 500 feet above its bed.

"Around the village is some level soil, bearing crops of wheat and barley, and (*nawí*) Siberian barley, which do not extend higher than 12,000 feet above the sea. The grains were almost ripe, and there were a few poplars in the vicinity."

After a halt of a day at *Mánes*, where the temperature varied (1st September, *from* 52° at sunrise to 81° at the hottest time of the day, Messrs. Gerard proceeded to *Tengdi*, a small village in the district of *Pin*, comprised in the province of *Spíti*. They kept along the right bank of the river, a little above the stream, and then descended into the bed of the

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Spiti river, to the village of *Sólák*. The dell is frequently a mile across, and the river winds through it in many channels, among islands of sand and pebbles, which are covered with barberry and other bushes. The fort of *Dankar*, opposite this, is a considerable place, containing about forty houses, which, as at *Shidkhar*, are inside. The walls are partly stone, partly mud, and the position is among rugged projections of gravel. Its altitude is not less than 13,000 feet above the sea. Above the fort two rivers unite; the largest, which has a bridge of ropes over it, rises in the *Párahása* range on the N.W., and is called either *Spiti* or *Kunyom*, the other, also a large stream, is named *Pín*, its principal branches have their sources near *Tári* pass, on the S.W.

Near *Sólák*, where a meridian altitude of the sun was taken, is the highest latitude Messrs. Gerard reached in this journey, viz. 32° 5′ 34″.

The best road crosses the *Pín* at this place, and proceeds on the other side; but the stream was not fordable. It was attempted, but the current was found to be much too rapid. They had no choice but to encounter the difficulty of a most frightful descent. In one place is a notched tree from rock to rock, for the passage of a chasm: beyond this, a line of rocky ledges excavated for the toes to enter: above the crags overhang, and beneath is a precipice more than 100 feet deep. Unloaded people get over with the utmost difficulty; the baggage therefore was lowered by ropes. Immediately beyond this they came to an inclined rock, 100 feet high, which they had to climb over: it was nearly smooth, and could scarcely be ascended barefooted. The path continued dangerous for a mile and a half farther, upon hard gravel sloping steeply to the river. The dell is from a quarter to half a mile wide, and is occupied by sand and limestone pebbles: the mountains on either side are of limestone, sharp at the summits, but crumbling below.

Téngdí is 12,000 feet above the level of the sea: the houses are two stories: the lower half built of stone; the upper of unburnt bricks; the roofs flat: and on them the firewood, collected with great labour, is piled. Not a single tree is near, and the few prickly bushes seldom exceed three inches in height. The climate here is cooler than at *Mánes*. The temperature at sunrise was 45°, and in the middle of the day 78°.

The district of *Spiti*, which comprises *Pín* as well as *Mánes*, is situate between Chinese Tartary, *Ladak*, *Kúlu*, and *Bascher*, and pays tribute to each. The inhabitants are all Tartars, and follow the Lama religion. There are lead mines. The villages are from 12,000 to 12,500 feet above

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the level of the sea. Toward *Ladak* the habitations must be still more elevated, and the country very barren, and the climate inhospitable.

It was the intention of Messrs. Gerard to have gone on towards *Ladak*, and returned by the *Tári* pass, which is the most direct road. But intreaties and the offer of a douceur of 150 rupees were unavailing: the *Lafa*, or chief person, would not hear of their proceeding onwards, or attempting the *Tári* pass.

After a fruitless negociation, which lasted two days, they returned to *Mánes*, and thence to *Sópóna*, and again (7th Sept.) by the *Mánerang* pass to *Pamáchan*, *Sumdo*, and *Rópa*. The barometric measurement was repeated with nearly the same result. The *Dárbung* river was only half its former size; for a few days had brought on winter, and the stream was now but slowly and scantily supplied amongst the ice. The snow had not descended more than 400 feet lower since they last crossed the pass, but the great fields had a new thick covering frozen hard. Shortly after leaving the pass, it began to snow, and continued till they arrived at *Pamáchan*. Upon the old snow-beds it lay at 14,500 feet, but what fell upon the ground, melted at 16,000 feet.

Sámdo is about 12,500 feet above the level of the sea.

They crossed the *Dárbung* under the village of *Gébáng*, and ascended the face of a thinly wooded hill to the elevation of 13,500 feet, where they encamped at the distance of a mile from any kind of fire-wood, but the spot afforded water. The upper limit of the pines in this neighbourhood is 14,500 feet, the juniper scarcely extends 100 feet higher. At sun-rise the thermometer was 39°. Every thing around was covered with hoar frost.

They ascended the *Ránang* pass, 14,500 feet above the sea; the mountains are of clayslate, and the creeping juniper, as if it had found a congenial soil, spreads its roots higher than the pass.

Descending from the zone of frost, they travelled several miles upon an undulating tract much indented, but preserving a height above the limit of trees; and leaving the populous villages of *Kánam* and *Labrang* at a profound depth below on their left, they descended into the dell in which *Lépe* or *Lídang* is situate. The village is considerable, the houses entirely built of *Kélú* pine, small, compact, and exactly resembling cisterns.

The bottom of the dell stands 8,700 feet above the sea; the vine is cultivated; and there are orchards of fruit trees around. A few of the

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grapes were now (10th Sept.) ripe, and the apples, which are the largest observed in *Kunáwar*, are of a delicious flavour.

The mountains are clayslate, granite, gneiss, and mica slate.

The travellers proceeded by the *Hcrang* pass (13,800 feet above the sea) crossing the *Keshang* river (a large and very rapid torrent forming a series of waterfalls) by a good wooden bridge, to *Pangpá* or *Pangi*, 2,500 feet above the *Setlej*, and 7,400 feet above the sea. There is here very little soil or level ground: the houses are crowded together, and the vineyards, fields, and pasture lands, belonging to the village, are miles distant.

The march was through a fine wood, large beds of juniper, and fine forests of pine, most part of the way. The upper limit of the pine was observed at 12,000 feet, the highest birches at 14,500 feet, and the rhododendron at 12,700 feet.

This day (11th Sept.), Captain G observes, terminated their adventures amidst frost and desolation. They bade farewell to the serenity of a Tartarie sky and its charms. "Before us," he says, "we beheld dark clouds, we already felt the most warmth of the periodical rains, and wished ourselves back among the Tartars, their and country, and vast solitudes."

The rest of the journey follows the course of the *Setlej*, until it emerges from the mountains into the plains of Hindusthan.

They now entered the *lower Kunáwar*, and crossing, by a *sango*, the *Malgun*, a rapid torrent passing to the *Setlej*, they traversed a pine forest along a road of highly cultivated land interspersed with orchards and the richest vineyards: in the midst of which is *Chini*, a large village, contiguous to which are seven or eight others. The soil slopes gently to the *Setlej*, and is loaded with fine crops. It is the most extensive plain in lower *Kunáwar* and forms a striking contrast with the heavy woods and rocky cliffs which overhang it. Just opposite are the huge *Raldang* peaks.

Here, on both sides of the river, grapes attain the greatest perfection. Some are dried on the tops of houses, some made into spirits, the rest eaten ripe. Eighteen varieties, distinguished by separate names, derived from colour, shape, size, and flavour, are cultivated in *Kunáwar*.

From *Chini*, the road assumes very rugged features; many rude balconies, flights of steps, and notched trees occur. The soil is crowded with countless varieties of gay flowers and many odoriferous plants. Cumin is plentiful, and forms an article of export to the plains.

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The height of this spot is 10,200 feet. The rocks are granite and gneiss, forming a succession of precipices, with a solitary tree here and there. The path is narrow, and skirts the brink of the abyss, looking down upon the *Setlej*, 4,000 feet below.

Ridgi, where they halted, is 9,100 feet above the level of the sea. Towards the *Setlej* there are vineyards, and around the village apricots, peaches, and apples.

Thence they ascended to the height of 10,900 feet through a forest of straggling pines, of the species called *Ri* or *Nioro* (Mr. Elphinstone's *Chilgoza*. It does not here flourish to the westward of *Wangtu*. The road rises and falls upon sharp pointed rocks, and now and then a flight of steps occurs. Opposite is the confluence of the *Baspa* with the *Setlej*. Its waters make a very considerable addition to this far-travelled river. The road descends precipitously (2,600 feet) to *Ránger*, a small stream. The face of the hill is unwooded, but beautifully diversified with wild flowers, and clothed with rich pastures for thousands of sheep. Hence to *Mirá*, or *Murling*, a small village 8,550 feet above the sea, the path ascends and descends amidst dwarf pines and oaks.

The *Lati*, a considerable stream which rises amongst the snow in the N.W. and falls into the *Setlej*, was crossed 1,200 feet below the village. On its banks are many fertile fields. Thence the road ascends through a wood of oak and holly, which affords shelter to many varieties of pheasants; passes the village of *Urni*, and arrived at *Tholang*, a village containing fifty-five families, and agreeably situated on both banks of a rivulet. It is 7,300 feet above the level of the sea. The whole of the rocks in this tract are gneiss. In several spots the ground had been torn up by bears in search of the honey of the field bee, which is here common.

At a short distance from *Chegaon*, the road passes under a natural arch of granite formed by the contact of two immense blocks. The travellers then descended to the *Setlej*, and continued for several miles along its banks, sometimes a little elevated above it, more frequently dipping down to the edge of the stream, which is very rapid. The rocks on both sides are worn into many caves, which re-echo the roar of the river with tenfold noise.

A very dangerous ascent was next encountered along the face of smooth ledges of granite, very steeply inclined to the *Setlej*; in these the notches for support scarce admitted half the foot, and were cut at very inconvenient distances.

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Arriving at the summit, the road again descended into an abyss 1,200 feet deep; the distance was but half a mile, which shows the steepness of the slope.

The *Wangar*, a mountain torrent, here tears its way amongst vast masses of granite with frightful velocity and noise. The cascades formed by the rocks in its bed, throw up the spray to an amazing height, washing the crags which are loaded with a rank vegetation. In the dell of this torrent lies the secluded district of *Wangpó*, containing seven small villages.

The *Wanger* is formed by two streams: one called *Surck*, rises amongst the snow, the other, which retains the common name, proceeds from the foot of *Tárí* pass.

Pwá is about four marches from *Wangpó*, and it was by the *Tárí* pass, Messrs. Gerard intended to return, could they have prevailed on the *Lafá* to concede to their wishes. The pass is not reckoned so high as *Manerang*, and probably does not exceed 17,000 feet.

After crossing the *Wangar* by a wooden bridge, the road continues along the edge of the *Setlej* for half a mile to *Wangto*, where there is a bridge of ropes across the river. Its breadth within the banks (which are of granite) is here 92 feet. It is the narrowest point: the average breadth in this part is from 250 to 300 feet. The bed of the river is 5,200 feet above the sea.

Messrs. Gerard stopped in a large natural cave till three o'clock, and having seen their baggage across, proceeded to *Nangánd*, by a very steep and rugged ascent, and then along a well cultivated hill face.

The journey was troublesome and fatiguing. It rained, slightly at first, but latterly poured down in torrents.

Nangándo is a tolerably sized village, 6,900 feet high (above the sea). A few grapes are cultivated in this district, but, owing to the periodical rains, do not thrive. Pear trees, bearing large and abundant fruit, are frequent near the villages. The fruit is dried upon the tops of houses, and forms part of the winter stock.

Proceeding towards *Tárándá*, the travellers passed through a beautiful wood of stately pines, many of them from 20 to 27 feet in girth; the pines are called *Kelú* by the natives. This timber is almost everlasting. It resists the attack of insects, and is therefore used in the construction of temples, houses, and granaries. It seldom occurs below 6,000 feet, nor above 12,000 feet from the level of the sea.

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Leaving the forest, they descended by a narrow rocky path, among dark thickets of oaks, holly, yew, and horse chesnut. They here crossed the *Saildang* torrent, by three rude alpine bridges, over as many large and very rapid streams, which flow, or rather rush from their sources in the *Himálaya* to the southward, descending, in a succession of cascades, to the *Setlej*, a couple of miles below the bridges.

After crossing the *Saildang* there was a mile and a half of very steep ascent, which required some agility to surmount, without slipping down the precipice. Rank grass, from 8 to 10 feet high, concealed the intricacies of the path, and rendered it necessary to pick the way with the utmost caution. Thence to *Tarándá* the road led through woods of pine. It rained heavily all day, and the baggage did not arrive till sunset.

Tarándá is 7,100 feet above the sea. Gneiss and mica slate appear to predominate here, and granite is not so frequent. Nearly opposite this, to the south, the *Himálaya* mountains may be said to end.

The travellers halted for a day on account of rain, and proceeded on the following (18 Sept.) to *Sárán*, a tiresome journey, made more disagreeable and fatiguing by incessant rain.

They crossed the *Chaundi*, a large and impetuous stream, by a dangerous *sango* of two thin spars, one much lower than the other, and traversed a dark forest of oak and holly. Inclined rocks, and soil drenched with rain aggravated difficulty to danger. In fording a rapid stream, in which they were completely drenched, many of the loads were soaked with water. Some of the geological specimens were rendered useless by the writing on the paper envelopes being effaced, and the whole of the botanical collection, with the exception of very few plants, was entirely destroyed.

Manzil ghát, the ordinary stage between *Tarándá* and *Sárán*, parts *Kunáwar* from *Dasau*, another of the great divisions of *Bashar*. The country westward assumes a more civilized appearance: villages are more thickly studded, cultivation more abundant, and not so circumscribed by huge masses of rock. Numerous rills trickle down from the mountains, and afford ample supplies for the fields, which are chiefly rice.

Sárán, 7,250 feet above the level of the sea, is the summer residence of the *Bashar Rájá* and his court. The climate is fine. Three miles from this, near the *Setlej*, are hot springs. Formerly human sacrifices were offered at a remarkable temple sacred to *Bhímá Cálí*, the patroness of *Bashar*. They have been disused since the British conquest.

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The travellers halted four days (19th to 22d Sept.) on account of incessant rain, waiting for the reconstruction of a *zanga* over the *Mangkid* torrent, which had been washed away by the flood. The temperature was stationary at 50° during the rainy weather, but rose to 64° when the weather cleared. They now resumed their journey, crossed the *Mangkid* by a crazy bridge of two spars connected by twigs. The stream was frightfully rapid. The ascent from the ded, steep as the descent to it, was more difficult; the path lying upon mica wet with rain, and slippery at every step.

Next day (23d Sept.) brought the travellers to *Rámpúr*, the capital of *Bashar*. It is on the left bank of the *Setlej*, 3,300 feet above the sea, in lat. 31°. 27′, and long. 77°. 38′. The houses are of stone and slated, and some are very neat. The spot is hot and unhealthy in summer, and as cold in winter. Under the town is a rope bridge of 211 feet across the *Setlej*, leading to *Rulu*. On the opposite summit of the range, which is lofty, are three forts, crowned with huge towers and battlements, which give them an imposing appearance.

Following the banks of the *Setlej*, and crossing *Nawogari*, a large stream, by a well-constructed wooden bridge, they found the dell expand at *Dattanagar*. Hitherto the valley of the *Setlej* has been narrow, confined between abrupt mountains. It now forms a flat, three miles wide, well watered by canals, and bearing luxuriant crops.

A few miles further they forded the *Bēdri* torrent, and finally emerged from the glen of the *Setlej* by a very fatiguing and steep descent of 4 000 feet perpendicular height, and, three miles further, by a winding road through woods of oak, yew, and horse-chesnuts; and arrived at *Kōtgark*, where the survey terminates.

It will have been remarked in the preceding narrative, as in former accounts of the same travellers, and of Mr. Moorcroft, Mr. Fraser, and others, that at an elevation where the density of the air is diminished five-twelfths, that is, where the barometric pressure is reduced to 17½ inches or seven-twelfths of the atmospheric weight at the level of the sea, (which takes place at an altitude of nearly 15,000 feet above that level,) difficulty of breathing is experienced, attended with lassitude and severe head-ache. The natives

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mountaineers of the *Himálaya*, who feel it not less sensibly than strangers, ascribe the sensation to presumed exhalations of a supposed poisonous vegetation at that vast height. At a less elevation no such effects are perceived. Inhabited places were visited by Messrs. Gerard, at the height of more than 15,000 feet above the sea, and cultivated fields were seen at 13,600 feet, and cattle pasturing at a still greater altitude.

The diary of this journey supplies ample confirmation of a position advanced by me some years since, in reply to some hasty inductions, grounded on imperfect experiments and insufficient observations, as to the limit of perpetual congelation. It was not to be supposed that the same mean temperature, or the same maximum of it, would occur under a given geographical line, at equal elevations, whether of a solitary mountain or an extensive cluster, whether of an isolated peak, or a sequestered glen. On the contrary, it seemed obvious that reverberation of heat must produce like effects of concentrated warmth, at the level of the sea, and on the table land of mountains. Accordingly, it does appear, that in the exterior chain of the *Himálaya*, where heat is reflected to it but from one side, the warmth is much less than in the interior cluster, where there is reverberation from all quarters. Capt. G. has repeatedly adverted to these important facts.

He has constantly attended likewise to very interesting questions concerning the geography of plants, and especially regarding the limits of vegetation. In abridging his diary, I have seldom suppressed any circumstance bearing upon these points, but have commonly retained the particulars, at the price, perhaps, of some tediousness and a little repetition. The greatest elevation, at which plants of a notable size are remarked, is 17,000 feet. The utmost limit of vegetation of mosses and lichens must doubtless reach further.

The greatest height attained during this journey was 18,619 feet, viz. at *Máncrang* pass. Next to it is the *Kéulsong* pass, at 18,318 feet above the sea. Twice, in former journeys, Messrs. Gerard scaled the stupendous altitude of a station on *Pargéul*, measured twice barometrically 19,411 feet, and now confirmed trigonometrically, not without a surmise of a near approach to 19,500 feet above the level of the sea.

At the elevation of 16,200 feet, on the confines of Chinese Tartary, ammonites were picked up. If not precisely *in situ*, they probably had not come from a remote situation, for the specimens are of ammonites themselves, not *salagrama* stones containing their impressions, and therefore not

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likely to have been elsewhere picked up from a religious motive, and accidentally dropped on the spot where they were now found, which was in a region of limestone. Ammonites have been found at a like elevation in the beds of torrents near the *Niti* and *Mana* passes.

A further advance into Chinese Tartary would probably have ascertained the site of these and perhaps of other organic remains, but the travellers were repelled by a guard stationed on the frontier. In two other quarters they met with a similar repulse, from Tartar guards, posted on the frontiers of Chinese Tartary.

I cannot quit the subject without inviting the Society to applaud the persevering exertions of these intrepid travellers in their arduous enterprise. Capt. Gerard and his brother have been neither appalled by danger nor deterred by fatigue, and to the official duties of the survey on which they were employed, else sufficiently laborious, they have superadded a most laudable zeal for the advancement of science in every way for which an opportunity was presented to them, and have evinced exemplary diligence in the prosecution of researches.

I may here be allowed to express regret, that the valley of the *Gandhac* river is yet unexplored. It is in that valley that ammonites are known to abound, and other ancient remains may be looked for. It is probably the route by which the *Dhawalagiri*, or White Mountain of the *Himalaya*, may be approached, and the altitude of apparently the highest mountain, definitively determined. I still entertain the expectation, grounded on measurements taken from remote stations, that its height will be found to be not less than 27,000 feet above the level of the sea.

I have much to observe on the geological notices scattered in Capt. Gerard's diary, and sparingly quoted in the foregoing summary, but I reserve what is to be said on this topic, and on the copious collection of specimens received from him, for a communication to the Geological Society.

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NOTES

RELATIVE TO

"OBSERVATIONS ON THE LEPRA ARABUM, BY DR. W. AINSLIE."

(Referred to at Page 228.)

Note A.

Considering the rigid and dry state of the skin which invariably characterizes this Lepra, I have usually recommended, that for a week or more, before giving any medicine internally, the patient should every alternate day be washed from head to foot with soap and warm water; the intermediate days using, for the same purpose, a strong infusion or decoction of the plant called by the Tamools *Tootie ellay* (Sida populifolia); the body being properly clothed, to facilitate as much as possible the cuticular discharge.*

The remedies I chiefly relied on in treating this formidable disease were the following, and by them I in several instances put a complete stop to it: but it must be remembered that, to give any chance of success, the case must be taken early; for when the malady has laid complete hold of the frame, a radical cure is impossible: a fact, I perceive, well established so far back as the time of Rhazes (de Re Med., lib. vi. page 128).

℞ Pilulæ hydrarg. ℥iv
Camphoræ——— ʒi
Piperis nigri —— ℈ij

Let these ingredients be well rubbed together, and with the addition of a little syrup of ginger made into forty pills, one of which is to be taken night and morning, and continued for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances: the patient at the same time drinking daily a pint or a pint and a half of the decoctum Guiaci, of the Edinburgh Dispensatory, or the same quantity of the decoction of Daphnes mezerei. On other occasions I have administered with advantage, pills composed of sulphur of antimony, calomel, and guaiacum, together with one or other of the decoctions above mentioned.

It is well known, that the eastern nations were the first who employed mercury in the cure of obstinate cutaneous and leprous affections, and it may be questioned whether the natives of India were before the Arabians, or only second in order, in availing themselves of the virtues of that powerful mineral. *Rhazes*,† *Mesue*, and *Avicenna*,‡ all notice it, and according to Fallopius,

* It is interesting to remark the notions entertained regarding the same medicine in different countries. The Cochin Chinese attach peculiar virtues to what they call *Kumphayuk* (curcuma longa), amongst other properties ascribed to it, they suppose it to be efficacious in cases of Scabies and Lepra, by its resistent and diaphoretic powers. "Etiam in Lepra, et Scabie pulvodo per transpirationem, valet." Vide Flor. Cochin. Chin. vol. i. page 5.

† "Argentum vivum cum extinguitur ardens ut, quod stabile, et pellucidi acuitionem affert. —Vide Rhazæ de Re Med. (lib. iii. cap. xxiv.). In the days of Pliny the Elder the medicinal virtues of mercury do not appear to have been at all ascertained, that writer termed quicksilver *the bane and poison of all things*, and what would with more propriety be called death itself. (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxiii. cap. vi.)

‡ Avicenna says of mercury: "Argentum vivum vulneribus adversus pulicidus et lendes cum resinæ abet valet. —Vide Canon. Med., lib. ii. Tract ii., page 715.

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as we find observed by Leclerc, in his "*Histoire de la Médecine*," pages 771-781. It was the opinions of those writers which first suggested its use in venereal affections.*

I have already mentioned about what period Rhazes is supposed to have lived. Mesue, a very distinguished writer, flourished in the tenth century: he professed Christianity: was a native of Bagdat, and practised at Cairo. Avicenna was born in the city of Bochara, A. D. 980, and died at Hamadan, in Persia, A. D. 1036; he was considered as the greatest philosopher and physician of his age: his writings were printed at Rome in 1593: afterwards translated into Latin, and published at Venice, in 1608. His work is commonly met with in Europe under the title of "*Canons of Avicenna*," but its proper Arabic appellation is *Kanoonie Fi altib* قانون في الطب. The author the celebrated *Abu Aly Hussein Ben Abdallah Ben Sina*. I perceive that he recommended, in leprous affections, the use of such medicines as purge off black bile: also bleeding, and a sort of electuary prepared with vipers, the heads and tails of the animals having been previously taken off: and it is a curious fact, that the same remedy was prescribed for similar affections by a celebrated Hindoo physician *Agastier*, as we see by a perusal of his *Perwoo*, in which he praises highly the flesh of the hill snake (*Malay Pamboo*), with a free use of asses' milk.

Note B.

I have allowed that I had but little experience of the use of corrosive sublimate in leprous affections. It has not for many years past been a favourite medicine in Hindoostan: in any complaint it is very apt to sicken the stomach, give it in what form you will: and certainly irritates the nervous system more than any other preparation of mercury. It needs scarcely be urged here, how necessary it must ever be, in such cases, to support as much as possible the strength of the patient: with this view, I invariably ordered a moderate use of some generous wine.

Note C.

The fingers and toes, on falling off in the Lepra Arabum, which they almost invariably do in the advanced stage of the disease, sometimes leave ulcers which are difficult to heal: these in the first instance may be moistened with a liniment composed of equal parts of nitrated quicksilver ointment, and margosa oil (oil of the melia azadirachta), and the benumbed parts bathed with plain brandy, after which the sores, when pretty clean, may be dressed with an ointment composed of one ounce of simple ointment, and a dram of cerussa acetata, finally washing them with a mixture of equal parts of decoction of lignum guaiacum and that of margosa bark (melia azadirachta).

Note D.

I have said that the diet, in cases of Lepra Arabum, should be generous: but it must also be noted, that excess of every kind is most detrimental: all food that is gross, fat, crude, or difficult of digestion, must be studiously avoided: amongst which I include salted and dried meats, pickles, preserves, rich sauces, cheese, &c. &c., and there is no doubt but that pork and fish, with the exception perhaps of whiting, are most injurious.

* The first person who cured Syphilis by means of mercury, appears to have been Bartholomew Isenflamm, a surgeon of Cologne, who died in 1597.

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XXII. *Extracts from the Peking Gazette for 1824, being the Fourth Year of Tsou-kwang.* By John Francis Davis, Esq., F.R.S. M.R.A.S.

Read January 7, 1826.

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I. *Malversations in Office.—Imperial Edict*

1st moon, 11th day (10th February).

The Censor, *Wang shi-fa*, has presented to us a paper, concerning the malversations in office prevalent among the clerks and official assistants in the government offices of *Chih-le** province.

"The clerks in the large and small offices of *Chih-le* province being assisted by their own friends in the prosecution of public business, the latter make use of their official influence in the commission of every species of iniquity. I the Censor, have turned my whole attention to the examination of these abuses. Truly there is none to whom he will not lend their services. But this province being the place of imperial residence, ought to be governed with more especial propriety, as an example to all others. It appears that in the offices of the Treasurer† and Judge‡ there are, in addition to the regular assistants, persons who call themselves *Ko-chang* heads of departments, who dividing themselves into two bodies, those who manage *internal* and those who manage *external* affairs, monopolize all the business of the *Chow* and *Heen* districts, and in the progress of the ratification or revision of the decisions of the inferior courts, are guilty of all kinds of false and criminal connivances. The official friends of the *Chow* and *Heen* magistrates§ among former clerks of the higher courts, have a secret correspondence with the same *Ko-chang*, and in all matters of judgment consult together with them, for the purposes of deceit and plunder. When the business of government falls into such hands as these, they prove, in fact, the destructive insects of the soil. Let the Viceroy of the province and the Treasurer and Judge be ordered to rectify and abolish altogether the office of *Ko-chang*. If among the official friends of the *Chow* and *Heen* magistrates there be any discovered who combine together for evil purposes, let them be immediately apprehended and pu-

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* *Or Pechely.*

† The treasurer is frequently a judge in civil matters relating to property within his province: the *judge* takes cognizance chiefly of criminal matters or pleas of the crown, as they are called in England.

‡ *Fan-ngan*, "dividing or sharing the fix."

§ These are magistrates of inferior districts, possessing, however, in most cases, a jurisdiction much more enlarged and independent than the local magistracy in England individually.

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nished. This evil practice, since it exists to such an extent in *Chih-le* province, must also prevail in others: let all the Viceroys and Governors be at the same time directed to examine publicly, and inquire privately into the existence of the abuse, and put an end to it altogether. They must take care that purity prevails generally in the tissue of government, in order that the public courts may be adorned with rectitude, and the accumulation of abuses prevented.

"*Khin-tsze.*" (Respect this.)

II. *The Emperor puts off his Journey into Tartary.*

An Edict written with the vermilion pencil has been respectfully received.

1st moon, 30th day (19th February).

"I, the Emperor, had with feelings of awe appointed the third moon for visiting and prostrating myself before the tomb of my father, the profoundly wise Emperor,* in order to evince my sincere devotedness of mind. But the province of *Chih-le* has during the last two years suffered from scarcity, and even in the period of want, the strength of the people was weakened by other casualties (probably meaning the inundations of 1823). I therefore direct that a stop may at present be put to the preparations for the intended expedition. Again, with reference to the autumnal hunt of the present year, I ought to follow the established custom of my predecessors, but, at the same time, it is necessary to be guided by the circumstances of the times, and to act in conformity to them. The expedition to *Jé-ho* is also ordered to be delayed for this year: this is an involuntary source of vexation to me. I should not dare to adopt this measure from a love of ease and indulgence!

"The civil and military officers of *Chih-le* ought to fashion their hearts by mine. Let them punish and expel every thing that is irregular and bad; let them advance and encourage the worthy and capable. Every measure that is profitable for the people let them pursue with their whole hearts, let them extend the principle of soothing and compassionating, in order that my little children may be saved from the extremity of distress, and

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* On the death of every sovereign a posthumous title is conferred: that of *Kea-king*, who died in 1820, is *Jin-tsung-juy-hwang-te*, "the benevolent ancestor, the profoundly wise Emperor." For the Chinese characters see Plate XIII. No. 1.

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from being scattered abroad without a resource, thus seconding my sincere wish to cherish them in proportion to the necessity of the times. Be not remiss

" A special Edict."*

III *Forbidding the possession of Fire-arms to the common People.*

1st moon, 24th day (23d February).

" An imperial edict has been respectfuly received, in reply to the address of *Chin-kwŏ-yin*, governor of *Kwei-chow*, on the subject of his having made a general muster of the matchlocks in his province, storing up those which were serviceable and destroying the rest, after having made compensation to the owners, &c.

" For the people to have fire-arms in their possession is contrary to law, and orders have already been issued to each provincial government to fix a period within which all matchlocks belonging to individuals † should be bought up at a valuation. It is stated by *Chin-kwŏ-yin*, that over and above the sums paid for those which are fit for use and laid up in the military stores, as well as for those which were subsequently sold as old iron, there is still required the sum of tales 1,505. If the officers of the different districts be allowed *themselves* to advance the money, it is to be feared that they may take occasion to peculate: we therefore direct (according to the request of *Chin-kwŏ-yin*), that a portion of the proceeds arising from lead ‡ be appropriated to that purpose from the provincial treasury. With regard to those fire-arms which are in immediate use for the safeguard of the country, the said governor has already directed the proper officers to carve on every matchlock the name of the person to whom it is delivered, and to preserve a general list of the whole. Let the governor also give strict charge to make a diligent search, and prevent the illicit storing up of fire-arms for the future; and let the workers in iron be rigidly looked after,

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* The Emperor here uses the same expression as is subjoined to the ordinary proclamations of the officers of government, instead of the usual *Kŭn-tsze*, " Respect this." The above is a curious specimen of the pretension to sympathy by which the empire of China is, in a great measure, governed.

† Those Chinese at *Canton* who employ themselves in shooting wild fowl, &c. are mostly belonging to the militia of the province, and have matchlocks in their possession ex officio.

‡ The produce of *Kwei-chow*

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lest they clandestinely manufacture and sell them; thus cutting off the evil in its commencement. Those officers who have made full and complete musters within the limited period, the said governor is directed to take proper notice of, as an encouragement to others.

"*Khin-tsae.*"

IV. *Advance of Salary for the purpose of repairing Family Tombs.*

2d moon, 4th day (4th March).

"The imperial pleasure has been respectfully received.

"The titular King *Chun chan* has presented to us a petition, intreating our imperial favour in the advance of some years' salaries, wherewithal he may be enabled to repair the tombs of his family. We permit to be advanced to him the amount of his kingly allowances for ten years ensuing, and direct that his pay be annually deducted until the whole shall be liquidated.

"*Khin-tsae.*"

V. *History of the late Reign completed.—Imperial order.*

2d moon, 4th day (4th March).

"It having been reported to us, that the history of the reign of our late father, the profoundly-wise Emperor, has been completed, and respectfully deposited at *Hwang-she-ching* and *Shing-king*,* and that the names of the editors only remain to be added, we direct that, according to the ancient form, the names of *Tsaou-chin-yung*, *Tse-keun-yuen*, *Wang-ting-chin*, and *Ying-ho*, be placed in order at the commencement thereof.

"*Khin-tsae.*"

VI. *Appointments in the Ministry.*

2d moon, 10th day (10th March).

"*Moo-chang-ah*† is hereby appointed to fill the office of President of the Board for Foreign Affairs. *Sung Keun*‡ is appointed to the office of

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* Birth-place of the reigning family in Eastern Tartary.

† This is the *Moo-ta-jin* who met Lord Amherst at Tung-chow. He was then nearly eighty years of age, and filled the office of President of the Board of Rites.

‡ *Sung ta-jin*, the conductor of Lord Macartney's embassy.

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President of the Censors. These appointments are gifts proceeding from our more than ordinary regard and sympathy for aged ministers. Let *Sung Kwan* carefully attend to the established routine of his office, instead of wholly confusing and puzzling himself with a multiplicity of extraneous matters.* If he treads in his former track he will involve himself in criminality.

"*Khien-tsze.*"

VII. *A Decree, confirming posthumous Honours.*

3d moon, 11th day (11th March).

"*Le-the-sen*, the Inspector General of rivers in *Keang-nan* and the neighbouring provinces, who has charge of the repairs of the Yellow River, on the seventeenth year of *Kien-lung* received from our virtuous predecessor, the profoundly wise Emperor, the important office of repairing and superintending generally the rivers of these provinces. With our decurring labour and toil, without retreating from envy and outrage, he for thirteen years exerted all his abilities in duly discharging the duties of his station. All the works which he erected were excellent and durable: his merit was indeed great. When, on account of severe hemiplegia, he requested to be relieved, our heart was moved with feelings of sympathy towards him, and we sent down our will that he should return for two months, and conferred on him five ounces weight of ginseng, with a view that leisure, and the application of medicine, might restore him to health, that he might long remain to us as a trust and a reliance. Hearing of his sudden death deep was our emotion. We direct that the posthumous title of *Shan*, *shun*† be conferred on him, as well as that of *Tae-tsze-tae pun*, and that he be interred with the rites and honours attached thereto. Let the proper Board inquire into, and report to us, concerning the instructions that are due by established rule. Let his eldest son, *Le-kwo-hing*, his second son, *Le-kew-yuen*, and his third son, *Le-kwo-ching* be called to *Peking* after the expi-

* *Sung-kwan* is noted for the boldness of his expostulations with the sovereign, on occasions when he conceives that his age and experience, as well as office, entitle him to give his advice. To this propensity he has been indebted for his frequent disgraces.

† President of a board or tribunal.

‡ Guardian of the heir apparent.

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ration of their mourning, and presented to the Civil Board to be brought before us.

" *Khun-tsze.*"

VIII. *Posthumous Rewards for Valour.—Imperial Decree*

2d moon, 15th day (15th March).

" The Military Board has examined and presented an address concerning a commander killed in action, requesting that some posthumous rewards may be conferred. The late *Too-sze** of *Kwang se* province, named *Kaou-hih-tsze*, being engaged in a skirmish in the reign of *Keen-lung*, at a place called *Le-chung-heen-nan*, was killed. Some posthumous rewards have already been conferred, but the Board, after accurately investigating, finds that the above-mentioned officer was in truth greatly regardless of his person in battle, and therefore proposes that additional honours be conferred.

" It is hereby directed, as a mark of imperial favour, that *Kaou-hih-tsze* be honoured to the fullest extent of the regulations relating to officers who fall in battle.

" *Khun-tsze.*"

IX. *Against buying up Government Grain.*

2d moon, 18th day (18th March).

" The Censor, *Lew-e-hing*, has presented an address respecting the expediency of apprehending certain corn-dealers, who have employed persons to buy up grain from the government stores. The marts which are established at the capital for retailing grain at a low price, have their origin in a sincere feeling of benevolence towards the people. According to the report of the said Censor, several keepers of corn-shops have seduced and engaged indigent people to buy up the grain for them (pretending it was for their own use), thus according their secret views of hoarding and profit. Besides which there are an hundred other shameful arts practised by vagabond rogues without a livelihood, which it is highly necessary to inquire into and punish. Let the armed police and secret runners be despatched to the deposits of grain, both within and without the city walls,

* A military title, something like colonel. The next below is *Tseen-tsung*; the next *Pa-tsung*. The latter two degrees were attached to the principal boats in Lord Amherst's embassy, one to each.

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to examine and search out; and should they meet with this species of abuse, let them immediately apprehend the culprits for punishment. If they are detected in conniving at such acts, let them be punished together with the original offenders. Let the police, at the same time, be rigorously enjoined not to seek occasions of vexatiously annoying and disturbing the people, but let them second our anxious care in favour of our distressed subjects.

" *Khin-tsze.*"

X. *Military Exercises.—Imperial Order.*

2d moon, 18th day (18th March).

" In the late reign, whenever an excursion was made into Tartary, it was customary to inspect the skill of the great officers of government, and of all those near the imperial person in military exercises. In the ensuing year, when we proceed on a similar expedition, it is our intention, as of old, to inspect these exercises. But from the twenty-fifth year of *Kea-king* until now, there has been but little practice in them. Let orders be circulated for a general practice in such exercises, that next year, when the inspection takes place, every one may be perfectly adroit. Heavy penalties will be inflicted on such as prove remiss and inexpert.

" *Khin-tsze.*"

XI. *A Chinese erroneously stated to be a Tartar.—Imperial Order.*

2d moon, 22d day (22d March).

" The *Keu-jin* graduate, named *How-yew-pe*, being a Chinese by birth, was reported as a Tartar at the examination at which he succeeded in obtaining his degree: he ought to be deprived of his literary rank.* But at the time of the said examination this graduate being very young, it was his father who made a false report of him and led to the error. Now, as the graduate himself has made a true representation of the case, he is less culpable than if it had been discovered and reported by the examining officer. It is directed that he retain his literary rank, but be prevented from attending at one examination (i. e. his promotion is stopped for three

* This is a strong proof if any were wanted, that the Tartars are always favoured whenever there is any competition.

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years, the interval between the examinations), and that he be enrolled as a Chinese by birth. But let the head of the Tartar division, who presumed to take upon himself to present the report on the occasion, be delivered to the Criminal Board for trial and punishment.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XII. *A public Granary insufficiently supplied.—Imperial Order*

2d moon, 22d day (22d March).

"The *Too-tung*, named *Ying Hwuy*, has presented an address respecting the expediency of transferring grain to a district where the present stock is insufficient. The district *Koo-ching*, in *Kan-sŭh* province, has its granary annually supplied with an insufficient quantity, so that whenever it is found requisite to sell grain at a low price to the soldiers and people, for their immediate consumption as well as for seed, the stock is always inadequate. The said *Too-tung* has clearly ascertained that the neighbouring granary of *Tse-sŭh-shĭ* district is redundantly supplied, and that a portion of the stock may be transferred. This being really the case, it is directed that, according to the tenor of the address, forty thousand peculs (two thousand three hundred and seventy-five tons) be transferred from the granary of *Tse-sŭh-shĭ* to that of *Koo-ching*, with a view to providing an adequate supply. Let the appropriate board take cognizance of it.*

"*Khin-tsze.*"

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* It is not difficult to perceive that the excessive care to provide against local and contingent famines in China springs not so much from any real feeling of affection and kindness towards the people, as from a dread of the usual consequences of such dearths when they are severe. No sooner does a famine take place than results are immediately apprehended and unless the cravings of the populace can be stayed by supplies from the public granaries, these apprehensions are seldom groundless. Taught (according to their paternal notions of government) to consider the good which they enjoy in prosperity as resulting from the care of the Emperor and his representatives, the people very naturally refer the evils which they suffer in adversity to remissness and improvidence in the same quarter and the government not ignorant of the danger, is proportionably cautious in guarding against it. Were the lower orders, according to the dictates of a more sensible policy, instructed to refer these inevitable calamities to their real origin, the irregular vicissitudes of the seasons, they would probably bear them with more patience, and not attribute that to their rulers which their rulers have as little power to control as themselves.

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XIII. *Destruction of Records by Fire.*

2d moon, 29th day (29th March).

"*Han-wan-ke*, governor of *Keang-soo* province, kneeling presents to the Imperial attention a report of the destruction by fire of the public records of his government.

"On the second day of the first moon, at midnight, the offices of records to the west of the chief hall of government being on fire, I, the governor, followed by all the civil and military officers, soldiery, &c. hastened to extinguish the flames, and by our strenuous exertions the whole range of buildings appertaining to the great hall were rescued from destruction; but the records, which were arranged in extensive piles within their several buildings, being very liable to catch and propagate the flames, increased by a violent wind blowing at the time, the power of man was unavailing to save them from destruction. In all twenty-seven apartments containing government records were consumed—but the fire did not extend to any of the dwellings of the people, nor were there any lives lost. I immediately gave orders to investigate what records had been burned, and to supply fresh copies from all the subordinate offices of their former reports. *Woo-shou-ke*, the officer in charge of the records, and his assistants, being put on their trial made the following statement.

"In the Record-Office there has hitherto been an apartment dedicated to the guardian deity of the records, wherein nobody slept. On that night, when all were asleep in their respective quarters, the porter, *Sen-ta*, was awakened from his sleep by a noise proceeding from the walls of the building, and on starting up to ascertain the cause, perceived the flames bursting out from the chamber appropriated to the deity. He immediately called up the people to endeavour to extinguish the fire; but as it had burned until midnight, its violence was such as to cause the destruction of the Record-Office. It had been customary, every morning and evening, to place lighted sticks of incense and candles before the shrine of the deity; and on the first day of the new year the number of these had been greater than usual. They could not tell at what time the fire had communicated to the building, nor could they give any information as to the individual by whose carelessness it had happened. These were the whole of the circumstances with which they were acquainted.

"On being repeatedly examined they steadily maintained the same evidence. As the officer, *Woo-shou-ke*, had the especial charge of the records,

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it is not expedient to let him escape punishment by pleading accident as the cause of the fire. He and his assistants will therefore be punished according to the law, which awards eighty blows of the bamboo,* deprived of their offices, and dismissed altogether from public service.

"Since I, the governor, did not, by previous care and foresight, prevent the calamity, it is difficult for me to extenuate my offence. I therefore request the Imperial will to give directions for my trial by the Criminal Board.

"As official reports are every day accumulating in great numbers, and no steps have hitherto been taken to provide a place for them, it will be expedient to rebuild forthwith another record-office on the old foundations for their reception; with this view I humbly present a report."

XIV. *Petition from a sick and aged Minister to retire permanently from Office.*

3d moon, 1st day (30th March).

"*She-che-kwang*, late one of the Presidents of the Board of Censors, kneeling presents this petition to His Majesty. He, an insignificant minister, being afflicted with incurable disease and infirmity, and having to intreat the favour of heaven (*i. e.* the Emperor) to permit him to retire to his native place, in order to nurse his complaints, with deep veneration he offers this up, and entreats the Imperial attention.

"In the last year, between the seasons of summer and autumn, being suddenly affected by disorders peculiar to the time of year, I was prostrated by the violence of sickness, and on a representation of my case had to thank the vast Imperial compassion, which despatched physicians to examine my case, and at the same time permitted me to retire awhile from my office to seek a cure. For this I feel a degree of gratitude in my inmost soul, which it is impossible for words to express.

"Reflecting within myself, that notwithstanding the decay of my strength it has still pleased the Imperial goodness to employ me in a high office instead of rejecting and discarding me at once, I have been most

* A smaller number is actually inflicted. See Penal Code of China, translated by Sir G. T Staunton, Bart., Book I. § 1.

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anxious to effect a cure, in order that, a weak old horse as I am, it might be still in my power, by the exertion of my whole strength, to recompense a ten-thousandth part of the benevolence which restored me to life.

"But my external and internal complaints combining together have reduced me to the necessity of using powerful medicines, which have been in some degree efficacious in mitigating the violence of my complaints yet the destructive effects of old age on the blood and spirits have been still greater, and the mind (affected by the state of the body) became exceedingly depressed. Both my legs were so tumid and painful that I could not walk, but still I thought that the mildness of the spring, joined to careful treatment, might enable me, at the expiration of my leave, to make a violent effort towards the resumption of my office. When the spring came, however, both my legs became more swelled than ever, and the bones and sinews still more painful. The consulting physicians said it was the accumulated result of the action of noxious vapours during a number of years, and that old age being superadded it was not a thing for medicine to cure. More than seven months have now elapsed since I applied for my leave, and though I have used a great variety of remedies, I cannot yet walk without support. Unable as I am to look forward to a cure, still, anxious as a dog or a horse to serve his lord, I should never have dared to entertain thoughts of retiring from service or indulging in ease, were it not that my powers are already destroyed, and I fear can never be restored. After turning it anxiously in my mind, I have no other choice than to entreat humbly that I may be permitted to retire to my native place, in order to obtain a little relief from medical treatment. Then, should the evening of my declining life be a little lengthened, I shall look upon it as proceeding entirely from the benevolent kindness of my sacred master (*Sheng-chou*), who has given me a second life. And for this purpose I respectfully petition."

XV. *Petition for a new Trial in a case of Homicide.*

3d moon, 2d day (31st March).

"The Imperial pleasure has been received.

"*Fang-chin-she*, a woman of *Chung-tseang Hien*, in *Hoo-pih* province, has come to Pekin, to present to us a petition, entreating that her nephew,

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Tang-heŏ-moo (condemned to death) may be spared as her support.* Now the criminal board has already reported that the above felon was condemned by the provincial jurisdiction to be decapitated, having been convicted of slaying a person maliciously, and that being clearly found guilty at the autumnal trial, he was not reprieved at the representation of the woman his relation. But in the petition of *Fang-chin-she* it is stated, in entire contradiction to the circumstances of the trial and conviction, that the labouring man *Tsŭ-lew* was killed by *Tang-heŏ-kaou* in conjunction with another person, both of whom died in prison. Now whether *Tang-heŏ-moo* has really been unjustly dealt with, or whether, at the instigation of some other person, he has been tempted by the death of those two criminals to endeavour to set aside the trial, it will be proper to sift to the bottom and ascertain clearly the truth or falsehood of the whole case, as well as the guilt or innocence of all parties concerned. It is hereby ordained, that at the autumnal trial of the present year the case of *Tang-heŏ-moo*, in all its bearings, be thoroughly investigated and tried before the governor, *Yang-moo-tëen*. Let him elicit the whole truth, and pronounce judgment accordingly, making a report to us of the same. The Criminal Board will, according to established rule, convey the woman back to her province, to be produced at the trial.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XVI. *Loss of Lives from the Explosion of Gunpowder.—Imperial Decree.*

3d moon, 5th day (3d April).

"*Sung-fun*, governor of *Hoo-nan* province, has presented a report concerning the death of several persons by the explosion of gunpowder, while manufacturing the same in camp.

"While pounding gunpowder in a stone mortar in the camp of the left division of the governor's troops, a spark which was struck ignited the whole quantity of powder, and the explosion killed five soldiers, together with six other persons. As this must evidently have been caused by the carelessness of those who had the superintendence, it is hereby ordered

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* When a condemned criminal happens to be the only son of a woman who is a widow, he is sometimes reprieved, when the case is not an aggravated one, on a representation being made. In this case the woman has no son, and therefore petitions for the next nearest relation.

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that the officers, *Hae-fŭh*, *Wang-gán-pei*, and *Chow-kwang-heung*, be delivered to the Criminal Board for trial.

" Let the gunpowder which was exploded be made good, according to the quantity lost, by those whose business it was to watch it. In other respects, let the judgment of the said governor be followed.

" *Khin-tsze*."

XVII. *Suppression of incipient Rebellion in Shan-tung Province.*

On the 27th of the 3d moon the following imperial edict was respectfully received.

" *Ke-shen* (acting governor of *Shan-tung* province) has presented to us a report of the trial and condemnation of the banditti who have been propagating lessons of rebellion, and has at the same time sent up lists of all those officers who exerted themselves in the apprehension of the rebels, together with other particulars. By these it appears that the traitor *Matsin-chung*, a native of *Tung-ko* district in *Chih-le* province, made himself the head of an unlawful association at *Lin-tsing-chow* * in the province of *Shan-tung*, and that he, with his associates, organized themselves into self-constituted ranks and grades of authority, after the model of real officers of government. They circulated secret signals among themselves, and consulted together for the purposes of treason and rebellion. Their crime has been enormous, and their wickedness of the deepest dye!

" The said acting *Foo-yuen*, however, at the head of the civil and military officers, at once crushed the incipient evil, without giving the slightest previous intimation, and apprehended accomplices in the conspiracy to the number of above five hundred and seventy persons."

Then follows a very long list of civil and military officers who are to be promoted on the occasion, together with the acting Governor and the Judge of the province, who, in addition to their promotion, are rewarded each with a peacock's tail. Nothing is said in this paper regarding the punishment of the conspirators, most of whom will of course be put to death.

* A place at the northern extremity, or commencement of the Grand Canal, where the British embassy stopped on the 23d September 1816.

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XVIII. *A Case of Rape.*

3d moon, 27th day (25th April).

"The Censor, *Leang-chung-tsing*, presents this address, having inquired into the truth where a false report had been made in an atrocious case of rape, which led to the suicide of the person ravished. He looks up and intreats the Imperial attention.

"In the 9th moon of the last year, *Chaou-t'ien-chung*, an inhabitant of *Shan-se* province, came to the capital (being deputed by his brother, the father of the female) and presented at the proper office a complaint, concerning which the Imperial pleasure was notified as follows:

"Let it be referred to *Kew-shoo-tang* (Governor of *Shan-se*) for examination. The complaint states, that the niece of the complainant, named *Urh-koo*, having been forcibly ravished by *Yen-tse-hoo*, put an end to herself in open court with a knife, being urged by the examining magistrate with threats to criminate herself, by acknowledging that she had given her consent to her own defloration,* and that the officer who was despatched to hold an inquest on the case had tortured the father, *Chaou-t'ien-ho*, and extorted an admission of consent on the part of his daughter. Should this be true, let those officers be deprived of their situations and severely punished, without admitting of any evasion or concealment. Let the complainant be conveyed back by the proper board, to be ready at the trial.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

"On the 1st day of the 2d moon of the present year, the said provincial governor reported that he had concluded the trial, and found it, as before proved, a case of defloration with the consent of the female. But I, the censor, hearing that the people of the district where it happened were very much incensed and troubled at the decision, gave my attention to the subject, and it was reported to me that the two officers who had been appointed by the governor to try the case were nominated at the particular intreaty of *Chin-tsung*, magistrate of *Tse-yuen-foo*, who begged it on his knees. From this it is plain that there was some improper influence in the case. There exist, also, great discrepancies between the report of the governor and the

* Rape, or forcible ravishment, is called *K'eang-keen*, and is punished capitally. If the female gives her consent to her dishonour, it is called *Ho-keen*, or "Fornication by mutual consent," and is punishable merely with the bamboo, as a misdemeanor.

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petition of the complainant. In the latter it is stated, that 'after his niece had killed herself, the above magistrate, *Chin-tsung*, made no inquiry as to the reasons of it, but turning to the mother of the deceased, charged her with having had intercourse with *Yen-sze-hoo*, the accused, though on her vehemently repelling the accusation, he atoned for it by an acknowledgment of his error.' There is no mention of this in the governor's report. In that report it is stated, that 'on the day when the business took place, *Yen-sze-hoo* went to the house to borrow a sack, and finding neither *Chaou-tsen-ho* nor his wife at home, he prevailed on *Leh-hoo* to commit the offence with him.' But this rests solely on the evidence of the prisoner himself: what reliance can be placed on it? The complainant asserts, that on the 14th of the 5th moon of last year, *Yen-sze-hoo* got in at the door of the house about day-break, and holding down *Leh-hoo* with one hand while he prevented her cries with the other, succeeded in ravishing her, and then escaped out of doors. But when the father returned home from his work, *Leh-hoo* met him weeping, and acquainted him with what had happened. The report says, that '*Yen-sze-hoo* stole out of the house before any one had returned to it, and on his way was met by *Chaou-tsen-ho*. These circumstances are very dissimilar. The report states, that *Chaou-tsen-ho* bribed a person named *Hih-tung-chin* with six taels, as well as the two midwives or matrons (on the examination), to whom he gave twenty taels.' But the father is so poor that he can hardly maintain himself: where, then, could he procure money to bribe them?

"I hear, on the contrary, that *Yen-sze-hoo* having been the person who gave the bribes, had procured a relation of his to depose that they were given by *Chaou-tsen-ho*. Again: the deceased, *Leh-hoo*, was only twelve years of age, and in the copy of evidence she is called fourteen. Her person was moreover extremely small, whilst in the report it is stated that the body measured *four chě five tsun*.* All these mis-statements must have been to support the allegation of a consent on her part. * * * * * * * * The report declares, that *Leh-hoo*, finding her shame discovered, killed herself in despair.' But why did she not kill herself when the prisoner was first seen by her father, instead of deferring it for twenty days, and then putting an end to herself *after* undergoing a long examination in public?

* 5 feet 2 inches.

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Her death was surely the consequence of her despair and resentment, in being forced to acknowledge herself guilty. The circumstances of the report are evidently contradictory, and invented for the support of the particular allegation, as well as to protect the officers therein concerned; for if it be examined into, how should a female only twelve years of age be persuaded to give her consent on such an occasion; and if she had suffered no wrong at all, what should make her put an end to herself? I have heard that, though the weather was uncommonly hot at the time, and notwithstanding that the body remained several days uninterred, it suffered no change whatever—a circumstance which removes all doubt of her having suffered grievous wrong. It is consistent with established practice to petition that some distinction be conferred on the memory of this chaste virgin, whose name has been stained with dishonour. It is a question in which good reputation is deeply interested; and should her wrong be allowed to pass unredressed, what security will remain for the public morals or for the observance of the laws? *Shan-se* is not far distant from the capital: your Majesty's consent is therefore petitioned for bringing the case before the criminal board, in order that it may be proved beyond a doubt. The circumstances that have come to my knowledge, contrary to the Governor's report, I dare not but present to the Imperial attention."

XIX. *Grain Junks on the Canal—Imperial Edict.*

4th moon, 10th day (8th May).

"*Wei-yuen-heô* and others have applied for our instructions respecting the formation of certain restrictive regulations, calculated to keep in check the unruly crews of the grain junks.*

"The late outrageous and violent conduct of the people in the grain junks, towards private merchants and individuals has rendered it necessary to enact certain regulations for their future government and control. The said superintendent has reported, that it has hitherto been the custom for every division of grain junks to employ the people of the province

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* These junks were seen by Lord Amherst's embassy extending for several miles along the side of the *Pei-ho*. Were this annual supply cut off by blockading the southern extremity of the grand canal, the capital and its neighbourhood must necessarily be starved.

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and district whence it came, as being the best skilled in the management of the vessels. This has given occasion to great numbers of homeless vagabonds from distant places to conduct themselves in a disorderly and unlawful manner, relying upon their great numbers for impunity. Let the head man in each vessel be made responsible, and let him be compelled to return lists of his crew as a check upon their conduct, and in order to prevent the escape of the guilty. With respect to those rogues and vagabonds who accompany the grain junks from a distance, and combine with the sailors in unlawful acts, let the officers of government that are attached to each vessel present regular returns of those on board, containing a description of the age, appearance, and other particulars of each person, and let every man have a badge or mark round his middle, in order that when the vessel comes to an anchor he may be duly registered. Should the officers on duty be guilty of remissness they will be dismissed and punished.

"When the vessels reach the narrow and crowded parts of the canal, at *Soo-chow*, *Chang-chow*, *Chin-chow*, and *Yang-chow*,* let the military officers station themselves by rotation on the banks of the river, in order to restrain the disorderly conduct of the crews, and to prevent their ill-using and oppressing private merchants and individuals. When the grain junks enter any particular district, let the civil and military authorities of that district, attended by their soldiers and followers, resort to the spot, and exert themselves in quickening the progress of the vessels, as well as in the preservation of order† Let the chief superintendent, assisted by the *Leang-kwan*‡ and the military under him, exercise a rigid control, in order that the violent may be kept in awe, the progress of the vessels be attended with order, and commercial intercourse remain unmolested.

"*Khien-lung.*"

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* The three first of these cities are to the south of the *Yang-tsze-keang*, and the last to the north of it: their wealth and population are the causes of the canal being greatly crowded in their neighbourhood. There is every reason to suppose that the *Keang* is navigable by the largest ships as far as *Kwa-chow*, where it is crossed by the canal.

† It is a rule on the canal that all private vessels should make way for the grain junks, and the people in the grain junks frequently abuse the privilege.

‡ Officer who has charge of the government stores.

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XX. *Seizure of a Convict who had escaped from his place of Banishment.—Imperial Decree.*

5th moon, 4th day (31st May).

"*Lăh-ching* and his colleagues have made application for some rewards to be conferred, as an encouragement to others, on those soldiers who apprehended the convict that lately escaped from banishment on the frontier. *Saou-tan-paou*, who was convicted of an unsuccessful attempt to ravish his niece, and condemned to distant banishment on the frontier, made his escape on the road while being conveyed to the tribunal to receive sentence, but was apprehended one year after his flight. Let *Saou-tan-paou*, according to law, be condemned to a higher grade of punishment, and banished to serve with the troops in an unhealthy station, after having first worn the wooden collar for one month. Let those soldiers by whom he was apprehended be promoted when an opportunity occurs, in preference to all others. The proper board will take cognizance of it.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XXI. *Forging the current Coin.*

5th moon, 8th day (4th June).

An address is respectfully presented from the office of the general of infantry for the Imperial consideration.

"*Heang-yung*, *Chaou-tseuen*, and others, officers and soldiers attached to the police of the city, discovered and seized two offenders, since convicted of secretly coining (or casting) the current *tchen*. The two criminals, together with the counterfeit coin, the moulds, and other instruments, being brought before us (the general and his colleagues), we instituted a strict examination. *Chow-urh*, one of the criminals, deposed as follows. 'I am a native of *Fŭh-san-heen*, in *Shan-tung* province, aged forty-four. I came to *Peking* and lived in 'Handkerchief Lane,' beyond *Tung-pih* gate. I get my living by making ornaments for women's hair. About the beginning of the 4th moon, being in great want, I, in concert with a former acquaintance, *Tang-shih*, contrived a plan for counterfeiting old worn-out *tchen* by casting lead: we were to put them in circulation and share the profits. Being both agreed upon it, I procured a piece of stone, and made a mould for the coin, at the same time providing other instruments for the

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purpose. We borrowed an empty chamber in the *San-shing-meaou* * (Temple of the Three Holy Ones), in the immediate neighbourhood of where we lived, and coined upwards of seven thousand *tchen*. Having begun to put them in circulation, we were seized, together with all our instruments.' *Tung-shih*, the other criminal, deposed 'that he was a native of *Ta-hing-hëen*, in *Shun-tëen-foo*, aged thirty-eight years, and that he came to live in the same lane with the first prisoner.' The rest of his confession agreed with the preceding.

"We have found that counterfeiting the current coin is an offence of high degree. *Chin-urh* and *Tung-shih* having, on account of their poverty, combined for the purpose of casting this counterfeit coin with lead, are serious offenders, and we apprehend that they have coined a greater quantity than has been admitted in their confession. We humbly present this address, and request your Majesty's pleasure as to sending the two criminals, together with the different articles found in their possession, before the criminal board for trial."

XXII. *Distress at Peking.*

Introduction. There is every reason to be certain that *Peking* has suffered severely from an epidemic during the latter part of the late summer and the commencement of the autumn, though the circumstance is, of course, not directly mentioned in the Gazette. The private letters of Père L'Amiot, at *Macao*, from his friends at the capital, state the fact unequivocally; and the acknowledged severity of the famine during the summer occasioning a vast resort of the starving population to *Peking* (to procure food gratuitously, or at least at a very low price), affords a sufficient explanation of the causes of the pestilence. The following extracts from the Gazettes will prove the pressure of the distress.

Imperial Edict.

"On account of the drought† in the neighbourhood of the capital, and

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* For the Chinese characters see Plate xlii. No. 2.

† In the preceding year (1833) there were inundations not less severe than the present drought.

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the poverty of the husbandmen's fields looking in vain for enriching showers, we sent down our will, that altars for sacrifice should be erected at *Hih-hang-tan* and *Keó-tăng-sze*. During the last ten days, although there has been a very slight appearance of rain, it was quite inadequate to moisten the earth. Let our eldest son, *Yih-heng*, on the seventh day of the present moon, proceed reverentially to the temple of the Spirit of Heaven to worship, let the Imperial relative, *Mëen-kae*, proceed with reverence to the temple of the Spirit of Earth to sacrifice, let *Mëen-hin*, the Imperial relative, proceed with reverence to offer sacrifice in the temple of the Spirit of the Year; let our son, *Yih-chaou*, sacrifice also at the temple of the Spirit of the Winds. On the 6th day let them all lodge together in the palace at *Peking*, and on the 7th of the moon repair separately to those different spots, to supplicate for speedy and plentiful supplies of fructifying rain

"*Khin-tsze.*"

Another Edict

"Having sent down our will regarding the sacrifices to be performed by the princes and great ministers on the 7th of the moon, we now intimate that on the same day ourself shall burn incense at *Hih-lung-tan*.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

The crowded state of the capital is proved by the following extracts.

"The numerous resort of an hungry populace from the surrounding country has led to the occasional plundering of articles of food, and we have already issued our commands for restraining and controlling them. The censor, *Lang-paou-shin*, has reported that sundry vagrants, under the plea of want and starvation, have been committing depredations in the markets and other places of public resort, in direct contravention of the laws. The proper authorities are hereby commanded to issue proclamations on the subject, and exercise a rigid control, that the neighbourhood of the Imperial residence may be well governed and orderly. The erection of additional playhouses, as has been reported, being highly prejudicial to the morals of the people, the police of the city must also restrain and keep them within bounds. Let not this be regarded as a mere form.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

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"The different stations at *Peking* have distributed grain during a long continued period; but, on the 20th day of the 5th moon let them all be shut and the distribution cease, as the stores will not admit of further donations. The harvest is now approaching, and the people may return to their several districts to seek a livelihood by their own labour. Let the magistrate of *Shun-tëen-foo*, previously to the close of the distribution, make known to the people daily, when they receive their grain, that they must no longer tarry at the capital in a wandering and idle manner. Let *Tsëang-yew-tëen*, governor of the province, enjoin the district officers to exercise a strict vigilance, at the same time soothing the distressed populace, and preventing their wandering about in a dispersed and vagabond way, thus seconding our paternal solicitude to cherish them in our bosom.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XXIII. *Pecuniary Aid to those whose Dwellings were swept down by the Inundations of* 1823.—*Imperial Decree.*

5th moon, 19th day (15th June).

"*Yang-mow-teen*, governor of *Hoo-pih* province, has presented an address, stating that he has surveyed the districts in which the dwellings of the people suffered from inundations, and petitioning for a pecuniary grant towards their repair. Four Hëen districts in the province of *Hoo-pih*, viz. *Hwang-mei*, *Kwang-tse*, *Keang-ling*, and *Hëen-le*, as well as *Ke-chow-mei*, all of which suffered from the inundations of the last year, have been surveyed by the said governor; and he has found that the owners of both the tiled and thatched huts which were destroyed really do not possess the means of repairing them, and that they have stated nothing but the truth. On these grounds he considers they are, according to custom, entitled to assistance in rebuilding their dwellings. According to the tenor of his petition, let 3. 0. 0* be given on account of every tiled hut, and 3. 0. 0† on account of every thatched one, the sum total required being 18,081 taels‡. Let this sum be defrayed from the treasury as an extraordinary charge. The local magistrates of the districts must forthwith proceed in person and distribute the money, in order that the distressed people may

* About 8s. 4d. sterling. † About 4s. sterling.

‡ This gives above 50,000 houses or huts as the number destroyed.

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really experience our Imperial benevolence. Let them not permit inferior agents to embezzle the least portion of the grant; and when the business is concluded let a report be made.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XXIV. *Erection of additional Prisons at Canton—Imperial Decree.*

6th moon, 2d day (26th June).

"*Yuen* and his colleagues have presented an address concerning the expediency of erecting additional prisons at Canton. The convicted prisoners in Canton province are very numerous, and it has always been the custom for the several *Foo-chow* and *Hëen* districts to send their prisoners for trial, as well as all such robbers and associated banditti as have been apprehended in them, to the prisons of *Nan-hae* and *Pwan-yu-hëen*.* The said viceroy and his colleagues have ascertained that the existing establishment of prisons is so confined as to cause pestilential disorders and death among the prisoners from over-crowding, it is, therefore, right that for the future the number of persons confined therein be considerably lessened. In *Pwan-yu-hëen* there is, it appears, a spot on which the new prison may be conveniently built. According to the tenour of the address, let capital offenders from the several *Foo-chow* and *Hëen* districts of the province be confined in the old prisons of *Nan-hae* and *Pwan-yu-hëen*, but let those prisoners whose crimes do not subject them to a higher punishment than distant banishment be sent to the new prison. As the spot on which the new prison is to stand is close to the office of the *Ho-pih-so* (who has the control of all persons living on the rivers), let the said officer be the keeper of the prison, but no addition need be made on this account to his pay and allowances. The necessary expense of building, which has been calculated at 3,500 taels and upwards, may be disbursed by the viceroy, without sending in a particular detail. Let their resolutions be adopted in all other respects: the proper board will take cognizance of it.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XXV. *Presentation of Military Officers at Court.*

6th moon, 8th day (9th July).

"*Na-yen-chang*, viceroy of *Shen-se* and *Kan-suh*, respectfully presents

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* Districts of *Kwang-chow-foo*.

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thus address to his Majesty, concerning the expediency of extending the limits of the period at the conclusion of which military officers are required to present themselves at court. He looks up and intreats the Imperial attention.

"The fixed regulations require that general officers of the first and second degrees of rank should apply for permission to present themselves at court once in every three years. The object of this was to enable the servant to fix his thoughts on his sovereign, and to afford to the sovereign an occasion of bestowing his regards on his servant. In the case of those provinces which are near to *Peking*, the time consumed in the journey to court and back again is inconsiderable, and the expenses of the passage are therefore moderate; but in the frontier provinces, as *Yun-nan*, *Kwei-chow*, the two *Kwangs*, *Fuh-keen*, *Sze-chuen*, *Kan-suh*, &c., which are several thousand *lee* distant from the capital, the officers proceeding to court are harassed by a long and difficult journey, besides which, their duties remain at a stand-still for a great length of time. The uncorrupt pay of military officers is not large, and quite inadequate to the charges of their return; it is, therefore, likely that improper and corrupt practices may be yielded to, in order to supply their necessary expenses. Since, therefore, it appears inexpedient to adhere strictly to the prescribed period of three years, I, your slave, foolishly conceive that, in the case of the provinces which are near to the capital, the old rule should be observed, but as far as regards the distant and frontier provinces, I have humbly to request that the Imperial indulgence may be manifested, and that the prescribed period be extended one or two years, as a mark of the favour and compassion of your Majesty. I, prostrate, entreat to be informed of your Majesty's pleasure with regard to this proposition."

XXVI. *Locusts in the Province of Peking.—Imperial Decree.*

6th moon, 24th day (20th July).

"The Governor of *Chih-le* province has presented an address, recommending the dismissal of a district officer who neglected to present a timely report of a flight of locusts. In the several subordinate districts of *Gan-chow* a numerous swarm of locusts has lately appeared. The said governor explains the circumstance of his not having already reported concerning their extermination, and states that he has despatched proper persons to use all

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diligence in destroying the insects throughout those districts where they exist, in order that the grain may not be injured by them. The *Hëen* of *Yung-chun* district, *Ho-che-tsing*, who presented a confused report several months after the locusts had already appeared, and who failed to erect, according to established rule, stations for buying (or giving a reward for) all the insects destroyed, has been guilty of culpable remissness. Let him first be deprived of the ball on his cap, and let a limited time be fixed within which he must exterminate the insects. Should he again be guilty of remissness he will be further punished.

"*Khan-tsze.*"

XXVII. *A grain Junk burnt by Lightning.*

7th moon, 5th day (30th July).

"The Comptroller-general of the grain junks, *Wei-yuen-hei*, respectfully presents this address to His Imperial Majesty.

"The Commissioner of grain in *Hoo-pih* province has reported to me, that the second fleet of grain junks from thence arrived on the 18th of the 5th moon at *Yih-hëen* in *Shan-tung*, and stopped at the lock or flood-gate called *Tsin-chuen-chă* until it should be opened. On the 19th, between seven and nine o'clock in the morning, a hurricane arose, accompanied by thunder and lightning, when the vessel under the charge of *Hwang chang-tă* was struck by lightning on one of the masts, which ignited, and communicated the fire quickly to the whole vessel. The grain junks ahead and astern of the one on fire were immediately hauled off, and saved by the exertions of all those engaged, but the violence of the wind and of the flames baffled the attempts of those on board the burning junk, though happily they all escaped without injury. The cargo of grain, amounting to six hundred and twenty-one peculs (about forty tons), besides reeds, mats, fir planks, and large bamboos, together with other goods, were all consumed, nothing but the junk's bottom remaining. It was a distressing object for the eyes! Now it is proposed that the cargo of grain destroyed be made good by the owner in successive annual instalments, and that the other articles be brought again in the ensuing year.

"In addition to the above report, it appears from the statement of the

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district officers, that the master of the vessel had all his family and his property embarked in her; and the vessel and cargo being now burnt, his situation is distressful and embarrassed. As the event proceeded from causes which no care or foresight could prevent, and as the means of the master are not equal to making good the vessel and cargo at once, the Imperial goodness is petitioned, as a mark of tender compassion, to allow him to commence from the winter of the present year, and in the course of three years make good the grain destroyed. Besides addressing the Revenue Board on the subject, I most respectfully present this address."

XXVIII. *Plundering inroads of Hassacks, or Cossacks, on the Russian Frontier.—Imperial edict.*

7th moon, 11th day (5th August).

"An address has been received from *Ah-tse-keang-ah*, stating that some *(Ha-sä-kih)* Hassacks, headed by *Chen-tae-le*, had made an inroad through one of the passes on the frontier of *Ko-poo-to**, and carried off a number of cattle, having attacked and wounded the herdsman. The officer, *Chä-kih-sang-ah*, being despatched after the plunderers, had returned from the pass of *Hwuy-ma-e-la-hoo* without any of them being seized, &c. &c.

"The Hassacks being near the pass of *Tä-urh-pa-ho-tae*, which adjoins the Russian boundaries, the seizure of these robbers is of the utmost importance. Of late the Hassacks have every year made plundering inroads. It is necessary that they be seized and rigidly dealt with, in order to strike awe into foreigners and make manifest the nation's laws†. How happened it that the officer who was sent to seize the plunderers allowed such a length of time to elapse without apprehending even one of them? His remissness has been excessive. The commandant states that another officer, *Tä-lang-ah*, has since been despatched to exert himself in apprehending the offenders. Let *Chä-kih-sang-ah* be still kept at *Hwuy-ma-e-la-hoo*, to exert himself with the utmost diligence in seeking for the plunderers. Should he again make evasive excuses he will be severely punished. When it is discovered through

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* Chinese territory on the Russian frontier, between 85° and 93° long.

† For the Chinese characters, See Plate XIII. No. 4.

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what pass *Chan-tao-le* entered, let the officer who so negligently guarded it be cashiered and reported.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

XXIX. *Forbidding the practice of Witchcraft and unlawful Rites.—Imperial decree.*

7th moon, 18th day (19 August).

"The censor, *Le-fang-chin*, has presented an address, praying for the suppression of false doctrines and opinions.

"The religious ritual of the empire is founded on the sacred books.* To delude the people with unorthodox opinions is a great contravention of the laws. According to the report of the censor, a fane has again been erected to the superstition of *Woo-tung* at *Lan-kea-shan*, ten *le* (three miles) to the west of *Soo-chow-foo*. In the reign of KANG-HE the fane was destroyed and the idols burnt, and for a long series of years the superstition has been suppressed, but the sacrifices are now offered as before. The witches place a pretended confidence in the predictions of the spirits, and promise a fulfilment of hopes and desires, and the extension of their baneful practice is not confined to the jurisdiction of *Soo-chow-foo* alone: it is, therefore, highly requisite to adopt rigorous measures for their restraint and suppression. *Soo-yu-ting* and *Han-wan-le* (the governor and deputy) are directed to enjoin all the officers of the subordinate districts to destroy every trace of the superstition of *Woo-tung*. Let not the simple people be permitted to offer sacrifices or to associate with the votaries of the superstition. Let the magistrates issue instructions to all the heads of families to exercise a rigid control over their dependants. Let the whole system of false worship, calculated only to delude the uninstructed populace, with its burning of incense, collection of subscriptions, &c. whenever it is discovered, be immediately followed up by severe punishment, in order that the public morals may be improved and the hearts of men set right.

"*Khin-tsze.*"

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* Those of Confucius and his school. The established faith of China is a Rosicrucian system of presiding spirits or genii, both good and bad, both sylphs and gnomes: the former called *Shin*, and the latter *Kwei*. The government religion pays adoration to no "Great First Cause," and in fact differs but little from atheism. (See No. XXIII, No. XIII, et passim.)

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XXX. *Wreck of two Vessels from Loo-choo, or Lew-kew, near the Coast of Che-keang*

8th moon, 28th day (20th October).

"*Shoae-chang-ying*, deputy viceroy of *Chě-keang* province, kneeling presents to his Majesty this address concerning the compassionate treatment of some unfortunate foreigners, natives of *Lew-kew*, who have been wrecked. As by law directed, he respectfully submits all the circumstances of the case, and humbly entreats the Imperial attention.

"On the coast of this province foreigners in their vessels are occasionally driven by the winds, and in the event of their being foreigners of *Lew-kew*, it is by law and custom provided that they be sent to *Fŭh-keen* province, and when a convenient opportunity occurs transported back to their own country. *Lĭh-yu*, the acting magistrate of *Tae-hwan** district, has reported that on the 11th of the seventh moon the military commandant of *Tae-hwan* had sent to him six unfortunate natives of *Lew-kew*. The said magistrate inspected them, and found that they had long hair, tied in a knot on the top of the head,† and that they wore long flowing garments. Their speech was unintelligible. Among them was an individual who understood the Chinese character, and he being furnished with paper and a pencil was desired to write. He then wrote that they were people *from Na-pa-foo*‡ in *Lew-kew*, that the number of persons in the vessel was six, that on the 28th of the sixth moon they sailed from *Pĭh-shing shan*, an island belonging to their country, with a cargo of four hundred bags of grain, and meeting immediately with a hurricane which carried away their masts, their vessel became water-logged, and they were compelled to throw overboard the larger half of their cargo. Being tossed about at sea, they were at length, on the 8th of the seventh moon, taken on board by a cruizing vessel of war,' &c. It was further ascertained by the magistrate that the quantity of grain remaining in the vessel amounted to one hundred and seventy-seven bags, of which sixty-one bags were damaged by wet. There were, besides, four small bamboo boxes, containing various articles of food and of domestic use; no prohibited goods were discovered. The six distressed foreigners

* An island close to the coast of *Chě-keang*.

† See Plate XIII, fig. 5.

‡ The capital, called simply by the same name in Captain Hall's Voyage to Loo Choo.

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were then lodged in a temporary dwelling, and according to custom food and clothing were distributed to them. One among them, who was an invalid, was attended by a doctor. The damaged grain was spread forth to dry, and the hull of the vessel, as well as the masts and sails which had suffered, were repaired with all speed.

"Again *Chin-tsung-keu*, magistrate of *Ting-hae-hëen*,* has reported, that on the 11th of the seventh moon the military commandant forwarded ten distressed foreigners of *Lew-kew* to his office. The magistrate examined them, and inspected their vessel. As some of them were rudely acquainted with the Chinese character, they were desired to write, and stated nearly the same as the other people. On board this last vessel, which was very much injured, there proved to be one small horse, together with some grain and implements for smoking, as well as the clothes and baggage of the crew. There was, besides, a small boat on board, but no prohibited articles. The horse and the other property were delivered to the said foreigners, that they might take care of them within their own quarters, and clothes and food were distributed to each. Materials were at the same time provided, and workmen engaged for the repair of the vessel. I, the deputy viceroy, have received a report from the treasurer on the subject. The above-mentioned distressed foreigners having been driven by a tempest, and forced upon our shores, are greatly deserving of compassion. Every care being taken for their accommodation, and for the repair of their vessel, they will, as soon as the latter is completed, be conveyed to the capital of *Fŭh-këen* province, and detained there until a convenient opportunity occurs for their return to their nation, thus manifesting the compassion which *His Sacred Majesty*† entertains towards distant nations and people. Besides making the necessary communications to the proper Board, as well as to the Viceroy and Deputy Viceroy of *Fŭh-këen*, it is right that I present this statement of circumstances to the Imperial attention."

A reply in the vermilion character has been received.

"Let it be done according to the tenor of the address."

"*Khien-lung*."

* Another insulated district on the coast of *Chĕ-keang*, close to the port of *Ning-po*.

† More literally, "our Sacred Lord, or Master."—See Plate XIII. No. 6.

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Note. The summer and autumn of 1824 have been remarkable for the number of violent north-westerly gales, or typhoons, in the seas adjacent to China. No less than two European ships were wrecked on the coast of *Hoc-nan* alone, and numbers suffered the loss of their masts, &c.

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XXIII. *Of the Srâwacs or Jains. By Major James Delamaine, Bengal Army. Communicated by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., &c.*

Read February 18, 1826.

From what I can collect regarding the *Srâwacs*, or laity of the *Jains*, they appear to be the only considerable remnant in India of the earlier *Jains*, or *Arhatas*. They follow principally the trade of *Banyas*, dealing in grain; and as *Srâwac Banyas*, necessarily adhere to the *Jain* laws: but as their particular calling seems to have required rules for their guidance, much of the twelve *vratas** refers to their commercial transactions, as connected with moral duties. I do not think these *vratas* formed a part of the older *Jain* institutes at all; nor could such a code be brought to apply to any except the subordinate tribes, it being quite unsuitable to any purpose of government.†

The *Srâwac Yatis* have fashioned much of history and tradition to suit their particular purpose, rendering it doubtful what is their invention and what original. They admit that they have no longer the distinctions of caste, at least of the higher orders (this was most likely lost by them on their separation from the older stock); and that the extinction of the *Brahman* and *Cshatriya* classes was predicted by Bhadra-Bahu Muni, in his interpretation of the fourteen dreams of Chandraguptа, whom they make out in the *Buddha-vrhisa*, a *Dygambar* work, to have been the monarch of Oujein (Ujayani). The dream of the lotos also, which predicted that *Brahmans* and *Cshatriyas* will no longer choose the *Jain* faith, strengthens the common belief, that the *Jains* had never a distinct institution of four great castes, but formed them of proselytes from those already established. The *Yatis* of their own sects are their officiating priests. The *Srâwacs* do

* Major D. writes the word *Brata*. I have corrected the orthography here, as throughout the present communication, to adapt it to the system followed in the orthography of Indian words in the Asiatic Researches, and in the Transactions of this Society. The term is *Vrata*, a vow. It is an obligation superadded to a religious or moral one. See further on.—H. T. C.

† That the *Srâwacs*, or the more early *Jains*, had princes and sway, there is abundant proof.

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not scruple, however, to employ the services of the regular *Brahmans* as calculators of nativities and at marriages, &c. in the absence of fit persons of their own class.

The *Srávacs* seem to have thriven, and survived, in useful occupation, the wreck of their ancient faith. Some, probably all the *Jain* temples in *Mandu* and the neighbourhood, were built at the expense of the *Srávacs*. Several bear inscriptions two or three hundred years old, in which the founders of the temples always detail their pedigree, and celebrate how scrupulously they observed the twelve *vratas*. I have seen no inscriptions upon the pedestals of either sitting or standing figures older than the twelfth century of the *Samvat*.

Besides the *Jain* distinction of *Digambar* and *Swétámbar*, the *Srávacs* more or less differ, as *Oswals*, *Vaisyaparwárs*, *Hómars*, *Khadelwars*,* &c., and through connecting sects coalesce with the orthodox Hindus.† The inscription at *Bélábad*‡ (As. Res. Vol. ix, p. 270), shews how slight a difference existed in reality between them in the fourteenth century of our era.

Some, I understand, as the *Oswals*, eat at night, contrary to the *Jain* usage, and so much do the *Srávacs* differ among themselves, that several sects will not intermarry.

The following, detailed in the *Buddha-mála*, appertain to the *Banya* class.

Of the Dravér *Sect.*

CHINDA CHAND 'ACHARYA‖ lived in *Samvat* 536. His principal disciple, BÁRIA NAMÍ, separated from him, asserting the entire consistency of agriculture trade, particular kinds of bathing, with the *Jain* faith.

Of the Japalya *Sect.*

In *Samvat* 700, CULIS MUNI wrote a new *sástra*. He confirmed all

* Probably the same with the *Chandéwáls*. As. Res. ix, 291.—H. T. C.

† Noticed, too, in Sir John Malcolm's report.

‡ Belligola, according to Major Mackenzie.

‖ He seems to be a noted person in the *Srávac* annals. His name appears again in other traditions as living in *Samvat* 749—one, or perhaps both, wrong.—J. D.

He is named in the list of *Gurus* of *Belligola*. As. Res. ix, 265.—H. T. C.

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that had been said of *Digambar* and *Swetámbar*; and particularly asserted the right of women to final and lasting beatitude as well as men, and that they might attain perfect knowledge, and go to heaven, with their clothes and ornaments.

Of the Kásht'a Sankís.

They made wooden images in *Samvat* 798, and were instituted by *Cumár Sén*. He used the cow-tail fan, and red-coloured clothes.

Of the Nichik Sankís.

A sect at *Mat'hura*, founded in *Samvat* 990 by *Ráma Sen Acharya*, who introduced new *Tírt'hancaras*, and even required worship to himself. His partizans are called *Mat'hura Srávacs*, and none but these speak in praise of *Ráma Sen*.

Of the Tírt Pant'his.

In *Samvat* 1627, thirteen *banyas* rose in opposition to their *Yatís*, aided by AMARA CHAND, *Dewán* of the *Jayapur Rája*, at *Sangáner*. They were induced to this by the desire of wealth. They entirely excluded *gurus* and *brát'mans*, left off the offering of flowers or lamps to the gods, with the bathing of the *panch amrit*, and adored only their *Tírt'hancaras*. This implies a gradual separation from Hinduism, rather than progressive union, as is generally supposed.

The Tárana-pant'his.

Samvat 1687, *Tárana Pandit* founded this sect in *Malwa*. He was acquainted with the art of *Indrajala* (jugglng), by which he sent up papers to the sky. He then collected the multitude, and a book appeared to descend to him from heaven in their presence. He then read and explained it to them, teaching that they should worship no images at all. This *panth* seems to have derived its notions from the Mahammedans.

Though I consider the *Digamban* sect as far anterior to the *Srávac* traders, still as connected with the *Swetámbars* in forming a part of the *Srávac* body, they may as well find mention here.*

* The *Swetámbar Jains* appear now to be the prevalent sect, and although both the sitting and standing figures were represented by them, the former seems now to have obtained general usage.

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The *Digambars* differ in minute points of doctrine, and the *Swétámbars*, who appear by far the most numerous, are distinguished by a girdle round the waist, frequently made of silver chains. Each, as usual, claims priority, though there is little doubt of the superior antiquity of the *Digambars*. They are mentioned in the Hindu writings by name, as opposing the opinions of GAUTAMA regarding the soul, and Mr Ward quotes further from the *Padma Purán*, that these opinions were promulgated by an ascetic of that name. One of the six atheistical systems bears the same denomination.

They appear more particularly devoted to *Rishabh*, the first *Jina*, and to have been the naked wood-hermits of former days. *Kirti*, *Nandi*, *Bhójen*, and *Chandra*, are the usual titles of *Digambar Yatis*.

Of a reform in the habits of the *Digambars*, the *Buddha-vilása* relates as follows. CHANDRA-REKHA, daughter of the King of *Ujayani*, was requested by LÓKA-PÁLA *Rája* of *Sorat* (*Surashtra*), to whom she had been betrothed, to get some quere solved. Her *guru* was in consequence sent for from *Aanoj*, and on his approach the *Rája* went out to meet him, but as he was naked further interview was delayed. At the intreaty of CHANDRA-REKHA, however, who sent out clothes to him, he put on white cloth and entered the city, and was much respected. This circumstance is stated as the origin of the *Swétámbars*, who attained the number of eighty-four *gachhas*, or subordinate tribes.

The possession of fourteen articles is lawful to the *Swetámbars*: three waist-cloths, three wooden dishes, one string for them, one staff, one brush or broom (for sweeping the ground), one cloth for the mouth, two mantles, one half blanket.

The following tradition, also from the *Buddha-vilása*, relates to a famine, and the consequent establishment of the sect of *Ardhabhals*: it is founded, probably, on some real event.

The *Srawac* residents of the towns seem to have been living at their ease, while the unfortunate inhabitants of the woods suffered every indignity, and many even death. The tradition may afford a notion of the misery of these forest ascetics, who lived by charity, when numerous, and in seasons of scarcity.

One day BHADRA-BAHU went into the city of *Ujayan* to beg. While passing along, a boy of two months old cried out to him, "go away go away!" The astonished *Yati* asked why, the boy replied, "go away,

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there will be twelve years* famine in *Ujjáyan*, you must depart for the south." The *Yatí*, impressed with the truth of this, on his return to the woods desired his twenty-four thousand disciples to prepare to travel to the south, to avoid a famine, and the dissolution of their tribe. Thereupon BHADRA-BÁHU and CHANDRA-GUPTA ACHARYA and twelve thousand disciples went to the *Dakhin*, and performed their devotions in caverns.† Twelve thousand disciples with BISAKHA ACHARYA went in advance of BHADRA-BÁHÚ, and twelve thousand *Yatís* remained in the forests of *Ujjáyan*.

At length BHADRA-BÁHU left his cave to beg. CHANDRA-GUPTA, fearing his *guru* would be much troubled, obtained an interview with DÉVÍ, and implored her to prepare food for him. BHADRA, however, saw that it was illusion, that a woman had prepared it, and he returned. He was next day directed to a village filled with *Srâwacs*, but conjectured that the food was still DÉVÍ's, and returned without eating. Thus having at length accomplished the eight *carmas*, he went to heaven.

After a lapse of twelve years which CHANDRA-GUPTA passed in the worship of BHADRA-BÁHU, he fell in with and joined the party of BISAKHA ACHÁRYA, and much trouble appears to have arisen from those *Yatís* eating forbidden food prepared by DÉVÍ, which was discovered by one of the party having left his bundle of peacock's feathers behind; he returned for it, and found all that had appeared was an illusion.

In the meanwhile the *Yatís* who remained in the forests of *Ujjáyan* suffered greatly from famine. They had been promised food by the *Srâwacs*, but many of their bellies were ripped open afterwards for the contents, at length so many *Yatís* were killed by the *Srâwacs*, that the remainder were admitted into the city. In consequence, however, of a woman miscarrying from alarm at one of them, they were forced to wear half a white blanket.

When the disciples from the *Dakhin* returned to the forest of *Ujjáyan*, they were surprised to find the *Yatís*, whom they had left there, living in the city. Two persons were dispatched, therefore, for their chief, and BISAKHA required that they should atone for this dereliction. The town *Yatís* con-

* I conceive this to be a legend relating to the drought mentioned (vol. ix. p. 129, As. Res.) as having occurred in *Málwa*, in the reign of VIKRAMÁDITYA, when there had been no rain for twelve years.

† This subterrene body may probably have formed some of the excavations which still exist.

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tended, however, that they could no longer submit to starve in the woods; that the few who remained now got food, and that they must eat, but would comply with his other commands. Hence arose the *Ardhabhái*: and another account says, that from this, too, sprang many *Swétámbar* sects; and pretends that it was an *Ardhabhái* who framed the era of VICRAMADITYA, son of GANDHARPA-SENA, who favoured the religion of the *Jains*.

It might be supposed, however, from the following tradition, that this priority of the *Digambars* has not been fully admitted by the *Swétámbar* sect for many centuries back. It is from the *Buddha-vilása* also.

In *Samvat* 749 MUNI CUNDA CUND ACHARYA was chief priest of *Chitore*, where he eradicated bad notions, and introduced his own. One day a *Déva* came to him, and said he would do whatever he chose. The sage desired that he might be conveyed to *Bidehi-cshetra*.* On this the *déva* placed him on a celestial vehicle and carried him through the path of the skies. The brush of peacock's feathers which the sage bore fell to the ground, on which he told the *déva* he could proceed no further, but the *déva* supplied him with kite's feathers instead, and they proceeded without impediment to *Bidehi-cshetra*. There he worshipped the *Tírthancara*, since called MUNDIR SWAMI,† who was five hundred bow's length, or two thousand cubits, high. The *Chacravarti rája*, too, was sitting in the hall of the *Tírthanceras*, and on observing how small the *Muni* was, placed him on the palm of his hand, asking who it was with the branch of feathers and pot. They told him it was an *Achárya* from *Bharat khand*, but the *Chacravarti rája* called him *Ecl-áchárya*. The *Achárya* then went into the city of *Pandreeni*. The day of *Bharat khand* was the night of *Pandreeni*, and the day of *Pandreeni* the night of *Bharat khand*. He brought thence back to *Bharat khand* writings of the *Siddhánt*, and wrote verses and commentaries on them, and wrote eighty-four thousand stanzas on the *Matka* of *Mahabhash*.‡

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* *Vidéhi-cshétra*, same with *Vidéha-varsha*, *As. Res.* v. ix, p. 320.—H. T. C.

† No such *Tírthancara* is among the twenty-four *Jinas*. They appear to have been changed frequently: the sect of RAMA-SEN even made new *Tírthanceras*. However, in this narrative a different name is requisite, as there are three distinct sets of *Jinas*, consisting of twenty-four each, in three different *cshétra* or abodes of the deity.

‡ I imagine there is in this some allusion to Mohammed, and perhaps to Mekka or Medina. Mohammed (*As. Res.* v. ix, p. 118 and 148) is called *Mahábhat*, and made an antagonist of

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He then professed the *Malsangi* doctrine, and next travelled to *Guzerat* for the purpose of meditation, and ascended the hill of *Girunár*.

Here the *Digambar* and *Swétámbar* sects were collected for the worship of Néma náth, whose image was at the top. But they quarrelled about precedence, and priority of religion and worship, which was not settled till a voice from heaven adjudged it to the *Digambars*. Thereon they worshipped the image first, and the *Swétambars* followed, and Cunda Cund *Achárya* became highly celebrated as a *Digambar*.*

Besides those above-mentioned, from *Digambar* authority, the list from the *Siddhánta Sáróddhár* contains the following additional names of sects. As this, however, is a *Swetámbar* account, that sect is placed first and the *Digambars* follow, then come the *Chaudasya*, *Purnamiya*, *Bargachha*, *Khartaragach'ha*, *Tapagachha*, *Maldhárí*, *Achalya*, *Ajheya*, *Agariya*, *Bhusara*, *Pujárí*, and *Bhikhdhari*. Other names of tribes, as the *Dhandiyas*, &c. who are *Swétámbars*, are not mentioned in the *Siddhánta Sáróddhár*, and are probably modern sects.†

I shall merely make a short extract of another tradition, given by a *Marwar Yatí* from a *Srâwac* book said to be written by Cunda Cund *Achárya*, regarding another sect, called the *Bódha-matí*, as the veriest trifles may sometimes throw light on an obscure point. It relates that Bódha Kirti, a *Yatí*, who was the disciple of Vatsarí Yatí, while begging alms in the city of *Paldsapur*, suffered an indignity from a *súdra*, who had spat upon him, observing his miserable garments. This had been resented by a *banya*, who took upon himself to feed the *Yatí*. The *súdra* had, indeed, offered to do the same, but this was refused, as it was considered wrong for a *Yatí* to eat from the hands of a *súdra*. On another day, however, the *Yatí* going his rounds passed the same *súdra*, who imitating the *banya*, deceived the *Yatí* so that he ate from him, and took some food home, moreover, to his *Guru*, whom he found at his devotions by the river side. The *Guru* replied nothing

Vicrom. See also in p. 129 what relates to the *Mahábhatáwas*, &c. and p. 88, where *Mahabdú* there seems mentioned. And there seems some affinity between *Sádhu* (p. 129) a companion of *Muhammed*, and *Sumanabhdu*, a form of *Parmanáth* as *Marabhárí*. Muhammed, in the same page, is called a grandson of a King of India.

* The *Buddha vilára*, however, is written by a *Digambar Yatí*.

† Mr. Ward says there are five sects of *Jains*. This limited number can, however, only apply to a confined circle.

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to the offer, till BODHA KIRTI asked what offence he had committed: the *Guru* then said, "you have eaten the bread of a *sudra*, and must again be initiated as a *Yati*." BODHA KIRTI even vomited the food, but the *Guru* persevered in his expulsion. BODHA KIRTI, enraged, fled to the woods, put on red clothes and a sacerdotal string on his neck, seized his rosary with his right hand, which he held up, and placed the image of *Jina* before him and worshipped it; and from him was this sect known by the name of the *Bodha-mata*. I have inserted all this, as I do not doubt that the particular position of the hand and beads bears allusion to the representation of them in Mr. Salt's prints of sculptures in Salsette. (See the print opposite to p. 49, vol. I, Bombay Transactions, where the right hand is exactly in that position, holding the chaplet.) The figure, with pieces of history attached, seems applicable to PÂRSWANÂT'H (as will be mentioned hereafter), and the description of the particular position, whatever be its origin, must apply, I imagine, to the sect represented in *Kenera*, as well as to this tradition: yet these are generally called *Budhist* caves. They probably belong to a period when the sects were less distinct.

The twelve *vratas* of the *Srâwacs* are fulfilled by abstaining from the following actions or omissions.

Not to believe in *Bhagwân* (that is, *Jina*), and not to worship him; to give charity in hope of advantage; to praise other *gurus* and speak ill of one's own; to be friends with a false priest; not to extend mercy to all animals; to bore the ears;* to harass a debtor; to feed a person one day and not another; to slander; to relate the conversation of others; to discuss the affairs of government; to relate women's tales; to call charms spells, without proving them so; to receive stolen goods; to secrete a thief; to mix old grain with new; to break one's oath to one's prince for private advantage; to injure one's prince by commercial dealings; writing false accounts; giving false measure; to go to a widow; to keep a prostitute; to marry again; to be too attentive to one's pleasures; not restricting one's-self to a particular quantity of land, effects or cattle, and giving the surplus in charity; giving up one's

* It is odd that this should be prohibited in the *vratas*, when the figures of their saints are almost invariably represented with long drops or rings to the ears, appearing frequently like an elongation of the ear. But I have observed several in which the ear has been represented perfect, and the ring distinct.

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intention of going to any particular place; eating certain fruits with seeds, unripe grain, &c., following any profession requiring the aid of fire, as goldsmith, distiller, dealer in fried grain, brasier, smith, or wheelwright, pulling blossoms, to dam a running stream, to sell ground grain, musk, ivory, shells, agallochum, red arsenic, lack, indigo, orpiment, cords, boiled butter, oil, camels', asses', cows' hair or wool, iron, or opium, working at mills; castrating animals; eating fermented food, digging wells; building bridges, confining dogs and peacocks, thinking of commerce or speaking to others, in times of prayer, sitting on unclean ground, being frightened from one's position in time of prayer, sending on gossiping errands, ordering rich furniture, forcing attention to one's self, thinking of sensual pleasures while using the name of the deity, letting priests go away unrewarded, leaving prepared food uncovered, feeding one's self under the name of others, giving alms from ostentation, delaying food to a hungry person. These are noted as written by ANAND *Srāwac* in (*bhakhā*) the vernacular tongue, by order of MAHAVĪRA SWĀMI.

The observance of these restrictions only applies to such as have become devotees. Some engage with their *Gurus* to keep the vows for a certain period only (a month, a year, &c.) by way of gradual initiation, or for the expiation of crime.

The eternal existence of the world, including gods and men, is generally understood to form a part of the *Jain* system, and is adhered to in a great measure by the *Srāwacs*, though of man they entertain a notion, that fourteen pairs, from a former seed, on the reproduction of worlds sprang into existence from a cave in a mountain. They were of a very diminutive size, being only one cubit and a half high. These pairs, male and female, which were called *Yugaliyas*, produced NABHI RAJA and MORA DEVĪ. They were twins, and the first of a single birth from the last pair, was RISHABHA DÉVA. These *Yugaliyas* appear, however, to have thriven amazingly, for RISHABHA DÉVA, their first *Tirt'hancara*, attained a height of two thousand cubits. The books of the *Srāwacs* generally contain many pictures, and in that which mentions the *yugaliyas* is a representation of the fourteen couples in a row at the top.

Much that follows is from *Srāwac* authorities, but is more applicable to the earlier *Jains*, from whom they derive the ground-work of their faith, though it is apparently much disfigured by time and circumstance.

However nearly the *Jains* were allied to the Hindu faith originally, they

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cannot now with propriety be admitted of that class, so long as they deny the supremacy of their gods and védas, as at present at least accepted and understood by the orthodox party. Mr Colebrooke calls them a sect of Hindus, and the Hindus consider them a separation from their faith. In their *Sidd'hanta* the definition of *Jain* is stated to be one who observes the eight *carmas* (which will be mentioned hereafter), and spares animal life.

Even after having got the universe ready made, the *Jains* appear incapable of arranging consistently its parts and movements, and the pantheon of the Hindus, which they still acknowledge, would seem rather an useless piece of machinery, where the divine essence existing in their deified saints is the supreme, if not the sole object of their adoration. An original system would scarcely have introduced immortal gods, to make them of such secondary consideration. Such, however, having once been a part of their system, would, though superseded by saint-worship, still remain in some degree essential appendages to the minor purposes of ceremony and superstition. After all, it is not far removed from the Hindu philosophy, by which a *Yógi* may at once mingle with the deity without the interposition of the gods. Notwithstanding their want of system for the past, the *Jains* have the most exact and copious details relating to the future. Prophecy seems their forte, accomplished generally through the medium of dreams, a favourite and convenient mode with all antiquity, being a ground on which they may set criticism at defiance.

Of their ages past and to come, Mr. Colebrooke, &c. have given in the Asiatic Researches, probably the best account of which they are susceptible. But it avails little to useful research to detail *aras* and *sagaras*, periods too extended for the mind to conceive.

Dr Buchanan infers the priority of Buddhism from the aggravated improbabilities of the *Brahmans*. I think he has reversed the case. The greater profusion of gods and ages on the part of the *Jains*, is a strong evidence that they, at least, have worked on an older and simpler system. No less than sixty-four INDRAS and twenty-four DÉVAS are enumerated. One or two of them are worshipped daily, the remainder only occasionally. Some of these DÉVAS appear to be named after their BHAIRAVAS and other deities. One is named ARANARTH; and the fourteenth and fifteenth on the list are named KALA and MAHAKALA, agreeing with KALA and MAHAKALA, the names given to two of the gigantic sentinels pointed out at Ellora. I have only the names of five BHAIRAVAS, which are

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Jaya, Vijaya, Aparájita, Mana and Bhadra. These Bhatrávas are, I understand, directed to be placed at the sides of the images of the *Tírt'hancaras*, or as guarding the portals of the temples, and are probably some of the janitors whom we see at Ellora and elsewhere. Indeed, in Sir Charles Mallet's account of Ellora, Jaya and Vijaya are, I find, mentioned by name, so that some of the names given by the *Brahmans* there accord with the general tradition and *Srávac* annals, and are not set down entirely at random. The list was given me by *Yatis* from *Ujjayan*.

I imagine that the rows of male and female figures which we see in those caves are the Dévis and Indras above-mentioned, attendant on the superior divinities. On all occasions of importance, or the attainment of a particular end, as the founding of a temple, &c. the ten *dic-pals*, or regents of quarters, become also objects of worship among the *Jains*. They state them to be as follows: for the east, *Indra*, south-east, *Agni* (fire), south, *Yama*, south-west, *Nairrita*, west, *Varuna* (water), north-west, *Pávana* (wind), north, *Cuvera*, north-east, *Isana*, for hell, or the world below, *Dharanidhara*, for heaven, or the world above, *Sóma* (the moon). Perhaps some of the principal figures have reference to these *dic-pals*. We find, at least, *Yama* and *Cuvera* in the *Tintalá*, and others, bearing those names, scattered throughout Ellora. *Dharanidhara*, who makes so conspicuous a figure in *Párswanát'h's* history, seems to be *Sésha*, the chief of the snakes. The conch, which lies, I think, at the portal, may however refer to some form of Vishnu, who is *Dharanidhara*, upholder of the earth, as well as *Sésha*.

Again, the Brahmans shewat Ellora Rishabha and Sancara Achárya, the bane and antidote of the Hindu faith, in the same cave, which is rather appalling: but the names of *Jagannát'ha-sabhá*, *Indra-sabhá*, &c., may not be altogether erroneous, the *Jains* having their *Indras*, and *Jagannát'ha* is an appellation given by the modern *Jains* to Párswanát'ha in particular, which deity, indeed, or his more ancient prototype, presides in that cave. Nor do they seem to have rejected any mythology, if their saints are allowed to be supreme.

Besides *Jina* already mentioned, a general term for *Tírt'hancaras* as fit objects of worship, having attained absorption, another term is Arhanta. This state is defined in *Jain* manuscripts rather by negative attributes, than by any positive idea, requiring the absence of hunger, thirst, anger,

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birth, death, disease, sorrow, fear, surprise, negligence, pain, doubt, desire, secretions. In the same way, too, is a *Yati* constituted by the absence of care, of sensibility to heat and cold, of desire for abode, food, clothes, or proselytes.

I conclude the present number of the *Tîrt'hancaras* (twenty-four) to be fashioned after the twenty-four greater *avatâras* of the *Hindus*. The most important are RISHABHA, the first *Tîrt'hancara*, and PARSWANÂT'HA, the twenty-third. Concerning the rest, except, perhaps, NIMA and MAHÂVÎRA, but little information can be obtained further than how long they lived and how tall they were. The colossal stature attributed to these *Tîrt'hancaras*, however, and indeed to all their celebrated men, whether saints or princes, in their books and statues, shews how necessarily connected in their estimation were mental powers with personal size. These *Tîrt'hancaras*, as well as the *Yugaliyas*, I find represented in pictures, each with his emblem beneath, but not distinguishable otherwise. As the list given to me differs in no material degree from that in Mr Colebrooke's account, a repetition is unnecessary.

ADINÂT'HA or ADISWARA, another term for the deity, if we may so term their idea of purified matter, is usually applied to RISHABHA DÊVA, who is allowed by *Jains, Srâwacs*, &c. of every description, to be their first deified saint, and one who, whatever scattered notions may have before existed, was the first who reduced them to a system.

They say that he abdicated in favour of his son BHARATA, after a reign of great splendour, when he laid the foundation of the *Jain* faith, instituted their laws, and at length became insensible to worldly affairs, that his attenuated frame resolved itself into the deity, after an existence of eighty-four *lacshas* of *pûrvas* (one *pûrva* alone an inconceivable period). Another legend says, that his spirit left him, while standing under the sacred *vata* tree,* and fled to *Cailasa*. The *Charitra* or history of RISHABHA adds, that his son BHARATA erected on an extraordinarily high mountain, thirty-two *crôsa* high, four golden temples to his worship and memory.

This story seems to resemble that mentioned in As. Res., vol. ii. p. 261.

* Several fabulous trees are mentioned by Wilford (As. Res., vol. xi, p. 140, &c.), which "sprung up at the birth of JINA or BUDDHA." VISHNU resided among them, hence the sacred trees of the east, and perhaps of the Druids, &c. in the west.

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of the four cities with walls of gold in the ocean, of which *Lanca* was one. The mark of a bull on his foot is said to have been the cause of the choice of that emblem.

The *Hindus*, too, relate that this RISHABHA abdicated the throne of *Ayodh*, stript himself, and wandered towards *Canca*, *Benga*, and *Carnátac*. At length he reached the mountain *Catacachal** and strayed through the forests there, never eating unless fed by some one putting food into his mouth. These forests took fire, in which the saint, regardless of the flames, perished.

The Hindus have an (*avatára*) incarnation of VISHNU (one of the twenty-four) of the same name, and in answer to my inquiries regarding him, the same father and son, NABHI and BHARATA, are attributed also to him. He is placed very high, as to time, in the list given me, a few after CAPILA, VYASA being placed near the bottom. But no two lists agree. Of this RISHABHA *avatára*, the only information I could obtain was from a list in the *Bhágavata*, in which it is mentioned that the doctrines of the *Parama-Hanso* originated with him, and I conclude, on the whole, that these RISHABHAS are, in fact, one and the same.

All that we can gather from history or by the means of antiquities, tends strongly to the belief that these now incompatible sects were parts of one general system. RISHABHA, as well as SÁKYA,† CAPILA,‡ and VYÁSA, may then have been an *avatára*, and if the *Brâhmans* consider the *avatara* RISHABHA a distinct personage from him who founded the *Jain* sect, it may be out with the same motive which induces them to assert a distinct BUDDHA *avatára*, viz. that of denying men whose memory has from subsequent broils become obnoxious. At any rate, the great antiquity of RISHABHA, the son of NABHI, is attested by all. The information, too, given by the chief priest at Belligola, published by Colonel MACKENZIE, of his writings having become obsolete, and his language not understood by the common people, inducing the necessity for new books in explanation, adds to this idea.

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* I know not where this mountain is, but it seems to be the same which was mentioned before as the abode of the *Sídds*, and sacred to them.

† So called in the Islamabad inscription.

‡ CAPILA, too, the *Sánc'hya* writer, is considered a different person from the CAPILA immediately descended from MANU. As every celebrated person, however, was enrolled in the list of *avatáras*, which are innumerable, the discrimination may not be easy or decisive.

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ARHANTA is stated to have been a *Rájá*, who adopted and gave further publicity to the doctrines of RISHABHA. I suppose him to have given the name to the old *Jain* sect. The *Jain* priests, according to Dr. Buchanan, asserting ARHAT to be the proper appellation; and ARHANTA, now applied to the divine essence as attained by saints or *tirt'hancaras*, seems to have had the same origin.*

As the source of the *Jain*, or *Arhata* sect, is acknowledged by all to be RISHABHA *déva*, I do not know how to reconcile to this opinion the supposition of Mr. Colebrooke, that PÁRSWANAT'HA might be the real founder of the sect,† though, from the nature of his history, and his having engrossed almost exclusively the idolatry of the modern *Jains* or *Srâwacs*, it may fairly be surmised that his revised and more distinct system has been since adopted. The figures, as in the *Jagannat'ha-sabhá*, *Indra-sabhá*, &c. at Eilora before mentioned, certainly refer to *Jain* objects of worship, mostly obsolete, while the *Jain* temple on the hill may be taken as a specimen of the later form.

Emblems of the *tirt'hancaras*, such as the bull, deer, lotos, couch, &c., are observable before figures in the *tantalá*, &c., while around the feet of one of them in the northern caves I recollect several animals are represented, such as the rat, scorpion, and some others,‡ which are not reducible to any particular emblem that I am acquainted with. Still, as the *Jains* occasionally

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* *Arhat* and *Arhanta* derivatives from *arh*, to worship, are synonymous in the sense of venerable.—H. T. C.

† That supposition rests upon the surmise, that the history of RISHABHA and the other deified saints anterior to PÁRSWANAT'HA is mere fable. It is vain to look for any foundation in truth for the monstrous absurdities related of them, their more than gigantic stature, prodigious duration of life, &c. There is a nearer approach to sober history and credible chronology, amid much which is silly, in the account of PÁRSWANAT'HA. He lived to the age of one hundred years: his predecessor to one thousand. He flourished 1230 years before the date of the work which gives an account of him and of his successor: his predecessor more than eighty thousand years earlier.—H. T. C.

‡ Whoever in the *tantalá* may be the large central idols in the second and third stories, now called RÁMA and LACHHMANA, similar emblems are placed at the feet of images in the northern caves. They appear to be some animal trampling over a prostrate man, evincing connection between what is sometimes distinguished as *Buddhist* and *Jain*.

The circular hollows before several images in the *tantalá* and elsewhere, I was given to understand, were receptacles for collecting the offerings of grain which the *Jains* sprinkle in the form of *Swastica*, the emblem of SUPÁRSWA As. Res. IX, 303. I take the figures at the pedestals

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worship at these caves, though they have not the emblems of the *tirt'hancaras* disposed exactly as in the present day, we can only conclude their present arrangement of the twenty-four *tirt'hancaras* to be made from earlier types and appellations. Of changes in this respect frequent mention is made; and in Captain McMurdo's account of PÁRSWANÁT'HA* *Gaurika*, in the Bombay Literary Transactions, he quotes a tradition that "they (*Hémachárya* and the *Rájá*) resolved to establish the worship of twenty-four idols, in the form of the twenty-four *avatáras* of the *Srâwacs*," &c. These are evidently old gods under a new form, as they state them to have been introduced 2,500 years after PÁRSWANÁT'HA, though he is the twenty-third on the list.†

So far, then, the usual idea of the *Jains* being a modern sect may not be erroneous, the doctrines originating with RÍSHABHA, and continued by ARHANTA, dividing at periods of schism into more distinct classes, of which the *Jains* or *Srâwacs*, as now established, form one, and the modern *Buddhists*, as in Burma, Siam, Ceylon, Tibet, &c. another

PÁRSWANÁT'HA I consider only as another form of VISHNU, in his distinct character of preserver, and the sequel will, I think, shew that the histories of BUDDHA, son of SUDDHÓDANA, as well as of SALIVÁHAN, GAUTAMA, &c. &c. are, in a great measure, a jumble derived from the same source, with the addition of foreign legends. May not the history of the modern PÁRSWANÁT'HA then, with the rest, be a newly devised tale founded on these materials, with some particulars referring to a real devotee and reformer? The later sectarians appear to have merely given locality, name, and parentage, through the medium of saints or real existences, to original notions, varying the minor details as facts or convenience might dictate.‡

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above-mentioned to be representations of the chief events in the history of the images, in the same manner that we see them inscribed in the mythological pieces in *Kenera* before alluded to. By these the particular form of the god will be known.

* Some say there were two PÁRSWANÁTHAS, but I have learned no particulars to confirm this assertion: this may be the second.

† Under these circumstances of change, we need not be surprised at finding difficulty in recognising the gods of Ellora, &c.

‡ PÁRSWANÁT'HA passed through ten mortal forms before he was finally translated to heaven, and under each metamorphosis he found a foe. So VISHNU had his ten incarnations and his enemies. BUDDHA (but which BUDDHA we are left to imagine) had, according to Mr. Ward, the same number, and is sometimes surrounded by a hydra.

Major

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The names of the ten forms of PÁRSWANÁT'HA are MARABHÚTI, GAJA, DÉVA, KIRANAVEGA, SUBADHIMÁN, VAJRANÁBHI, SUBANÁBHI, CHAKRAVARTI, SUVARNABAHU, and PARSWANAT'HA, which are here detailed from the *Calpa sutra*. The account is childish enough, and parts, perhaps, introduced by the *Yatis* to suit the taste of their audience. A *Bhilla* (one of the foes of PÁRSWANÁT'HA) is an essential character on the *Malwa* stage.*

Some notes from the *Charitra-Párswandt'ha*, written by BRÍDDHA *Tapá-Gachha* in Samvat 1654, are included in the following relation.

History of PÁRSWANÁT'HA.

BHADRA-BÁHUT *Muni* writes, that there lived a *Rajá* in *Pótampur* named ARI-VIND. He had two *purohitas*, or family priests, one named CAMITA and the other MARABHÚTI: they were brothers, the elder, CAMITA, had a wife named VARUNA, and the name of the other's wife was VASUNDRA‡ The beauty of VASUNDRA attracted the attention of CAMITA, which gave great concern to MARABHÚTI, that he did not fail to express. At length he complained to the *Rajá*, and CAMITA was expelled the city. There then he stood outside, holding up in his hands a large fragment of rock, until one day his brother came to see him at his devotions, as he supposed, and approached him for the purpose of kissing his feet. CAMITA seized this opportunity, and casting the rock on his brother's head, destroyed him, and thus terminated the first *Janma* or birth.§

Major Wilford (As. Res., vol. xi, p. 59) says BUDDHA is VISHNU. The same writer quotes also from a *Jain* work, that SÁKIYÁMAN is a form of *Jina*.

* The detail does not exactly agree with the above ten forms, which accounts, perhaps, for its not corresponding in every respect with the Salsette figures before noticed.

† I suppose this is the same BHADRA BAHU who led the *Yatis* to the *Dakkan* and died there, and who interpreted the dreams of CHANDRAGUPTA.

‡ These marriages do not savour of *Jain* celibacy, but all the allusions are *brahmanical*, excepting in the last form.

§ I was struck on looking over Mr Salt's representations of figures at the Kenara caves, (in Bomb. Trans. vol. I. with the resemblance between these metamorphoses and the groupes represented there. I allude to the figure p. 49. with the small mythological pieces on each side. In these the position of CAMITA casting the rock on his brother's head is very exactly represented: and I think the forms of the *Sesha*, snake, or dragon, and the *Rakshe* and *Gana* attending the *Sadhus*, may be as distinctly traced. The third figure that constantly hovers near I can

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MAHABHÚTI became GAJA (the elephant) in his next form; and CAMITA died under his penance, becoming *Girgitmar*.*

ARI-VIND the *Rájá* resolving on becoming a devotee, inquired of BHADRA *Achárya* about the *Astápad Tírt'h*; and in company with the *Sádhus*, went on a pilgrimage thither. The travellers were drinking at a tank when a furious elephant approached. This alarmed the *Sádhus* but when ARI-VIND assumed the devotional posture, the elephant recognized him and his own former state, and made obeisance to him with his trunk. GAJA was even much edified by the instructions which he received from the *Sádhus*, and departed; and ARI-VIND continued his route on the pilgrimage. GAJA afterwards, having been disabled by sinking into a quick-sand, was attacked by his old enemy *Girgitmar*, whose bite on the head proved fatal to the second birth of PÁRSWANAT'HA.† *Girgitmar*, on dying, descended into the fifth hell; while *Gaja*, on the contrary, became a god, and reaped among the gods seventeen *ságars* of years. Thus passed their third form.

The fourth birth of PARSWANÁT'HA was in the person of KIRANA VÉGA, son of *Rájá* VIDYA DHARA. On KIRANA VÉGA's becoming old, he placed his son on the throne and became a saint. He was in this state assailed by CAMITA, under the form of a serpent, and destroyed, but KIRANA VÉGA was restored to the gods, and CAMITA entered the sixth hell.

The soul of MAHABHÚTI now travelled to the westward, into the *Mahábhidés*‖ *cshetra*, to *Subhangacara nagar*, where *Rájá* VAJRANABHI resided; but becoming convinced that the world was all deceit, he took post as a saint on the hill *of Sugach*, and was killed by CAMITA's arrow, who after many transmigrations in hell had assumed the form of a *bhilla*. VAJRANABHI be-

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make nothing of, but a guardian angel. Time and circumstance will account for some little variations but I can only conclude, that those representations and this narrative refer to the same persons and events. Mr. Salt calls the figure VISHNU.

* Perhaps a compound of *Gírgit*, a lizard, and *mar*, a snake. Persian words are also used in treating of the *carmat*.

† Major Wilford speaks of Guze Busty, the Japanese BUDDHA, as derived from *Gaja Vastáta*, or he who resides in the body of an elephant. And *Gaja Vastáta* is mentioned in As. Res. (vol. x, p. 96) as the last of the ten incarnations of BUDDHA. A Jain tract, too, (As. Res vol. ix, p. 243) mentions that JINA in his last incarnation as GAUTAMA, appeared in the shape of a white elephant. We see the same tradition throughout, somewhat diversified.

‡ As SURENDRAM, I conclude, the fifth form.

‖ The country before noticed.

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came the god *Laitang*;* and CAMITA, for his sins as a *bhilla*, now descended to the seventh hell.

Then the spirit of MARABHÚTI returned to *Mahâbalês cshêtra* into the person of VAJRABÁHU † *Rájá*, then to his son named SUVARNABÁHU (whose mother had fourteen dreams). he conquered six *khands*, and became a *Chacravarti rájá*.‡ During a conversation with one of the *Sadhús*, SUVARNABÁHU was apprised of his former state, and became a devotee. He read the twelve *angas* with DAMÓDARA *Acháryá*, and paid his devotions at twenty *tîrths*. He then took post in a cave in a hill,‖ and again fell a sacrifice to CAMITA, who on leaving the seventh hell had become a *sinha* (lion). SUVARNABÁHU again took up his abode with the gods, and CAMITA dying as a *sinha*, went back to the fourth hell.

CAMITA, after taking many forms of brutes in hell, bore afterwards the same name as the orphan of a *brahman*. In this state he discovered that austerities were the only way to acquire celebrity He then established the ceremony of the *panch-agni*, or five fires; that is, exposure to four blazing fires on four sides, and the sun above. Now, too, the soul of MARABHÚTI left the gods, and in *Jambu dwípa* (at Benares) was born in the house of *Rájá* ASWASÉNA, a *Suryavansi* § his mother was BÁMÁ-RÁNÍ. This was a pair renowned for their good qualities. BAMA-RANÍ, awaking from a dream, found a snake entwined round her loins,¶ and after a ten months' preg-

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* SUBHADHRI succeeds VAJRADHRI in the list perhaps the saint he personified bore that name

† This corresponds with the eighth form, as CHACRAVARTI. The title appears, however, more applicable to the next.

‡ This is a very convenient mode of adopting any great man as one's own it is easy to put a soul into him.

‖ This seems to be the favourite situation of saints of yore, and probably their abode suggested the idea of perpetuating the same by sculptured excavations. Thus, when their size admits of it, they are represented generally in caves, or as under some sacred tree.

§ The *Tema Jata*, a Burman history of one of the incarnations of BUDDHA, says a *Bódhisatwa* was incarnate in the womb of CHANDRA DEVA queen of a *Rájá* of Benares. (*Ward.*)

¶ This reminds me of the curious Saxon female idol, described in the Universal History as found among seven others at Montmorillon in Poitou. She has two snakes entwined round her legs and loins, exactly in the same manner that PARSWANATHA is represented with DHARANIPHARA and PADMAVATÍ twisted about him. Of this Saxon idol nothing seems to be known, so they set her down as the moon and the name of *Chandra*, above, is very *apropos* for them. The twigs already mentioned as represented in the same way at Ellora, Belligola, &c. are, I imagine,

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nancy* was delivered of a beautiful child, bearing upon it the mark of a snake. The interpreters of dreams and astrologers announced the birth of a *Chacravarti* (*Tirt'hancara*, who, from *parswa*, the side (round which the snake was folded), obtained the name of PARSWANAT'HA. The rejoicings of gods and men were very great on this occasion, and he was recognized at once as a divine being.

At a very early age the mother wished to take her son to see the worship of the *Panch-agni*, as performed by his former, though now unknown, enemy CAMTA. PARSWANAT'HA reprobated the ceremony, saying it was unmeaning, but acceded to his mother's request. They mounted their elephant and crossed the Ganges, the worship being performed on the opposite side. On arriving at the spot, the *Brahman* redoubled his devotions, but he was heartless. He neither knew of, nor, when told, regarded two snakes that were perishing in the flames. It was by a miracle of *Bhagwán* PARSWANAT'HA) that they were saved. PARSWANAT'HA upbraided him, and gave a different interpretation of the *Panch-agni*. He said that there was no religion without mercy, and that as much difference existed between *dayá-dharma*, compassionate virtue, and *adayá-dharma*, uncompassionate virtue, as between mount *Mêru* and a grain of sand. *Bhagwan* then demanded the release of two snakes from a certain stick among the fuel, but the devotee did not allow that any

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emblematical of the *Asôca* tree, stated to be peculiar to *Arhaut*. GÔMAT RÁJÁ was worshipped as *Arhanta* or *Jinêswra*.

* Much in the same manner was the birth of GAUTAMA accounted, and in ten months also (As. Res. vol. x, p. 254) and *Sácya*, according to the Lalmahal inscription, required a gestation of ten months and ten days. *Sacya* is there identified with BUDDHA *Avatára* as being a form of him. The mother of SALIVÁHAN also became pregnant, by the great serpent's gliding over her (As. Res. vol. x, p. 60). Some make twelve years the period of pregnancy.

All accounts concur in the supernatural conception, by the side, of BUDDHA the son of SUDDHÓDHNA, or GAUTAMA *Sácya*; and, *ad hoc*, of all those whom it may be an object to identify with him.

† This, applied to PARSWANÁT'HA, under his present form, appears to be figurative, as he did not aspire to dominion. VARDH, however, was a *Chacravarti*, and the title seems to relate to the combined dominion of priest and king, as with the ancient Persian monarchs, who held the same emblem, the *Chacra*. All these saints are made out to be *Rájás* or kings. The last, however, MAHAVIRA, according to Mr. Colebrooke, is acknowledged to have been the offspring of an indigent *Brahman*, though the transfer to a prince's family has been considered necessary for effect; and BHADRA-BÁHU (before mentioned) predicted wisely, in the interpretation of the dream of the broken celestial tree (*supra-vrisha*), "that saints would no longer be kings."

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were concealed therein, saying, a prince was little acquainted with these matters but PARSWANAT'HA broke the stick, upon which the snakes escaped, and approached and worshipped him*, they became DHARANÍDHARA, and PADMAVATÍ. The multitude then applauded the *Jain* faith, and CAMITA, ashamed, sneaked away.

JAGANNAT'HA (*i. e.* PARSWANAT'HA) then walked on foot, and crossing the Ganges, removed the accumulated sins of that river.† Thus had been refused to GANGA DEVI, but *Sahasra Muc'ha* (the one thousand mouths, an epithet of the Ganges) apprised INDRA, that *Sri* PARSWANAT'HA, residing five *crósa* from *Benares*, who never spoke ill of another, who never coveted the wife or property of another, who never became the enemy of another, was fit to accomplish it and the river was purified when the foot of PARSWANÁT'HA was placed in it.

The *Rája* now learned, that at *Cusast'halapur*, a city in the west, NARAVARTAMANA had become a proselyte to the *Jain* faith, and vacated the throne in favour of BASÁNASITA. This BASÉNASITA had a beautiful daughter, named PRABHÁVATÍ, for whom he was anxious to obtain a suitable match. PÁRSWANAT'HA proved so, and after due solemnities married her.‡

PARSWANAT'HA, during a journey to *Banga-hát*, took occasion to relate to his wife the tale of NÍMI NAT'HA, who, having prepared for his wedding, anticipating the destruction of animal life that would in various ways ensue, became disgusted with the world and its usages, returned home without marrying, retired to the hill of *Girnár*,‖ and became a devotee. PÁRSWANAT'HA added, that he should follow the example. From this PRA-

* SALIVAHAN too, at five years of age, defeated his teachers in discussion, and used to play with snakes. (*Wilford.*)

† The *Jains* I am informed, do not hold rivers sacred, nor have they *tírt'hás* (places of pilgrimage) upon them.

‡ Captain Mahoney, from Singhalese authority says GAUTAMA, son of SODDHÓDANA, married YASÓDHA and kept forty thousand concubines. The Jalamahal inscription says, *Sácya* married VASUDHARA. These appear to be the same with *Yasodhá*, the wife of PARSWANAT'HA in his first form. Dr. Buchanan informs us that the traditions of Godama (GAUTAMA) are so various in the Burma dominions, that none can be considered matter for historical conclusion they are all, however, evidently a jumble from the same source. (*Ward, &c.*)

‖ I am told that the hill of *Girnár*, at *Junagerh* in *Kattamar*, is still in great repute, and undergoing considerable improvement, that there is, among other figures to be seen there, a gigantic one of PARSWANAT'HA, though from what has been mentioned of CUNDA COND *Acháryá's* visit,

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BHÁVATÍ did not dissent, and the *Deva* SOOANTACA now informed him that the period for his retirement had arrived, by which he would atone for the sins of mankind. Acclamations of *Jaya! Jaya!* then proceeded from the heavens. He knew, indeed, by intuition (*urddhwa gnyana*), that this was really his period for retirement and devotion, he therefore returned home, gave away his goods and lands, and at a fortunate moment left his house to the sound of music, and retired to the woods. There he was placed under an *ásóca* tree,* parted with his ornaments and jewels, and spreading wide his locks (after the manner of *Yatis*) with his fingers, tore from his head five handfuls of hair; then commenced his fast of three days, during which he never even drank water, and he continued in this state seemingly unconscious and insensible. INDRA took his clothes.† It was at the first *pahar* of the morning on the tenth of *Pausha-badi* (dark-half) in the *Visac'hanacshatra*, that he departed from his home, and three hundred artisans, who were householders, became devotees at the same time. Eighty-six days elapsed during his state of seeming insensibility, and there appeared no hope of his living. Gods, men, and the brute creation were exceedingly afflicted, they gathered round him, and by virtue thereof attained the knowledge of their former births.

PARSWANAT'HA remained on the mountain of *Cálí*, in the devotional position. On the approach of an elephant it became conscious of its former existence. It recollected having been an ugly deformed son of a *prad'hán*, whom every body hated, and who therefore went to a *sádhu* on *Cálí* mountain, with the intention of sacrificing himself, but the *sádhu* told him he could never thus rid himself of mortality. He then became a devotee, and per-

I should conjecture it rather to be NEMI-NATHA and on Mr. Colebrooke's list of *Tirthancaras*. Nimi is stated to have died at *Ujjaina*, which is supposed to be the same with *Girnár*.

This hill is equally sacred to *Hindus* as to *Jains*, and I am informed, that among the various temples there, one of *Mahádéva's* bears the strongest marks of antiquity. Would both have thus remained had animosity reached the extent we are led to suppose? Some particular cases of excesses in this respect may have occurred, but in the temples I have had an opportunity of visiting (and both kinds are generally found at the same place) no appearance of premature decay or dilapidation is perceptible. but time seems to have dealt with both with an even hand. one party may have occasionally appropriated the temple of a rival sect.

* *Jonesia Asoca. Roxb.*

† The gods took and shared the clothes of BUDDHA also on his leaving *Gópa* for the wilderness.

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formed the *Bhol Tapasya*, which is intended to promote *mucti*, or final absorption, but he was thinking of being tall at the time instead of attending to his devotions, and became an elephant after death.* On learning this, he bathed PARSWANAT'HA with water from his trunk and worshipped him. PARSWANAT'HA desired him to abstain from food, he did so, and by death at length found a place among the gods. The prince of the country built a temple, and made a *Cunda*, or well, on this mountain, and placed a figure of PARSWANAT'HA therein, and also the figures of six elephants fronting the image, in commemoration of this event; and hence *Cali-cunda-tirt'ha* became noted.

Another instance is related of the effects of error in worship and thought, in a diseased *Brahman* of *Nagara nágrama*, who came to PARSWANAT'HA to resign his life, which PARSWANAT'HA by a *mantra* effected, but the *Brahman* became a cock. This he ascertained by means of a *sadhu*, and immediately abstaining from food, died, and became the *Iswara Raja* of *Iswarapúri*. When PARSWANAT'HA by degrees reached this place, knowledge of this transformation was gained by the *Rája*, who immediately from gratitude erected a temple to *Bhagwan* (PARSWANAT'HA) of black stone, containing his image nine cubits high, and six temples with the figure of a cock.† Hence *Cucuta'swara tirt'ha* became established.

Now CAMITA, who had by the force of *Tapasya* become the god *Megha cumára*,‡ observed PARSWANAT'HA in the devotional posture, and recollecting his old enmity transformed himself into a *racsha*, magnifying his form excessively after their manner; then, as SUSARDEL, attacked him in various manners but PARSWANAT'HA stood firm. CAMITA then cast on him light-

* We can only wonder how such tales gained belief and currency. They shew at least, what ideas the *Jains* themselves entertain of transmigration, of its nature and causes, and may enable us to guess at the motives of the various representations we see of the brute creation in concert with, or attendance on, their saints. I do not doubt that the elephants, as at *Ara* and elsewhere, have reference to tales connected with the *Gaja* incarnation. Of the veneration in which elephants and their relics are held we have frequent instances.

† I am told that it is a common custom with *Jains* to make a tinkling with a bell, or other noise, while eating, lest the crowing of a cock be heard, in which case they would reject their food. Whether the custom is connected with this tale I know not. The barking of a dog too, is equally disliked.

‡ Cloud's son.

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ning and rain. This continued till the water reached the chin of Parswanat'ha, and the abode of Dharanidhara itself (*Patala*) began to shake. Dharanidhara conjectured by *urddha-jnyana* (intuition) that Parswanat'ha was in danger from Mégha cumara, whereupon he and Padmávati came to the earth and overshadowed the head of Parswanat'ha, and Padmavati raised up his feet till the flood reached only to his waist. Mégha cumara then saw the inutility of further enmity, and prostrated himself before Parswanat'ha, to the acclamations of *jaya!* or victory, and for three days afterwards the serpents (Dharan(dhara) continued at *Seva nagara*, to overshadow the head of Parswanat'ha as with a *ch'hatra* or umbrella; and hence the place obtained the name of *Ahi-ch'hatra-nagari.**

Thus Parswanat'ha, who bore persecutions and misery, completely fulfilled the eight *carmas*, and after a lengthened fasting and meditation, and eighty-three days continuance in a devout posture, became *sawwa-arúam* (knowing the history of all life) while standing under the tree called *dhátwri* in the first *pahar* of moru. He sojourned many years on the mountain of *Sikhar*, and thence was transferred to heaven. He left eight disciples—10,000 men and women became devotees through Parswanat'ha: 163,000 men and 327,000 women became *Srawars*,† 350 became *Purwadhars*, or readers of the *Purwa*, and 1,400 men became *Buddhi-dhyana*, or possessing internal light; 1,000 became *Cewala jnyani*, 700 *Parra-jnyana*, and 1,200 *Anuttara gati*, (degrees of spirituality or intellect taught in the *carmas*); 600 became orators, 600 geographers, and 1,100 attained the power of magnifying or diminishing their form.

Parswanat'ha resided with his family thirty years. Eighty-three days was he quite absorbed, and during sixty-three years, nine months and seven days he possessed the *Cewala-jnyana*, one whole month of which he abstained from food. Thus he lived altogether one hundred years, and on *sráwan sudi ashtami* (eighth lunar day of *sráwan*, bright half) with *Visakha Nacshatra* and

* This describes pretty exactly the form of the snake as we see it represented over the head of Parswanat'ha. The symbol is, however, of much earlier date, and I believe applicable to Vishnu, which implies the overshadowing. He lay sideways on it in the waters.

† All this favours the idea of the institution of a modern sect diverging from a former affinity to Hindoism, through the medium of enthusiastic ascetics. We here see them gaining numerous proselytes, and discountenancing the mummery of the *panch-ágni*, &c.

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Chandrama sanyôga,* after the second *pahar* of night, upon *Samet Sikharat* beneath a *chironji* tree,† he obtained *murti* (*mócsha*) or final absorption.‖

Of the CARMAS.

The *Carmas*, as detailed to me, appear to define the powers and dispositions of the mind and senses in all situations, and the duration of punishment or reward, according to the employment of them, or the subjection in which they may have been held. In treating of them, the virtue of apathy or stoical indifference is strongly insisted on: the names, too, of different parts of the body are included.

The *Digambaras* divide the eight *carmas* into one hundred and forty-eight *pracritis* or natures, and the *Swétámbaras* into one hundred and fifty-eight.

The first *carma* is called *Jyndna varni*, and is divided into five natures,§ meaning the power of concealing wisdom, by which, though dark without, unlimited light and knowledge are attained within, as closing the eye-lids conceal yet strengthen the powers of sight. The non-attainment of this faculty is visited by a residence on earth of thirty *cror* of *ságarópamas*.

There are three hundred and sixty-six different modes in which the soul, desirous of the fulfilment of religion, may be obstructed by the body. The degrees of intellect are described as consisting in the knowledge of what passes five *cos* round, or five hundred, or in the three (*locas*) worlds. The knowledge, too, of the hearts of others is necessary to *tirthancaras* from their birth. In the fourteen *locas* is comprised the attribute of knowing internally the past and the future.

The second *carma*, called *Darsana varni*, has nine principal natures on the

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* Conjunction of the moon with the sixteenth asterism.

† Mr Colebrooke's note, As. Res. v. ix, p. 340, alludes to this place. He says, "*Samet-sikhara*, "called in Major Rennell's map *Parasnath*, is situated among the hills between *Behar* and "Bengal. Its holiness is great in the estimation of the *Jains*, and it is said to be visited by "pilgrims from the remotest provinces of India."

‡ *Chironjia Sapida*. *Roxb.*

‖ As the last form coincides with the short notice of PARSWANATHA given by Mr Colebrooke (As. Res. vol. ix, p. 309.) I conclude some dependence may be placed on its correctness.

§ These have also each a separate name, and are again subdivided, so that it would be tedious to enumerate them.

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benefit of abstraction, the non-possession of which prohibits the attainment of *mucti*, or final beatitude. It relates also to sleep, awaking of one's own accord, being awake, sleep-walking, &c. Whoever sleeps to the degree of *Bahudéva* will be banished to the seventh hell. It also treats of the impediments to a knowledge of the past and the future.

The third is the *Bedan carma*: it has two natures. Whoever makes no distinction between pleasure and pain, shews his perfect wisdom, and he who is neither happy under prosperity, nor unhappy in misfortune, possesses the *Bedan carma*. He, who distinguishes between them, will have thirty *crór* of *ságaropamas* of births in this world. It treats of receiving and giving comfort, and of receiving pain by giving it to others.

The fourth *carma* is *Mohaní*, which bewilders the mind, and is not controlled by INDRA, DHARANIDHARA, or CHACRAVARTI. It acts like intoxication. It treats of the four migrations in one person, from a god to a man, to a brute, and to hell: also of truth and falsehood, of full belief in gods, priests, and the true faith, of anger, which sears the soul of the enraged as well as that of the object, like flaws in a rock not to be effaced, of pride, which shakes a pillar that supports nought, of enmity, injurious to both parties, like the chafing of a knotty pillow, of avarice, which disfigures the heart with an indelible stain, of enjoyment, of contentment, of pity and immunity, of those who in dying think of a woman, and become women in the next birth, and of women who become men in the same way.

The fifth *carma* is called *áyka*. It treats of souls passing into wood unchanged, through the four states, and of births in hell.

The sixth *carma*, called *crama*, comprises ninety-three *prácritis*. It treats more of the four estates, then of the different degrees of faculty or intelligence in the existence of earths, plants, shells, &c. which come to naught, of the lowest class of animals, such as vermin, worms, &c., then of bees, flies, &c., which have a little intelligence, of animals and man which have intellect, of the names* of different parts of the body, and of various births, of beauty, deformity, good or evil disposition, &c.

The seventh is *Gótra carma*: whoever overcomes this, will obtain *mucti*, and mould imperfect existence as a potter his earthen pots.†

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* Thus the account rather presents a list or vocabulary than information.

† This *carma* contains more on the subject of transmigration, but unintelligible to me.

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The eighth is *Antara carma*. It treats of avarice, wealth, possessions, pleasure, and poverty *

Twelve *angas* containing various parts of knowledge and science, are also mentioned in the *Calpa sútra*, as a part of the Jain scripture, also fourteen *purvas*. However, I suppose they are vanishing, in practical utility at least, as Bhadra Bahu thought fit to interpret the dream of the setting sun, as signifying that in the fifth *ara* priests shall not know the eleven *angas* (one having been already lost) nor the fourteen *purvas*.

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* The eight *Carmas* of the *Jainas* will be explained in an essay on the opinions of the *Jainas*, *Bauddhas*, and other sectaries, which will shortly be laid before the Society. As the two accounts are derived from quite different sources of information, it has not been thought proper to alter or modify any thing here said on the subject. H.T.C.

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XXIV. *On the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part III.* By Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.

Read March 4, 1826.

INTRODUCTION

Of the six systems of philosophy received among learned Hindus, four have been noticed in the preceding parts of this essay, viz. the theistical and atheistical *Sánc'hyas*, the dialectic *Nyáya*, and the atomical *Vaiseshica*. The prior or practical *Mímánsá* will be now considered; reserving the later or theological *Mímánsá*, usually named *Védánta*, for a future disquisition, should it appear requisite to pursue the subject, much concerning it being already before the public.

The object of the *Mímánsa* is the interpretation of the *védas*. "Its purpose," says a commentator,* "is to determine the sense of revelation." Its whole scope is the ascertainment of duty. Here *duty* intends sacrifices and other acts of religion ordained by the *védas*. The same term (*dharma*) likewise signifies *virtue*, or moral merit; and grammarians have distinguished its import according to the gender of the noun. In one (the masculine), it implies virtue, in the other (neuter), it means an act of devotion.† It is in the last-mentioned sense that the term is here employed, and its meaning is by commentators explained to be "the scope of an injunction, the object "of a command,‡ a purpose ordained by revelation with a view to a "motive, such as sacrifice commanded by the *védas*, for the attainment of "bliss,"§ and such indeed is the main scope of every disquisition.

The prior (*púrva*) *Mímánsa* then is *practical*, as relating to works (*carma*) or religious observances to be undertaken for specific ends, and it is accordingly termed *carma-mímánsá*, in contradistinction to the theological, which is named *Brahme-mímánsá*.

It is not directly a system of philosophy; nor chiefly so. But, in course

* *Símansá'ka* in the *Mayúc'ha*, 2. 1. 17.
† *Méténd chaha.*
‡ *Púrc'ha*, 1. 1. 2. *Dwíd. Sútd.*
§ *Apadéca*; *Nyáya-prácasa.*

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of delivering canons of scriptural interpretation, it incidently touches upon philosophical topics, and scholastic disputants have elicited from its dogmas, principles of reasoning applicable to the prevailing points of controversy agitated in the Hindu schools of philosophy.

Writers on the Mímánsa.

The acknowledged founder of this school of scriptural interpretation is JAIMINI. He is repeatedly named as an authority in the *Sútras* which are ascribed to him. Other ancient writers on the same subject, who are occasionally quoted in those aphorisms, as *Átréya*, *Bádari*, *Bádaráyana*,* *Lábucáyana*, *Aśmáyana*, &c. are sometimes adduced there for authority, but oftener for correction and confutation.

It is no doubt possible, that the true author of a work may speak in it of himself by name, and in the third person. Nor, indeed, is that very unusual. A Hindu commentator will, however, say, as the scholasts of *Menu's* and of *Yájnyawalkya's* institutes of law do, that the oral instructions of the teacher were put in writing by some disciple; and, for this reason, the mention of him as of a third person is strictly proper.

The *sutras*, or aphorisms, thus attributed to JAIMINI, are arranged in twelve lectures, each subdivided into four chapters, except the third, sixth, and tenth lectures, which contain twice as many; making the entire number sixty chapters. These again are divided into sections, cases, or topics (*adhicaranas*), ordinarily comprising several *sútras*, but not uncommonly restricted to one, and instances may be noted where a single sentence is split into several *adhicaranas*; or, on the contrary, a single phrase variously interpreted becomes applicable to distinct cases; and *sútras*, united under the same head by one interpreter, are by another explained as constituting separate topics. The total number of *sútras* is 2,652, and of *adhicaranas* 915, as numbered by MAD'HAVA ACHÁRYA.

Like the aphorisms of other Indian sciences, those *sútras* are extremely obscure, or without a gloss utterly unintelligible. They must have been from the first accompanied by an oral or written exposition; and an ancient scholast (*Vrittícára*), is quoted by the herd of commentators for subsidiary aphorisms, supplying the defect of the text, as well as for expanatory comments on it.

* Author of the *Brahma-sútras*.

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Besides the work of the old scholiast, which probably is not extant in a complete form, the *sútras* have, as usual, been elucidated by a perpetual commentary, and by corrective annotations on it.

The author of the extant commentary is SABARA SWÁMÍ BHÁTTA, from whom it takes the name of *Śábara bháshya*. He quotes occasionally the ancient scholiast, sometimes concurring with, sometimes dissenting from him.

The annotations (*vártica*) are by BHÁTTA CUMÁRILA SWÁMÍ, who is the great authority of the *Mímánsaca* school, in which he is emphatically designated by his title, *Bháṭṭa*, equivalent to Doctor. He frequently expounds and corrects ŚABARA's glose, often delivers a different interpretation, but in many instances passes entire sections without notice, as seeing no occasion for emendation or explanation of the commentary, which he must be considered therefore as tacitly ratifying. The ancient scholiast is sometimes cited by him, adopting or amending the scholia; and he criticises the text itself, and arrangement of JAIMINI.

Next to him in celebrity is a writer usually cited under the title of *Gurú*, more rarely under the designation of *Prabhácara*.* His work I have had no opportunity of examining with a view to the present essay, and he is known to me chiefly from references and quotations, as in MADHAVA's summary, where his opinions are perpetually contrasted with CUMÁRILA's; and in the text and commentary of the *Śástra-Dípicá*, where his positions are canvassed and compared with those of numerous other writers.

CUMARILA BHÁTTA figures greatly in the traditionary religious history of India. He was predecessor of ŚANCARA ACHARYA, and equally rigid in maintaining the orthodox faith against heretics, who reject the authority of the *vedas*. He is considered to have been the chief antagonist of the sect of *Buddha*, and to have instigated an exterminating persecution of that heresy.† He does, indeed, take every occasion of controverting the authority and doctrine of ŚÁCYA or BUDDHA, as well as ARHAT or JINA, together with obscurer heretics, BÓD'HAYANA and MAHACA, and he denies them any consideration, even when they do concur upon any point with the *védas*.‡ The age of CUMARILA, anterior to ŚANCARA,§ and corresponding with the period of the persecution of the *Bauddhas*, goes back to an antiquity of

* *Mím.* 1. 1. 5. † Preface to Wilson's Dictionary, p. xix. ‡ *Mím.* 1. 2. 4. § See Note A

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much more than a thousand years. He is reputed to have been contemporary with Sudhanwa, but the chronology of that prince's reign is not accurately determined.*

Next in eminence among the commentators of the *Mímánsá* is Párt'ha-sárat'hi misra, who has professedly followed the guidance of Cumarila Bhatta. His commentary, entitled *Sastra-dípicá*, has been amply expounded in a gloss bearing the title of *Mayúc'ha-málá*, by Somanat'ha, a *Cárnátaca Bráhmen*, whose elder brother was high priest of the celebrated temple at *Vencatádri* (or *Vencutagiri*).† Párt'ha-sárat'hi is author likewise of the *Nyáya-ratna-málá* and other known works.

A compendious gloss on the text of Jaimini, following likewise the same guidance (that of Cumarila) is the *Bhattá-dípicá* of C'handa-déva, author of a separate and ampler treatise, entitled *Mímánsá-caustubha*, to which he repeatedly refers for a fuller elucidation of matters briefly touched upon in his concise but instructive gloss. This work is posterior to that of Madhava áchárya, who is sometimes quoted in it, and to Párt'ha-sárat'hi, who is more frequently noticed.

The *Mímánsá-nyáya-vivéca* is another commentary by a distinguished author, Bhavanat'ha misra. I speak of this and of the foregoing as commentaries, because they follow the order of the text, recite one or more of the aphorisms from every section, and explain the subject, but without regularly expounding every word, as ordinary scholiasts, in a perpetual gloss.

Among numerous other commentaries on Jaimini's text, the *Nyáyávalí-dídhiti* of Raghavananda is not to be omitted. It contains an excellent interpretation of the *sutras*, which it expounds word by word, in the manner of a perpetual comment. It is brief, but clear, leaving nothing unexplained, and wandering into no digressions.

It results from the many revisions which the text and exposition of it have undergone, with amendments, one while arriving by a different process of reasoning at the same conclusion, another time varying the question and deducing from an unchanged text an altered argument for its solution, that the cases (*adhicaranas*) assume a very diversified aspect in the hands of the many interpreters of the *Mímánsá*.

A summary or paraphrase of Jaimini's doctrine was put into verse by an

* Preface to Wilson's Dictionary, p. xxvi. † 135 miles west from Madras.

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ancient author, whose memorial verses are frequently cited by the commentators of JAIMINI, under the title of *Sangraha*.

Another metrical paraphrase is largely employed in the *Várttica*, or is a part of that work itself. An entire chapter occurs under the title of *Slóca várttica*: other whole chapters of CUMARILA's performance are exclusively in prose. In many, verse and prose are intermixed.

The most approved introduction to the study of the *Mímánsá* is the *Nyáya-málá-vistara* by MADHAVA ACHARYA. It is in verse, attended with a commentary in prose by the same author. It follows the order of JAIMINI's text; not by way of paraphrase, but as a summary (though the title rather implies amplification) of its purport, and of approved deductions from it; sometimes explaining separately the doctrine of *Bhattá* and of *Guru*, under each head, at other times that of the old schoolmast; but more commonly confined to that of *Bhatta* alone, yet often furnishing more than one application for the same text, as *Bhattá* himself does.

MADHAVA ACHARYA was both priest and minister, or civil as well as spiritual adviser of BUCCA-RÁYA and HARIHARA, sovereigns of *Vidyánagara* on the *Gúdávari*, as his father MAYANA had been of their father and predecessor SANGAMA, who reigned over the whole peninsula of India.

Like the numerous other writings which bear his name, the *Nyáya-málá* was composed, not by himself, but by his directions, under the more immediate superintendence of his brother, SAYANA-ACHARYA, and it appears from its preface to have been the next performance undertaken after the completion of their commentary on PÁRÁSARA's institutes of law; and it suitably enough preceded the great commentary of the same authors on the whole of the *védas*.

According to history, confirmed by authentic inscriptions, MADHAVA flourished towards the middle of the fourteenth century: the sovereigns, whose confidence he enjoyed, reigned from that time to the end of the century.

Analysis of the Mímánsá.

From this brief notice of the principal writers on the *Mímánsá*, I pass to the subject which has occupied them.

A complete *adhicaraña*, or case, consists of five members, viz. 1, the subject, or matter to be explained; 2, the doubt, or question arising upon that matter; 3, the first side (*púrva-pacsha*) or *primâ facie* argument con-

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cerning it; 4, the answer (*uttara*) or demonstrated conclusion (*siddhánta*); 5, the pertinence or relevancy.

The last-mentioned appertains to the whole arrangement as well as to its subdivisions, and commentators are occupied with showing the relation and connexion of subjects treated in the several lectures and chapters, and their right distribution and appropriate positions.

The text of Jaimini's aphorisms does not ordinarily exhibit the whole of the five members of an *adhicaraṇa*. Frequently the subject, and the question concerning it, are but hinted, or they are left to be surmised; sometimes the disputable solution of it is unnoticed, and the right conclusion alone is set forth. The rest is supplied by the scholiasts, and they do not always concur as to the most apposite examples, nor concerning the presumed allusions of the text.

Its introductory *sútras* propose the subject in this manner. "Now then "the study of duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is "inculcated by a command. Its reason must be inquired."*

That is, according to the interpretation of commentators, 'Next, after reading the *veda*, and therefore, for the sake of understanding it; the duty enjoined by it is to be investigated. Duty is a meaning deduced from injunction. Its ground must be sifted. A command is not implicitly received for proof of duty.'

The business of the *Mímánsá*, then, being to investigate what is incumbent as a duty to be performed, the primary matter for inquiry is proof and authority (*pramáṇa*). This, accordingly, is the subject of the first lecture, comprising four chapters, which treat of the following matters: 1st, precept and its cogency, 2, affirmation or narrative (*arthaváda*), as well as prayer and invocation (*mantra*), their cogency as inculcating some duty, 3, law memorial (*smṛiti*), and usage (*áchára*), their authority as presumption of some cogent revelation, 4, modifying ordinance and specific denomination, distinguished from direct or positive injunction.

Proceeding with the subject as above proposed, the *Mímánsá* declare that perception or simple apprehension is no reason of duty, for it apprehends a present object only, whereas duty concerns the future.† Simple

* *Jaim.* I. i. 1—3. † *Jaim.* I. i. 4.

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apprehension is defined in these words "when the organs of man are in "contiguity with an object, that source of knowledge is *perception*."

The ancient scholiast has here introduced definitions of other sources of knowledge which the author had omitted, viz., inference, verbal communication, comparison, presumption, and privation. None of these are reasons of duty except verbal communication; for the rest are founded on perception, which itself is not so. Verbal communication is either human, as a correct sentence (*apta-vácya*), or superhuman, as a passage of the *vedas*. It is indicative or imperative; and the latter is either positive or relative Ex. 1. "This is to be done." 2. "That is to be done like this."

"On sight of one member of a known association, the consequent appre- "hension of the other part which is not actually proximate, is (*anumána*) "inference." The association must be such as had been before directly "perceived, or had become known by analogy.

"Comparison (*upamána*) is knowledge arising from resemblance more or "less strong. It is apprehension of the likeness which a thing presently "seen bears to one before observed and likeness or similitude is concomi- "tancy of associates or attributes with one object, which were associated "with another.

"Presumption (*arthápatti*) is deduction of a matter from that which "could not else be. It is assumption of a thing not itself perceived, but "necessarily implied by another which is seen, heard, or proven.

"Knowledge of a thing which is not proximate (or subject to percep- "tion) derived through understood sound, that is through words the "acceptation whereof is known, is (*sástra*) ordinance or revelation. It is "(*śabda*) verbal communication."

These five sources of knowledge, or modes of proof, as here defined, are admitted by all *Mímánsacas* and the followers of PRABHACARA are stated to restrict their admission to those five.† *Bhatta* with his disciples, guided by the ancient scholiast, adds a sixth, which is privation (*abhdva*), and the *Védanta* or *Uttara Mímánsacas* concur in the admission of that number.

The *Chárváca*, as noticed in the first part of this essay,‡ recognise but one, viz., perception. The followers of CANADE and those of *Sugata* (*Buddha*) acknowledge two, perception and inference. The *Sánc'hyas* reckon three,

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* Anc. Schol. *Dáh. Párík.* &c. † *Védánta-sár'ábhasa.* ‡ Page 39.

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including affirmation.* The *Naiyáyicas*, or followers of GÓTAMA, count four, viz., the foregoing together with comparison. The *Prábhácaras*, as just now observed, admit five. And the rest of the *Mímánsacas*, in both schools, prior and later *Mímánsá*, enumerate six.† It does not appear, that a greater number has been alleged by any sect of Indian philosophy.

The first six lectures of JAIMINI's *Mímánsá* treat of positive injunction: it is the first half of the work. The latter half, comprising six more lectures, concerns indirect command; adapting to a copy, with any requisite modifications, that which was prescribed for the pattern or prototype.

The authority of enjoined duty is the topic of the first lecture: its differences and varieties, its parts (or appendant members, contrasted with the main act), and the purpose of performance, are successively considered in the three next, and complete the subject of "that which is to be per-"formed." The order of performance occupies the fifth lecture, and qualification for its performance is treated in the sixth.

The subject of indirect precept is opened in the seventh lecture generally, and in the eighth particularly. Inferrible changes, adapting to the variation or copy what was designed for the type or model, are discussed in the ninth, and bars or exceptions in the tenth. Concurrent efficacy is considered in the eleventh lecture, and co-ordinate effect in the twelfth: that is, the co-operation of several acts for a single result is the subject of the one; and the incidental effect of an act, of which the chief purpose is different, is discussed in the other.

These, which are the principal topics of each lecture, are not, however, exclusive. Other matters are introduced by the way, being suggested by the main subject or its exceptions.

In the first chapter of the first lecture occurs the noted disquisition of the *Mímánsá* on the original and perpetual association of articulate sound with sense.‡

"It is a primary and natural connexion," JAIMINI affirms, "not merely a "conventional one. The knowledge of it is instruction, since the utterance "of a particular sound conveys knowledge, as its enunciation is for a parti-

* Page 95–96. † *Vid. Sárírac.*

‡ A passage cited by writers on the dialectic Nyáya from the disquisition on the perpetuity of sound (see page 113), is not to be found in JAIMINI's *sútras*: it must have been taken from one of his commentators.

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" cular sense. It matters not whether the subject have been previously " apprehended (the words being intelligible, or the context rendering " them so). Precept is authoritative, independently of human communi- " cation."*

Grammarians assume a special category, denominated *sphóta*, for the object of mental perception, which ensues upon the hearing of an articulate sound, and which they consider to be distinct from the elements or component letters of the word. Logicians disallow that as a needless assumption.† They insist, however, that " sound is an effect, because it is perceived as " the result of effort; because it endures not, but ceases so soon as uttered, " because it is spoken of as made or done; because it is at once apprehend- " ed in divers places at the same instant, uttered by divers persons, because " it is liable to permutation, and because it is subject to increase of intensity " with the multitude of utterers." To all which the answer is, that " the " result of an effort is uniform, the same letters being articulated. Sound " is unobserved though existent, if it reach not the object (vibrations of air " emitted from the mouth of the speaker proceed and manifest sound by " their appulse to air at rest in the space bounded by the hollow of the ear, " for want of such appulse, sound, though existent, is unapprehended).‡ " Sound is not made or done, but is used: it is uttered, not called into " existence. Its universality is as that of the sun (common to all). The " permutation of letters is the substitution of a different one (as a semi- " vowel for a vowel), not the alteration of the same letter. Noise, not " sound, is increased by a multitude of voices. Sound is perpetual, intended " for the apprehension of others: it is universal, a generic term being " applicable to all individuals. Its perpetuity is intimated by a passage " of the *véda*, which expresses 'Send forth praise, with perpetual " speech.'"§

The first chapter terminates with an inquiry into the authority of the *véda*, which is maintained to be primeval and superhuman, although different portions of it are denominated from names of men, as *Cáṭhaca*, *Cauṭhuma*, *Paushpala*, &c., and although worldly incidents and occurrences are mentioned. Those denominations of particular portions, it is affirmed, have reference to the tradition by which a revelation has been trans-

* *Jem.* I. 1. 5. † *Dípik. Párth.* and *Mádh.* ‡ *Dípik.* § *Jem.* I. 1. 6. 1–18 and Com.

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mitted. They are named after the person who uttered them, as to him revealed.

The eternity of the *veda*, or authenticity of its revelation, is attempted to be proved by showing that it had no human origin, and, for this purpose, the principal argument is, that no human author is remembered. In the case of human compositions, it is said, contemporaries have been aware that the authors of them were occupied in composing those works: not so with the *véda*, which has been handed down as primeval, and of which no mortal author was known.

It is, however, acknowledged, that a mistake may be made, and the work of a human author may be erroneously received as a part of the sacred book by those who are unacquainted with its true origin. An instance occurs among those who use the *Bahvrich*, a *sac'hà* of the *Rigvéda*, by whom a ritual of Aswalayana has been admitted, under the title of the fifth *Aranyaca*, as a part of the *Rigvéda*.

The *veda* received as holy by orthodox Hindus consists of two parts, prayer and precept (*mantra* and *bráhmana*). Jaimini has attempted to give a short definition of the first, adding that the second is its supplement; "whatever is not *mantra*, is *bráhmana*."* The ancient scholiast has endeavoured to supply the acknowledged defect of Jaimini's imperfect definition, by enumerating the various descriptions of passages coming under each head. Later scholiasts have shown, that every article in that enumeration is subject to exceptions, and the only test of distinction, finally acknowledged, is admission of the expert, or acceptance of approved teachers, who have taught their disciples to use one passage as a prayer, and to read another as a precept. Jaimini's definition, and his scholiast's enumeration, serve but to alleviate "the task of picking up grains."

Generally, then, a *mantra* is a prayer, invocation, or declaration. It is expressed in the first person, or is addressed in the second. It declares the purpose of a pious act, or lauds or invokes the object. It asks a question or returns an answer; directs, inquires, or deliberates; blesses or imprecates, exults or laments, counts or narrates, &c.

Here it is to be remarked, that changes introduced into a prayer to adapt

* *Mim.* S. i. 2.

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it (*mutatis mutandis*) to a different ceremony from that for which primarily it was intended, or the insertion of an individual's personal and family names where this is requisite, are not considered to be part of the *mantra*.

It is likewise to be observed, although *mantras* of the *védas* are ordinarily significant, that the chants of the *Sámavéda* are unmeaning. They consist of a few syllables, as *irá dyurá*, or *gará gayurá*, repeated again and again, as required by the tune or rhythm. Nevertheless, significant *mantras* are likewise chanted; and two of the books of the *Samaveda* are allotted to hymns of this description. The hymns consist of triplets (*trich*) or triple stanzas.

The first, or pattern verse or stanza, is found, with the name of the appropriate tune, in the *Chhandas* or *Yóni-grant'ha*, and the two remaining verses or stanzas, to complete the triplet, are furnished in the supplementary book called *Uttara-grant'ha*.

Mantras are distinguished under three designations. Those which are in metre are termed *rich*, those chanted are *sáman*, and the rest are *yajush*, sacrificial prayers in prose (for *yajush* imports sacrifice). Nevertheless, metrical prayers occur in the *Yajurvéda*, and prose in the *Sámavéda*.

The metrical prayers are recited aloud; those termed *sáman* with musical modulation, but the prose inaudibly muttered.* Such, however, as are vocative, addressed to a second person, are to be uttered audibly, though in prose: for communication is intended.†

Metrical prayers, however, belonging to the *Yajurvéda* are inaudibly recited, and so are chants belonging to the same inaudibly chanted: for prayers take the character of the rite into which they are introduced, and where the same rite is ordained in more than one *véda*, it appertains to that with which it is most consonant, and the prayer is either audibly or inaudibly chanted accordingly.‡

The prayers termed *rich* and *sáman* are limited by the metre and the chant respectively; but those which are in prose are regulated as to their extent by the sense. A complete sentence constitutes a single *yajush*: the sense must be one, and would be deficient were the phrase divided. Nevertheless, the sentence which constitutes a prayer may borrow from a pre-

* *Mîm.* 2. 2. 1. † *Ib.* 2. 1. 7–14. ‡ *Ib.* 2. 2. 1–3. See Note B.

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ceding or from a subsequent one, terms wanting to perfect the sense, unless an intervening one be incompatible with that construction.*

The *brahmana* of the *veda* is in general a precept, or it expresses praise or blame, or a doubt, a reason, or a comparison, or intimates a derivation; or narrates a fact or an occurrence: and a characteristic sign of it is that it very generally contains the particle "so" (*iti* or *itha*), as a *mantra* usually does the pronoun of the second person "thee," either expressed or understood "(thou) art."†

In a still more general view the *brahmana* is practical, directing religious observances, teaching the purpose, time, and manner of performing them, indicating the prayers to be employed, and elucidating their import. The esoteric *brahmana* comprises the *upanishads*, and is theological.

It becomes a question which the *Mímánsá* examines at much length, whether those passages of the *veda* which are not direct precepts, but are narrative, laudatory, or explanatory, are nevertheless cogent for a point of duty. In this inquiry is involved the further question, whether a consciousness of the scope of an act is essential to its efficacy for the production of its proper consequence. The *Mímánsá* maintains that narrative or indicative texts are proof of duty, as concurrent in import with a direct precept. There subsists a mutual relation between them. One enjoins or forbids an act; the other supplies an inducement for doing it or for refraining from it: "Do so, because such is the fruit." The imperative sentence is nevertheless cogent independently of the affirmative one, and needs not its support. The indicative phrase is cogent, implying injunction by pronouncing benefit.

It virtually prescribes the act which it recommends.‡ Inference, however, is not to be strained. It is not equally convincing as actual perception: a forthcoming injunction or direct precept has more force than a mere inference from premises.‖

A prayer, too, carries authority, as evidence of a precept bearing the like import. This is a visible or temporal purpose of a prayer; and it is a received maxim, that a perceptible purpose being assignable, prevails before an imperceptible one. But the recital of a particular prayer at a religious rite, rather than a narrative text of like import, is for a spiritual end, since there is no visible purpose of a set form of words.§

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* *Mím.* 2. 1. 14—18. † Śab. &c. on *Mím.* 1. 4. 1. and 2. 1. 7.
‡ *Mím.* 1. 2. 1—3. ‖ *Ib.* 1. 2. 3. § *Ib.* 1. 2. 4.

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Besides the evidence of precept from an extant revelation or recorded hearing (*śruti*) of it, another source of evidence is founded on the recollections (*smṛiti*) of ancient sages. They possess authority as grounded on the *véda*, being composed by holy personages conversant with its contents. Nor was it superfluous to compose anew what was there to be found; for a compilation, exhibiting in a succinct form that which is scattered through the *véda*, has its use. Nor are the prayers which the *smṛiti* directs unauthorized, for they are presumed to have been taken from passages of revelation not now forthcoming. Those recollections have come down by unbroken tradition to this day, admitted by the virtuous of the three tribes, and known under the title of *Dharma-śástra*, comprising the institutes of law, civil and religious. Nor is error to be presumed which had not, until now, been detected. An express text of the *véda*, as the *Mímánsá* maintains,* must then be concluded to have been actually seen by the venerable author of a recorded recollection (*smṛiti*).

But if contradiction appear, if it can be shown that an extant passage of the *véda* is inconsistent with one of the *smṛitis*, it invalidates that presumption. An actual text, present to the sense, prevails before a presumptive one.†

Or though no contrary passage of the *véda* be actually found, yet if cupidity, or other exceptionable motive may be assigned, revelation is not to be presumed in the instance, the recollection being thus impeached.‡

The *Śácyas* (or *Bauddhas*) and *Jainas* (or *Árhatas*), as Cumárila acknowledges, are considered to be *Cshatriyas*. It is not to be concluded, he says, that their *recollections* were founded upon a *véda* which is now lost. There can be no inference of a foundation in *revelation*, for unauthentic recollections of persons who deny its authenticity. Even when they do concur with it, as recommending charitable gifts and enjoining veracity, chastity, and innocence, the books of the *Śácyas* are of no authority for the virtues which they inculcate. Duties are not taken from them: the association would suggest a surmise of vice,§ tainting what else is virtuous. The entire *véda*, which is directed to be studied, is the foundation of duty; and those only, who are conversant with it, are capable of competent *recollections*.

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* *Mím.* 1. 3. 1. † *Ib.* 1. 3. 2. ‡ *Ib.* 1. 3. 3. § *Ib.* 1. 3. 4.

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Usage generally prevalent among good men, and by them practised as understanding it to be enjoined and therefore incumbent on them, is mediately, but not directly, evidence of duty: but it is not valid if it be contrary to an express text. From the modern prevalence of any usage, there arises a presumption of a correspondent injunction by a holy personage, who remembered a revelation to the same effect. Thus usage presumes a *recollection*, which again presupposes *revelation*. Authors, however, have omitted particulars, sanctioning good customs in general terms: but any usage which is inconsistent with a recorded *recollection* is not to be practised, so long as no express text of scripture is found to support it.

In like manner, rituals which teach the proper mode of celebrating religious rites, and are entitled *Calpa-sutra* or *Grihya-grant'ha*, derive their authority, like the *Dharma-śástra*, from a presumption that their authors, being persons conversant with the *veda*, collected and abridged rules which they there found. The *Calpa-sutras* neither are a part of the *veda*, nor possess equal nor independent authority. It would be a laborious enterprise to prove a superhuman origin of them; nor can it be accomplished, since contemporaries were aware of the authors being occupied with the composition of them.* Whenever a *sutra* (whether of the *calpa* or *grihya*) is opposed to an extant passage of the *veda*, or is inconsistent with valid reason, it is not to be followed: nor is an alternative admissible in regard to its observance in such case, unless a corroborative text of the *véda* can be shown.†

Neither are usages restricted to particular provinces, though certain customs are more generally prevalent in some places than in others: as the *Holáca* (vulg. *Holi*) or festival of spring, in the east; the worship of local tutelary deities hereditarily, by families, in the south; the racing of oxen on the full moon of *Jyeshth'a*, in the north; and the adoration of tribes of deities (*matri-gana*), in the west. Nor are rituals and law institutes confined to particular classes: though some are followed by certain persons preferably to others, as VASISHT'HA, by the *Rahvich śác'há* of the *Rigvéda*; GAUTAMA, by the *Gobhiliya* of the *Samaveda*; SANC'HA and LIC'HITA, by the *Vájasaneyi*; and APASTAMBA and BAUDHAYANA, by the *Taittiriya* of the *Yajurveda*. There is no presumption of a restrictive revelation, but of one of general import. The institutes of law, and rituals of ceremonies, were

* Gurú on *Mîm.* I. 3. 7. † *Chanda-dîpa.*

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composed by authors appertaining to particular *śác'hás*, and by them taught to their fellows belonging to the same, and have continued current among the descendants of those to whom they were so taught.

A very curious disquisition occurs in this part of the *Mímánsá*,* on the acceptation of words in correct language and barbaric dialects, and on the use of terms taken from either. Instances alleged are *yava*, signifying in Sanscrit, barley, but in the barbaric tongue, the plant named *priyangu*, *varáha*, in the one a hog, and in the other a cow, *plu*, a certain tree,† but among barbarians an elephant, *vetasa*, a rattan cane and a citron. The *Mímánsá* concludes, that in such instances of words having two acceptations, that in which it is received by the civilized (*aryas*), or which is countenanced by use in sacred books, is to be preferred to the practice of barbarians (*Mléch'ha*), who are apt to confound words or their meanings.

Concerning these instances, Cumarila remarks that the words have no such acceptation, in any country, as is by the scholast alleged. He is wrong in regard to one, at least, for *plu* is evidently the Persian *fíl* or *píl*. Modern vocabularies‡ exhibit the word as a Sanscrit one in the same sense; erroneously, as appears from this disquisition.

Then follows, in Cumarila's *Várttica*, much upon the subject of provincial and barbaric dialects, which, adverting to the age in which he flourished, is interesting, and merits the attention of philologists. He brings examples from the *Andhra* and *Dramida* dialects, and specifies as barbaric tongues the *Parasica*, *Yavana*, *Raumaca*, and *Barbara*, but confesses his imperfect acquaintance with these.

Jaimini gives an instance of a barbaric term used in the *vedas*, viz., *píca*, a black cuckow (cuculus indicus), to which his scholasts add *nema*, half, *támarasa*, a lotus, and *sata* a wooden colander, but without adducing examples of the actual use of them in any of the *vedas*. Such terms must be taken in their ordinary acceptation, though barbarous, and the passage quoted from the *véda* where the word *píca* occurs, must be interpreted "sacrifice a black cuckow at night." It will here be remarked, that *píca* corresponds to the Latin *picus*, and that *néma* answers to the Persic *nim*.

On the other hand, a barbaric word, or a provincial corruption, is not to

* 1. 3. 6.

† The name is in vocabularies assigned to many different trees. ‡ *Jatádhara*, &

be employed instead of the proper *Sanscrit* term. Thus *gó* (*gauh*), and not *gámí*, is the right term for a cow.* Orthography, likewise, is to be carefully attended to, else by writing or reading *aswa* for *aswa* in the directions for the sacrifice of a horse, the injunction would seem to be for the sacrifice of a pauper (*a-swa*, destitute of property).

Generally, words are to be applied in strict conformity with correct grammar. The *Saugatas*, and other heretics, as Cumárila in this place remarks,† do not use Sanscrit (they employ *Prácrit*). But *Bráhmanas* should not speak as barbarians. Grammar, which is primeval, has been handed down by tradition. Language is the same in the *védas* and in ordinary discourse, notwithstanding a few deviations: the import of words is generic, though the application of them is specific.

The peculiarities of the dialect of the *veda* are not to be taken for inaccuracies. Thus, *tman* stands for *átman*, self or soul, and *Bráhmanásah* for *Bráhmanah*, priests, with many other anomalies of the sacred dialect.‡

When the ordinary acceptation of a term is different from that which it bears in an explanatory passage, this latter import prevails in the text likewise, else the precept and its supplement would disagree. Thus *tvarit*, triplet, is specially applied to a hymn comprising three *triplets* or nine stanzas, which is the peculiar sense it bears in the *védas*.

Again, *charu*, which, in ordinary discourse signifies boiler or cauldron, is in the *vedas* an oblation of boiled food, as rice, &c. So *aswábdá*, which literally means horse-hair, is a designation of a species of grass (*saccharum spontaneum*) into which it is said the tail of a consecrated horse was once transformed, and of that grass a cushion is made for certain religious rites.

It will be observed, as has been intimated in speaking of the members of an *adhicaraña* in the *Mímánsá*, that a case is proposed, either specified in Jaimini's text or supplied by his scholiasts. Upon this a doubt or question is raised, and a solution of it is suggested, which is refuted, and a right conclusion established in its stead. The disquisitions of the *Mímánsá* bear, therefore, a certain resemblance to juridical questions, and, in fact, the Hindu law being blended with the religion of the people, the same modes of reasoning are applicable, and are applied to the one as to the other. The logic of the *Mímánsá* is the logic of the law, the rule of interpreta-

* *Vártt.* 1. 3. 8. † B. 2. 2. 7. ‡ *Nír.* 1. 3. 20.

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tion of civil and religious ordinances. Each case is examined and determined upon general principles, and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of the law: and this is, in truth, what has been attempted in the *Mímánsá*. JAIMINI's arrangement, however, is not philosophical, and I am not acquainted with any elementary work of this school in which a better distribution has been achieved. I shall not here attempt to supply the defect, but confine the sequel of this essay to a few specimens from divers chapters of JAIMINI, after some more remarks on the general scope and manner of the work.

Instances of the application of reasoning, as taught in the *Mímánsa*, to the discussion and determination of juridical questions, may be seen in two treatises on the Law of Inheritance, translated by myself, and as many on Adoption, by a member of this Society, Mr. J. C. C. Sutherland (See *Mitacshará* on Inheritance, 1. 1. 10, and 1. 9. 11, and 2. 1. 34, *Jímúta Váhana*, 11. 5. 16—19. *Datt. Mím.* on Adoption, 1. 1. 35—41, and 4. 4. 65—66 and 6. 6. 27—31. *Datt. Chand.* 1. 1. 24 and 2. 2. 4).

The subject which most engages attention throughout the *Mímánsa*, recurring at every turn, is the invisible or spiritual operation of an act of merit. The action ceases, yet the consequence does not immediately ensue. A *virtue* meantime subsists, unseen, but efficacious to connect the consequence with its past and remote cause, and to bring about at a distant period, or in another world, the relative effect.

That unseen virtue is termed *apúrva*, being a relation superinduced, *not before* possessed.

Sacrifice (*yágo*), which, among meritorious works, is the act of religion most inculcated by the *védas*, and consequently most discussed in the prior *Mímánsá*, consists in parting with a thing that it may belong to a deity, whom it is intended to propitiate.* Being cast into the fire for that purpose, it is a burnt offering (*hóma*). Four sorts are distinguished, a simple oblation (*ishti*), the immolation of a victim (*pasu*), the presenting of expressed juice of the *sóma* plant (asclepias acida), and the burnt-offering above-mentioned.† The object of certain rites is some definite temporal advantage; of others, benefit in another world. Three ceremonies, in particular,

* *Mím.* 4. 4. 12. † Id. 4. 4. 1.

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are types of all the rest: the consecration of a sacrificial fire, the presenting of an oblation, and the preparation of the *sóma*. The oblation which serves as a model for the rest, is that which is offered twice in each month, viz. at the full and change of the moon. It is accompanied, more especially at the new moon, with an oblation of whey from new milk. Accordingly, the *Yajurveda* begins with this rite. It comprehends the sending of selected cows to pasture after separating their calves, touching them with a leafy branch of *palása* (*butea frondosa*) cut for the purpose, and subsequently stuck in the ground in front of the apartment containing the sacrificial fire, for a protection of the herd from robbers and beasts of prey: the cows are milked in the evening and again in the morning; and, from the new milk, whey is then prepared for an oblation.

Concerning this ceremony, with all its details, numerous questions arise, which are resolved in the *Mímánsá*: for instance, the milking of the cows is pronounced to be not a primary or main act, but a subordinate one; and the parting of the calves from their dams is subsidiary to that subordinate act.* The whey, which in fact is milk modified, is the main object of the whole preparation; not the curd, which is but incidentally produced, not being sought nor wanted.†

In the fourth chapter of the first book, the author discriminates terms that modify the precept from such as are specific denominations. Several of the instances are not a little curious. Thus it is a question, whether the hawk-sacrifice (*syéna-yága*), which is attended with imprecations on a hated foe, be performed by the actual immolation of a bird of that kind. The case is determined by a maxim, that "a term intimating resemblance is de-"nominative." *Hawk*, then, is the name of that incantation "it pounces "on the foe as a falcon on his prey."‡ So *tongs* is a name for a similar incantation, "which seizes the enemy from afar as with a pair of tongs;" and *cow*, for a sacrifice to avert such imprecations.

It is fit to remark in this place, that incantations for destruction of hated foes, though frequent in the *védas* (and modes of performing them, with greater or less solemnity, are there taught), cannot be deemed laudable acts of religion; on the contrary, they are pronounced to be at least mediately

* Mím. 4. 3. 10. † Ib. 4. 1. 2. ‡ Ib. 4. 4 and 2. 2. 28.

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criminal; and pains in hell, as for homicide, await the malevolent man who thus practises against the life of his enemy.

Another instance, discussed in the same chapter, is *chitrá*, applied to a sacrifice performed for acquisition of cattle. It is questioned whether the feminine termination, joined to the ordinary signification of the word, indicates a female victim of a *variegated* colour. It intends, however, an offering termed *various*, as consisting of no less than six different articles — honey, milk, curds, boiled butter, rice in the husk as well as clean, and water.*

In like manner, *sódhid* is the name of a sacrifice directed to be performed for the like purpose: that is, by a person desirous of possessing cattle. The sense approaches to the etymology of the term: it is a ceremony "by which possession of cattle is, as it were, dug up." It does not imply that some tool for delving, as a spade or hoe for digging up the earth, is to be actually employed in the ceremony.

A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil in India, is discussed in the sixth lecture.† At certain sacrifices, such as that which is called *viswajit*, the votary, for whose benefit the ceremony is performed, is enjoined to bestow all his property on the officiating priests. It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall give all the land, including pasture-ground, highways, and the site of lakes and ponds, an universal monarch, the whole earth, and a subordinate prince, the entire province over which he rules? To that question the answer is: the monarch has not property in the earth, nor the subordinate prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained, and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy. The maxim of the law, that "the king "is lord of all excepting sacerdotal wealth," concerns his authority for correction of the wicked and protection of the good. His kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation of wrong; and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders. But right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour. It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike: therefore,

* [illegible] = Mîm. I. 3. 2. † Mîm. VI. 7.

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although a gift of a piece of ground to an individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince; but house and field, acquired by purchase and similar means, are liable to gift.*

The case which will be here next cited, will bring to recollection the instance of the Indian *Calanus*,† who accompanied Alexander's army, and burnt himself at Babylon after the manner of his country.

This particular mode of religious suicide by cremation is now obsolete; as that of widows is in some provinces of India, and it may be hoped will become so in the rest, if no injudicious interference by direct prohibition arouse opposition and prevent the growing disuse. Other modes of religious suicide not unfrequently occur; such as drowning, burying alive, falling from a precipice or under the wheels of an idol's car, &c. But they are not founded on the *védas*, as that by burning is.

Self-immolation, in that ancient form of it, is a solemn sacrifice, performed according to rites which the *védas* direct, by a man desirous of passing immediately to heaven without enduring disease. He engages priests, as at other sacrifices, for the various functions requisite to the performance of the rites, being himself the votary for whose benefit the ceremony is undertaken. At a certain stage of it, after wrapping a cloth round a branch of *udumbara* (*ficus glomerata*), which represents a sacrificial stake, and having appointed the priests to complete the ceremony, he chants a solemn hymn, and casts himself on a burning pile wherein his body is consumed. Afterwards, whatever concerns the rite as a sacrificial ceremony, is to be completed by the attendant priests; omitting, however, those matters which specially appertain to the votary, and which, after his death, there is no one competent to perform.‡

In like manner, if the principal die by a natural death, after engaging *Brahmans* to co-operate with him in the celebration of certain rites requiring the aid of several priests, his body is to be burnt, and his ashes kept to represent him; and the ceremony is completed for his benefit, according to one opinion, but for theirs according to another. The ashes, it is argued, do not perform the ceremony, but the priests do. Being inanimate, the bones cannot fulfil the prescribed duties peculiar to the principal

* *Śrá. Mádh.* and *Chandr.* ad locum. † *Calyána.* ‡ *Mím.* 10. 2. 23.

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an utterance of certain prayers, shaving of hair and beard, measure of his stature with a branch of *udumbara*, &c. These and similar functions are not practicable by an inanimate skeleton, and therefore are unavoidably omitted.*

The full complement of persons officiating at a great solemnity is seventeen. This number, as is shown, includes the votary or principal, who is assisted by sixteen priests engaged by him for different offices, which he need not personally discharge. His essential function is the payment of their hire or sacrificial fee.†

They rank in different gradations, and are remunerated proportionably. Four, whose duties are most important, receive the full perquisite, four others are recompensed with a half, the four next with a third, and the four last with a quarter.

On occasions of less solemnity four priests only are engaged, making with the principal five officiating persons. A question is raised, whether the immolator of a victim at the sacrifice of an animal (usually a goat) be a distinct officiating person: the answer is in the negative. No one is specially engaged for immolator independently of other functions; but some one of the party, who has other duties to discharge, slays the victim in the prescribed manner, and is accordingly termed immolator.‡

The victims at some sacrifices are numerous: as many as seventeen at the *vajapeya*, made fast to the same number of stakes, and at an *aswaméd'ha* not fewer than six hundred and nine of all descriptions, tame and wild, terrestrial and aquatic, walking, flying, swimming, and creeping things, distributed among twenty-one stakes and in the intervals between them, the tame made fast to the stakes, and the wild secured in cages, nets, baskets, jars, and hollow canes, and by various other devices. The wild are not to be slain, but at a certain stage of the ceremony let loose. The tame ones, or most of them (chiefly goats), are to be actually immolated.

The various rites are successively performed for each victim, not completed for one before they are commenced for another. But the consecration of the sacrificial stakes is perfected for each in succession, because the votary is required to retain hold of the stake until the consecration of it is done.§

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* *Mîm.* 10. 2. 17—30. † *Ib.* 3. 7. 6—17. ‡ *Ib.* 3. 7. 13. § *Ib.* 5. 2. 1—5.

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The foregoing instances may suffice to give some idea of the nature of the subjects treated in the *Mímánsá*, and of the way in which they are handled. They have been selected as in themselves curious, rather than as instructive specimens of the manner in which very numerous and varied cases are examined and questions concerning them resolved. The arguments would be tedious, and the reasons of the solution would need much elucidation, and after all would, in general, be uninteresting.

A few examples of the topics investigated, and still fewer of the reasoning applied to them, have therefore been considered as better conveying in a small compass a notion of the multifarious subjects of the *Mímánsá*.

NOTES

TO THE FOREGOING AND SOME PRECEDING ESSAYS.

A. (*Page* 441.)

Śabara swámí Áchárya is expressly named by Śancara in his commentary on the latter *Mímánsá*, (see *Brahma Sútra*, 3. 3. 53,) and there are allusions to Cumárila bhaṭṭa, if no direct mention of him.

B. (*Page* 449.)

Instances of the same prayer recurring either word for word, or with very slight variation, in more than one *véda*, are innumerable. An eminent example is that of the celebrated *gáyatrí*, of which the proper place is in the *Rig-veda* (3. 4. 10), among hymns of Viswámitra. It is, however, repeated in all the *vedas*, and particularly in the 3d, 22d and 36th chapters of the white *Yajush*. (3, § 35, 22, § 9, and 36, § 3.)

Another notable instance is that of the *Purusha-sucta*, of which a version was given, from a ritual in which it was found cited (As. Res. vol. vii. p. 251). It has a place in the *Rig-veda* (8. 4. 7) among miscellaneous hymns, and is inserted, with some little variation, among prayers employed at the *purusha-médha*, in the 31st chapter of the white *Yajur-veda*.

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On collation of those two *védas* and their scholia, I find occasion to amend one or two passages in the version of it formerly given: but for this I shall take another opportunity.

That remarkable hymn is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes, serves to demonstrate the important fact, that the compilation of the *védas*, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced, from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the *véda* was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and prophane (*puránas* and *cávyas*), have been written.

C. (*Page* 134.)

The inscription at *Hánsi*, of which a copy, taken at Lieut. Col Tod's instance by a learned native, was presented by him, with a translation made through the medium of the same person's interpretation, has, as it appears, been likewise translated by Capt. R. Fell, and is published, with other translations of inscriptions (by the same distinguished Sanscrit scholar), in the fifteenth volume of Asiatic Researches, p. 443.

Feeling great distrust of the diligence and accuracy of natives in decypheering and interpreting ancient inscriptions, I recommended to Col. Tod to abridge his translation, which rested on a native's interpretation, reducing it, as was accordingly done, to a mere summary. Nevertheless a very material discrepancy appears in the versions: one stating the fort of *Asi* to have been bestowed on Hammíra, the other affirming it to have been presented by Prithwí Rája to Chahán in consequence of his (whether the king or his uncle is not clear) having slain Hammíra: the term which Col. Tod's interpreter took to signify "considering," being by Capt. Fell translated "having slain." The difference, if I mistake not, turns on the reading of a single letter: one has read मत्वा *matwá*, where the other finds हत्वा *hatwá*. As no fac-simile has been exhibited, it is not at present practicable to determine which of the two is correct. The presumption is no doubt in favour of the accuracy of Capt. Fell, who was an

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able and experienced scholar. But an exact copy of the inscription would be an acceptable communication, and the object may be recommended to the attention of any intelligent traveller visiting *Hánsi*.

Mr. Wilson surmises *Hamvira* to be a corruption of *Mír* or *Amir*. (As. Res. xv., p. 466.) The conjecture is probable. Yet *Hamvira* has unquestionably been a name of Hindu chieftains. The sovereign of *Sácambhari* (*Sambher*), who bore that name (As. Res. vol. ix, p. 192, and vol. x, pp. 416 and 418) was, as it would appear, a Hindu.

D. (*Page* 205.)

It appears from an inscription (a grant on plates of copper) published, with a translation in the fifteenth volume of Asiatic Researches (p. 447), that JAYA-CHANDRA was son of VIJAYA-CHANDRA; and that there has been a mistake in considering VIJAYA-CHANDRA and JAYA-CHAND to be equivalent Sanscrit and Hindi appellations of the same individual. The error originated with the Pandit SHIVÁDU TRIVÉDI, who communicated a copy of the inscription noticed in the ninth volume of Asiatic Researches (pp. 400 and 441) as relative to JAYA-CHAND, whom he identified (erroneously, as now appears) with VIJAYA-CHANDRA.

The series of princes who reigned at *Gádhipura* or *Canyacubja*, ancestors of JAYA-CHANDRA, is now completely and accurately determined; and the recovery of the inscription in question (p. 205 of this volume) ceases to be a matter of any interest.

E. (*Page* 235.)

By some oversight the date of the month has been given wrong: *sudi* instead of *badi*, the increase instead of the wane of the moon. It should be 3d *badi* (dark half).

On a reperusal of the Grant No. 1. (p. 232), it appears probable that the grantee's name was DHANAPÁLA instead of VANAPÁLA. Throughout the inscription the letter ध has for the most part the appearance of व, the detached stroke ⌐ being effaced: and DHANAPÁLA is doubtless the more ordinary name.

The tenour of the three inscriptions, as read and translated, is subjoined in printed characters. This should have accompanied the fac-simile and English version of them.

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Copies of Grants found at Ujjayani.

No. I.—P. 288.—[illegible]

ओं स्वस्ति ॥ श्री जयोभ्युदयम्भ ॥ जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गीय विभर्त्ति नां । ऐन्दवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्बीजाकुराकृतिं ॥ तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिङ्गलाः ॥ परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री उदयादित्य देव पादानुध्यात परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री नरवर्म्म देव पादानुध्यात परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री यशो वर्म्मदेव पादानुध्यात समस्तप्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्दालंकार विराजमान महा कुमार श्री लक्ष्मो वर्म्मदेवः ॥ श्री महा द्वादशकमण्डले श्री राजधासनभोगे सुराष्ट्रणी सम्बद्ध वउउद्दयाम नेप्पासुवर्ण प्रासादि का सम्बद्ध उथवणकयामयोः समभूतिविषयिक पट्टकिल जनपदादीन्प्रशा णीतरान्बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ॥ यथा श्रीमद्वारायां महाराजा धिराज परमेश्वर श्री यशोवर्म्म देवेन श्री विक्रम कालातीत सम्वत्सरे कनवत्यधिकशतैकादशेषु कार्त्तिक शुद्दि अष्टम्यां संजात महाराज श्री नरवर्म्म देव साम्वत्सरिके तीर्थाम्भोभिःस्नात्वा देव ऋषि मनुष्य पि तॄंस्तर्प्पयित्वा भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्च्य समाकुशतिलाज्याद्या हुतिभिर्हिरण्यरेतसं हुत्वा भानवे अर्घ्यं विधाय कपिला त्रिः प्रदक्षिणी कृत्य संसारस्याधारता दृष्ट्वा नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं जीवितं धनं चावेद्यं । उक्तंच । वाताभ्रविभ्रमभिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्र मधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिन्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ इत्यमाकलय्य अद्वेलवद्वावरि स्थान विनिर्गत भरद्वाजगोत्राय भरद्वाज आङ्गिरस बार्हस्पत्य त्रिप्रवराय आश्वलायनशाखिने दाक्षिणात्याय कर्म्माट ब्राह्मण द्विविद ठक्कुर श्री

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महिरस्वामिपौत्र श्री विष्णुरूपसुत आवसथिक श्री धनपालाय उपरि लिखित वउउद् ग्राम उथवणक ग्रामो सवृक्षमालाकुलो निधिनिक्षेप सहितो वापी कूप तडागान्वितो चतुष्कंकटविशुद्धो चंद्रार्कयावदुदक पूर्वकतया शासनेन प्रदत्तो । सम्वत्सर शतद्वादशकेषु श्रावण शुदि पंचद श्यां सोम ग्रहण पर्वणि श्रीमत्पितृत्रेयोर्थं पुनरेवास्माभिः इतो ग्रामो उदकपूर्वकतया शासनेन प्रदत्तो । तदनयोर्ग्रामयोर्निवासि समस्त पट्टकिलादिलोकैस्तथा कर्षकैश्च यथोत्पद्यमान करहिरण्य भागभोगादि कमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यम् । सामान्यं वै तत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा अस्मद्वंश्यजैरन्यैरपि भाविभूपतिभिः धर्म्मादायोयं मन्तव्यः पालनीयश्चेति । यत्नोवहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम् । षष्टि वर्ष सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः ॥ सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रा भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयंधर्म्मसे [तुः]

No. 2.—P. 233.

ओं स्वस्ति श्री जयोऽभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति योमदेशोऽसौ यः सर्गीय विभर्ति ना । ऐदवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्वीजांकुराकृतिम् ॥ तन्वंतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलय पिंगलाः ॥ श्री वर्द्धमानपुर समावासात् परम भट्टारक महाराजाधि राज परमेश्वर श्री उदयादित्यदेवपादानुध्यात परम भट्टारक महा राजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री नरवर्म्म देवपादानुध्यात परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्री यशोवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात परम भट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीमज्जयवर्म्मदेवो विजयोद्यो ॥

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पटखेटकषड्ग्रंथसंवद्ध मायमोऽकमामे समस्त राजपुरुषान् ब्राह्म णोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासि पद्दकिल जनपदादींश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा। चंद्रपुरी समावासितैरस्माभिः स्नात्वा वरावरगुरुं भगवंतं भवा नीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा तथा हि। कांताभ्रविभ्रम मिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः। प्राणास्तृणाग्र जलबिंदुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने॥ भमत्सं सारवल्लीविषवृक्षपाशमिमांश्रियं। प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलम्॥ इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमुररी कृत्य चंद्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भुक्त्या राजन्नलपुर्यां दक्षिणदेशान्तःपाति अद्रियलविदावरीस्थान विनिर्गताय भा रद्वाज - - - -

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No. 3.—P. 234.

श्री भीमल देवी सांवत्सरिक कल्पितत्वादुच्यमान देवल पाटका द्वदल द्वय परिवर्त्तन ब्राह्मणमाप्य कीयत्पदलद्वय सम्बद्ध वीकरिकायाम विभाग उभयजन द्वाभ्यां भूनिवर्त्तन सप्तदशकोपेतभूहलैकादशक सम्बद्ध समस्त उपरि लिखित लघु वेङ्गणपट्टयामस्तथा विल्लरिकायामार्द्धञ्च स्वसीमा तृणयूति गोचर पर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादायसमेतञ्च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वकतया प्रदत्तस्तन्मत्वा यथा दीयमान भागभोग कर हिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वमेताभ्यां समुपनेतव्यं॥ मा मान्यं वै नत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धा स्मदंशजेभ्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्त धर्म्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च। उक्तंच॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा

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फलम् ॥ यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि नि र्म्माल्यवन्ति प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादद्दीत ॥ अस्मत्कुल क्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिल्लल यचञ्चुदन्तुदिलाया दानं फलं परयशः परिपालनं च ॥ सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ इति कमलदलांबुबिंदुलोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजीवितं च सकलमिदमुदाहृतं बहुधा नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥

संवत ११६२ माघवदि३द्व० पुरोहित ठक्कुर श्री वामन स्वामि ठक्कुर श्री पुरुषोत्तमहाप्रधान राजपुत्र श्री देवधर प्रभृतयः ॥

मंगलं महा श्रीः ॥

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स्वहस्तोयं महाराज श्रीमद्यशोवर्म्मदेवस्य

अधि ॥ श्रीः ॥

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XXV *Enumeration of the various Classes of Population, and of Trades and Handicrafts, in the town of Bareilly in Rohilkhand, formerly the capital of the Rohilla Government* By ROBERT THOMAS JOHN GLYN, Esq., *M.R.A.S.*

Read March 18, 1826.

THE degree of civilization attained by a nation may, in a great measure, be estimated by the progress which it has made in those useful arts, trades, and employments, by means of which the necessaries, conveniencies, and luxuries of life are formed, collected, and distributed. In order to judge of the degree of this advancement, perhaps no better criterion need be sought than observing the divisions and subdivisions found to exist in its trades, manufactures, and other callings. By comparing these with the state of manufactures, trade, and commerce of other nations, a tolerably correct notion may be formed of the point which such people has actually attained in the scale of social refinement. Under this impression, I have considered that it might not be unacceptable to the Royal Asiatic Society to receive a statement of the various trades, manufactures, and other occupations existing in a principal town of Hindustan, and of the designations and estimated numbers of the castes and tribes, Hindu and Mahomedan, residing therein. Such statement appears calculated, not only to convey a notion of the degree of advancement in the useful arts as regards the urban inhabitants of the upper provinces of Hindustan, but also to illustrate their wants, habits, and peculiar usages, in relation to food, dress, amusements, and habitations.

A residence of some years in an official capacity at the town of Bareilly, has afforded me an opportunity of procuring the statement now submitted. It was framed with a view to a more equal assessment of a tax or rate for the support of watchmen. Considerable care and diligence was employed in its formation, and, to the best of my information and judgment, it is as accurate as the nature of the undertaking, and the want of skill and practice of the native officers in collecting and arranging statistical information, admits of. The errors and deficiencies in the due classification of castes, trades and professions, which will be found in the following statement, must

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be attributed to the same cause. The incidental remarks adjoined to the statement are my own.

Statement of the number of Houses and Shops in the Town of Bareilly in Rohilkhand; with a specification of the principal Mahomedan and Hindu Tribes and Castes, and a detailed Enumeration of the various Trades and Professions therein existing. The survey from which this statement is taken was made in the year 1822.

Number of houses and huts (brick and mud)	12,263
Number of shops.....	1,663
Total number of houses and shops..... ..	13,926
Mahomedan houses inhabited by families *not engaged* in manufactures, or in retail trades	1,964
Houses and shops inhabited by Mahomedan families *engaged* in manufactures or in retail trades	3,153
Total amount of houses and shops inhabited by Mahomedan families.	5,117
Estimated average of five persons to each family.....	5
Gives as the Mahomedan inhabitants.....	25,585
Houses inhabited by Hindu families *not engaged* in manufactures or retail trades	1,594
Houses and shops inhabited by Hindu families *engaged* in manufacture or retail trade .... -	6,447
Total number of houses and shops inhabited by Hindu families	8,041*
Estimated average of five persons to each family.....	5
Gives a total of Hindu population	40,205

* Here Mahomedan Houses and Shops inhabited are stated to be..... 5,117
Hindu ... ... do. ... ... do. 8,041
13,158

Above I have stated the total number of houses and shops in the town to be 13,926. The difference is owing to the former number (13,158) including those shops only which serve also as *dwelling-houses* whereas the latter number (13,926) includes all houses and shops whatsoever.

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Total Hindu population	40,205
Total Mahomedan population	25,585
Total Mahomedan and Hindu population in the town of Bareilly	65,790
Add Christians	5
Grand total of inhabitants	65,795

Number of wells in the town of Bareilly, 640 —

Made of brick	567
Earthen wells	73
	640

Of this number about 150 are out of repair, old and disused.

Principal Mahomedan Families not employed in retail Trade or Handicraft.

	No. of Families
Sayyids (claiming descent from the Prophet)	267
Sheikhs (of Arab descent)	623
Moghuls	107
Afghans (or Rohillas from Cabul)	856
Kunbóhs (a mixed race, Mahomedans, but having Hindu blood in their veins, looked down upon with contempt by other Mahomedan tribes)	51
Total	1,964

The Mahomedan families here enumerated include the nobility and gentry living upon land-rents or pensions, priests, learned doctors, preceptors or students; persons employed in public offices: many are officers in the army, a few are merchants; and many of the poorer families serve as private servants and as soldiers.

In this, the more respectable part of the Mahomedan population, there are many very disaffected to the British Government. In addition to the loss of power, and decline of wealth, honour, and patronage, incident to the rise of British dominion on the ruin of Mahomedan sovereignty, the difference of religion between the actual sovereign and the subject is a powerful

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motive of dislike and discontent, as the Sayyids and Rohillas of this town are peculiarly bigotted in their religious opinions, and easily excited to religious contention.

Another fertile source of discontent is the want of employment for Mahomedans following the profession of arms. The Sheikhs, Moghuls, and Rohillas of the town of Bareilly include numbers of this description of persons. They can rarely be induced to serve in our regular disciplined battalions, and the irregular Native cavalry and infantry, both in our service and in the service of our Native allies, having for the most part been disbanded, their families are reduced to almost the lowest point of penury. The classes above alluded to form, it is true, but a small part of the population; yet their active and warlike spirit, and the authority and respectability arising from high birth, superior education, and the recollections of former power, give them great influence over the agricultural, manufacturing, and trading classes of the inhabitants, both Hindu and Mahomedan.

The Hindu inhabitants of Bareilly have reason to be glad of the change, from Mahomedan intolerance and violence to British liberality and justice; and, generally, the manufacturing and trading part of the community has reason to rejoice at no longer being burthened with such a variety of heavy and vexatious cesses, duties, and restrictions as were in force under both the Moghul and Rohilla Governments.

Principal Hindu Castes not employed in retail Trade or Handicrafts.

	No. of Families.	
Brahmens	687	These follow a variety of occupations, both clerical and secular: they are priests, merchants, landholders, public officers, soldiers, &c.
Rájputs	50	Merchants, landholders, soldiers, &c.
Bakkáls	200	Employed in trade and banking. There are, besides these, more than 400 families of this tribe who are shop-keepers, and will be enumerated under their proper heads.
Káyat'hs, or Scribes	512	Employed in public offices, and elsewhere, as clerks and village accountants; also engaged in trade and agriculture.
K'hétris	188	Landholders, merchants, soldiers, civil officers, &c.
Cashmerians	7	Merchants and factors.
Total	1,594	Hindu families not engaged in retail trades or handicrafts.

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General Statement of the Number of Families engaged in Retail Trades, Manufactures, Handicrafts, Servile Professions, and Agriculture.

Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Sarráfs or Shroffs, Money-changers, and Brokers (Hindus)	65 Shops.	4 or 5 rupees (or 8 or 10 shillings) to as high as 150 or more monthly.	I have taken the average value of the Rupee to be 2s. English.
Nárbáfs or Cotton-cloth-weavers (Mahomedans).	707 Houses.*	2 to 5	
Cotton-dressers Mahomedans)	121 Houses.	3 to 4	
Carpet-weavers and Dealers (Mahomedans)	15 Houses.	4 to 5	
Bookbinders (Mahomedans)	7 Houses.	4 to 5	
Cotton-twisters and Rope-makers (Mahomedans)	1 House. 1 Shop.	2 to 2	
Dealers in Silks and Muslins (Hindus)	191 Shops.	7 to 9	
Brocade-weavers (Mahomedans)	15 Houses. 3 Shops.	7 to 9	During the marriage season, from February to June, they earn seven or eight rupees a month; at other times they earn a subsistence by going out to service.
Shoemakers and Slipper-dealers (Hindus)	15 Houses. 3 Shops.	5 to 10	They make shoes for Hindus of kid or sheep leather.
Firework-artificers (Mahomedans)	6 Houses. 7 Shops.	4 to 5	Fireworks are exhibited at all feasts and shows, otherwise, for so small and so very poor a population, eight families of this description of artificers would be too many

* For the most part, manufacturers and retail dealers have their houses and shops separate, but many, it will be observed, fabricate and sell retail in their own houses, instead of shops: others have shops and dwelling-houses united. When, as in the present example, no shops are mentioned, or that the number of shops in proportion to the number of houses enumerated is very small, it must be supposed that the manufacture or trade is chiefly or entirely conducted in the private dwelling, when, on the other hand, there are no houses, or very few houses in proportion to the number of shops mentioned, it must be inferred that the manufacturers or dealers reside in the back part of their shops, or in the upper story.

The weaving of cotton cloths is carried on in the open air, in the yards adjoining their houses, or in the mangoe groves, or other open spaces in and about the town. This class is generally supposed to have been converted from Hinduism.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Seal-cutters and Engravers (Mahomedans)	2 Houses. 3 Shops.	5 to 6	
Rang-séz, Colour-makers (Mahomedans)	4 Houses.	4 to 5	
Fine Leather-cutters and Dealers Mahomedans	7 Houses.	5 to 10	In the season of kite-flying they earn this sum: at other times of the year they go into service. Mahomedans in all parts of Asia are particularly fond of this amusement.
Kite-makers and Dealers (Mahomedans	4 Houses.	10 to 12	
Canvas-weavers (Mahomedans)	20 Houses.	3 to 4	
Torch-bearers (Hindus)	32 Houses.	3 to 4	
Sugar-refiners	28 Hindus. 4 Mahom. 32 Houses.	50 to 100	This opulent class manufacture sugar by a very rude and imperfect process, and sell it wholesale and retail.
Pansáris, Grocers and Druggists	Houses 45, Shops 96, 136 Hin. & Ma. = 141	10 to 25	
Kasérás, Copper Vessel-dealers (Hindus)	26 Houses.	10 to 25	Copper vessels for kitchen utensils and for dishes and plates are almost wholly manufactured in, and imported from Bengal.
Braziers and Pewterers	Houses 43, Shops 5, 44 Hin. 4 Ma. = 48	4 to 5	
Makers and Venders of Lak'h ornaments (Hindus)	4 Houses. 6 Shops.	4 to 10	They manufacture rings and bracelets, plain, varnished or plated, from the stick-lac brought from the hills.
Grain-sellers	46 Hindus. 20 Mahom. 66 Houses.	4 to 6	
Dealers in Flour and Meal	339 Hindus. 30 Mahom. 389 Shops.	5 to 50	
Ironmongers	24 Hindus. 3 Mahom. 27 Houses.	4 to 20	
Tobacco-sellers Mahomedans	68 Houses. 65 Shops.	2 to 7	
Fruit-sellers (Mahomedans	21 Houses. 19 Shops.	5 to 20	

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Silver and Gold Lace-dealers (Hindus)	17 Houses.	10 to 12	
Mat-dealers (Hindus)	15 Houses. 1 Shop.	—	They make mats, fine and coarse, of bamboo and of grass.
Shoemakers (Mahomedans)	10 Houses. 41 Shops.	6 to 20	They make shoes, for the use of Mahomedans only, of raw leather.
Corn-dealers*	110 Hindus. 26 Mahom. 136 Shops.	10 to 100	
Bhâts, Bards or Hymn-singers (Hindus)	36 Houses.	2 to 3	This caste of Hindus go about singing to the Hindu deities, and earn their much by begging.
Canedrers or Scourers (Mahomedans)	9 Houses. 2 Shops.	4 to 5	
Tinmen (Mahomedans)	10 Houses. 8 Shops.	5 to 12	
Linen and Cloth-painters (Hindus)	7 Houses.	5 to 12	
Goldsmiths and Silversmiths (Hindus)	200 Houses. 90 Shops.	4 to 15	They make gold and silver ornaments of every description, for men, women and children, also table ornaments, cups, bowls, &c. and horse ornaments, &c.†
Carpenters	142 Hindus. 11 Mahom. 153	5 to 10	

* Dealers in corn, as well as husbandmen, are almost universally Hindus. Indeed almost all concerned in the productions of the soil are of that religion. Mahomedans are found more numerous amongst the manufacturers of fine goods, as brocade, fine leather, &c.

† Gold and silver-smiths are rarely possessed of capital: nor do they often make large fortunes, as in Europe: but there is work enough to occupy even 200 families. The inhabitants of the upper provinces, both Hindu and Mahomedan, lay out the greater part of their savings in ornaments, and this is probably more the case now than in former times. They now wear gold and silver more, and bury less under ground, than under the Native governments: both because there is now much greater security from robbers: and because the possessors of wealth are not so much as formerly exposed to the rapacity of insatiable Native officers. The investment of money in ornaments and jewellery, in proportion to the amount of accumulation, is probably greater in the upper than in the lower provinces of India: and this is owing to the wealthy classes in Bengal preferring to invest their capital in government funds or other securities. The great number of shops considering the amount of the population and the paucity of wealth in this town, serves to show how vast is the consumption of gold and silver throughout India.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Polishers of Steel, Armourers, &c.	Houses 13, Shops 3, 14 Hin. 2 Mu. } 16	4 to 5	
Blacksmiths	69 Hindus. 40 Mahom. 109 Houses.	5 to 20	
Oilmen (Hindus)	150 Houses.	3 to 7	They make and sell vegetable oils of various descriptions, chiefly for food.
Coarse Porcelain Manufacturers and Dealers (Hindus)	10 Houses.	4 to 10	A very inferior sort of manufacture, porous, and soon unfit for holding water: but by skill might be easily much improved.
Bóogars, makers of Boza or Beer Mahomedans,	14 Houses. 4 Shops.	5 to 6	They make palm-wine, and beer, of barley and of sugar.
Makers of Leather Bags, and vessels for holding water (Mahomedans.	19 Houses.	4 to 5	
Dressers of Flour (Hindus).	4 Houses. 3 Shops.	4 to 5	They prepare fine wheaten flour moistened (dough), for sale.
Bow and Arrow-makers, and Dealers (Mahomedans).	6 Houses. 1 Shop.	4 to 5	
Glass Bracelet-makers and Dealers	44 Houses.	4 to 10	They make bracelets, rings, and other ornaments of glass, plain, varnished, and plated.
Atárs, Perfumers and Druggists	Houses 2, Shops 11, 8 Hin. 5 Mah. } 13	10 to 100	In this country perfumes, medicines, and drugs are always vended in the same shop.
Kahars, Palankeen-bearers (Hindus)	698 Houses.	3 to 4	They carry palankeens when wanted, and at other times gain a livelihood by fishing in pools or rivers, or by agriculture.
Paládárs, Bag-carriers or Porters (Hindus)	124 Houses.	4 to 5	
Sídu-kárs, Setters of Jewels &c.	4 Hindus. 3 Mahom. 7 Shops.	10 to 15	
Béldars, Hoe and Mattock-diggers, Labourers (Hindus)	980 Houses.	4 to 5	Some hire themselves out as labourers, others cultivate little fields of their own.

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Trade &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Masons	25 Hindus. 54 Mahom. 79 Houses.	8 to 10	
Dealers in Spirits (Hindus)	6 Houses. 8 Shops.	68, out of which the government duty is to be paid.	The use of spirits being more strictly interdicted to Mahomedans than to Hindus, a Mahomedan publican is rarely found.
Tamers of Hawks, Falcons, &c. (Mahomedans)	10 Houses.	4 to 5	
Chôb-dârs, Javelin-men and Silver-stick Bearers	8 Hindus. 6 Mahom. 14 Houses.	4 to 5	Employed in the retinue of public officers and noblemen and gentlemen.
Turban-makers and Venders	2 Hindus. 1 Mahom. 3 Shops.	10 to 15	
Farriers (Mahomedans)	8 Houses.	4 to 5	
Natcha-bands, Hukka, snake, Tobacco-pipe-makers and Dealers (Mahomedans)	16 Shops.	4 to 5	
Lime-burners and dealers (Mahomedans)	10 Houses. 4 Shops.	7 to 15	
Bakers (Mahomedans)	11 Houses. 21 Shops.	4 to 5	They only supply Mahomedans and Christians with bread; the Hindus not eating bread prepared by strange hands.
Carters, Owners of Carts for Hire	11 Hindus. 4 Mahom. 15 Houses.	2 to 3	There are 116 bullock carts, private and for hire, in this town.
Elephant-drivers (Mahomedans)	1 House.	6	Native influence and pomp is much reduced in the upper provinces. There were, it is said, a great many more elephants in Bareilly some years ago than there are at present.
Camel-drivers (Mahomedans)	28 Houses.	4 to 5	
Gardeners	144 Hindus. 1 Mahom. 145 Houses.	3 to 4	Here, as in all Asiatic towns, both within and around the town, are gardens and orchards without number.
Embroiderers (Mahomedans)	7 Houses.	5 to 6	
Horse-cloth-makers, &c. (Mahomedans)	14 Houses.	3 to 4	They make cloth-housings and trappings for elephants and horses.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Tent-makers	21 Houses.	4 to 5	They make tents, &c. of cotton cloth.
Water-carriers (Mahomedans)	135 Houses.	2 to 4	Hindus are their own water-carriers, and do not buy water for fear of pollution. There are no water-pipes, pumps, fountains or cisterns in the town: the water is raised by the hand from wells.
Lodas, a caste of field labourers	406 Houses.	3 to 4	Besides working in the fields, they winnow and clean rice.
Mirdehas, Measurers of Lands (Mahomedans)	70 Houses.	4 to 5	Many are in the employ of Government, others find occupation in private measurements.
Patwás, Pearl and Jewel-stringers (Hindus)	22 Houses.	4 to 6	
Tamboos, Dealers in Betel-leaf, &c. (Hindus)	55 Houses. 38 Shops.	4 to 10	The areca nut, lime, and the inspissated juice of the catechu-tree, with the betel leaf, form an agreeable stimulant, and a favourite luxury of all who can afford it. The Tamboos prepare and sell it. The areca nut and the leaf of the better sine are usually brought from the lower provinces.
Saddlers and Harness-makers	58 Hindus. 60 Mahom. 118 Houses.	4 to 20	They make leather saddles and harness for horses, and pads for camels, and the housings for elephants.
Milkmen (Mahomedans)	15 Houses.	5 to 6	They only supply Mahomedans. The Hindu will not buy milk for fear of pollution.
Bhórchis, Grain-roasters (Hindus)	147 Houses.	4 to 5	They roast or parch and sell to the Chubina-lurish roasted or parched wheat, millet, pease, Indian-corn, &c., and the latter class sell it again retail.
Calico-printers	39 Hindus. 80 Mahom. 59 Houses.	4 to 10	
Pastry-cooks and Confectioners	106 Hindus. 15 Mahom. 120 Shops.	4 to 25	Sugar, honey, ghee, butter, and various oils are mixed up with the flour of rice, wheat, Indian corn, or pease: this is the most common composition of their sweetmeats and cakes.
Turners (Mahomedans)	5 Houses.	7 or 8	The paucity of these artizans shews the little use there is of household furniture in India: we find no cabinet-makers or upholsterers.*

* Most English gentlemen have their own private carpenters and turners, hired by the month, to make tables, chairs, &c. for them. Bareilly is famous for the brilliant varnish of its chairs, boxes, &c.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Méwátis, Watchmen, Runners a Mahomedan tribe	14 Houses.	3 to 4	Thieving is hereditary in this tribe; and according to the old proverb they make the best watchmen
Bisátis, Cloth, Silk, and fine Carpet-dealers (Mahomedans	48 Houses. 38 Shops.	5 to 8	
Tawáifs, Courtesans Mahomedans	125 Houses.	4 to 100*	Classes of this description are much under the control of the Police, who have the means of ascertaining their earnings.
Khánagis, a superior sort of Courtesans Mahomedans	14 Houses.	10 to 150	Most of these are kept mistresses.
Ramjanis, Courtesans (Hindus)	18 Houses.	4 to 50†	
Mukhannas, Eunuchs Mahomedan,	1 House.	5 to 6	They gain their livelihood by singing.
Zanánas, Eunuchs (Mahomedans)	5 Houses.	5 to 6	They gain their livelihood by singing‡
Rangrés, Dyers Mahomedans	44 Shops. 18 Houses.	4 to 10	
Cot-makers (Hindus,	26 Houses.	4 to 5	Cots or plain couches, made of wood plain or varnished, and bamboo or cotton string bedding, are used to sleep on by both the middling and higher classes, the common people sleep on the ground.
Tailors	Houses 177 Shops 6 178 Ma. 16 Hin.	183 4 to 7	
Washermen	101 Hindus. 92 Mahom. 193 Houses.	4 to 10	

* At Lucknow, the court of a Mahomedan prince, women of this description often earn above 1,000 rupees (£100) per mensem. Since the fall of Mahomedan power in these provinces, the gains of this class have greatly diminished.

† The smaller number of Hindu in proportion to Mahomedan courtesans, is a proof of the greater licentiousness of the latter class, as far as regards the population of this town.

Amount of Mahomedan Population ..... 25,385 Amount of Hindu Population 46,395
Houses of Mahomedan Courtesans ..... 120 } Houses of Hindu Courtesans 18

‡ That there are two classes of eunuchs is owing to there being two different modes of emasculation.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month. Rupees.	Remarks.
Seal-engravers (Mahomedans)	3 Houses. 5 Shops.	4 to 5	A poor trade: this shows want of wealth in the higher classes who ought to be their customers.
Kanjars, a tribe of outcast Hindus	6 Huts.	3 to 5; often much less.	This class sell rope and string made of grass, and catch snakes; they lead a wandering life and eat the coarsest food, lizards and vermin of all sorts.
Fakirs (Mendicants)	69 Mahom. 60 Hindus. 129 Houses.	Average earnings various: not specified.	They gain their livelihood by begging: many hold charity lands. I should estimate their earnings at more than what many of the industrious classes earn.
Bamboo-splitters (Mahomedans)	4 Houses.	3 to 4	
Wire-drawers (Mahomedans)	9 Houses.	4 to 9	
Kán-mail, Ear-cleaners and Brush-makers (Mahomedans)	22 Houses.	3 to 4	
Hindu and Mahomedan Physicians	16 Houses.	4 to 50	Some of these physicians hold lands tax-free, granted by Government, and most have other means besides their earnings by medical practice. Several practice gratis amongst the poor.
Greengrocers (Mahomedans)	51 Houses.	4 to 8	
Bhatyáras, a class of people attending strangers in caravanseras (Mahomedans)	151 Houses.	4 to 5	The Sarái or Caravanseras are square courts, containing twenty to forty small rooms unfurnished, with the ground for a floor, and more like cells than apartments. Each room has its attendant *Bhatyára*.
Mirásis, Men, Women, and Boy-singers and Musicians (Mahomedans)	41 Houses.	4 to 15	They are continually hired to sing and play at festivals, &c.
Coarse-leather Stirrup and Harness-makers and Venders	6 Houses.	5 to 6	They make the rude harness used for country bullock carriages.
Barbers	150 Hindus. 118 Mahom. 268 Houses.	4 to 8	In this country barbers also practise as surgeons: many of them are very expert in the application of healing plants, but they are very ignorant of the use of surgical instruments.
Printers and Stampers (Mahomedans)	3 Houses. 2 Shops.	4 to 5	
Silk-thread Dealers (Hindus)	2 Shops.	4 to 7	

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Chabéna-farósh, Roasted-grain-dealers (Hindus)	14 Shops.	4 to 5	The lower classes of people such as in Europe on a crust of bread and cheese. This class buy the unripe grain or *chabéna* of the *Bhoochi* above mentioned, and sell it retail.
Kulás, Coarse Earthern Pot and Pan-makers and Venders (Hindus,	210 Houses. 5 Shops.	5 to 6	Mahomedans cook their food chiefly in metallic vessels; Hindus use almost entirely earthen vessels.
Játs, a caste of Hindus employed as Watchmen, Servants, &c. (Hindus)	74 Houses.	2½ to 5	In the interior of the district there are numbers of this caste, which includes numerous robbers.
Cocoa-nut-dealers (Hindus)	5 Shops.	4 to 5	Cocoa-nuts are chiefly produced in and imported from the eastern provinces, Bengal, Behar, &c.
Chuna-farósh, Lime and Mortar-dealers (Mahomedans,	8 Houses. 6 Shops.	4 to 5	
Rope-dealers (Hindus)	16 Shops.	4 to 5	
Goat-skin-dressers (Hindus)	20 Houses.	5 to 6	The Hindus being prohibited the use of cow-leather, make their shoes or sandals, book-bindings, &c. of kid, deer, or sheep-skin.
Kid-butchers (Mahomedans)	84 Houses. 10 Shops.	5 to 6	The number of these butchers proves what a considerable article of food, kid and goat's-flesh is.
Ox-butchers (Mahomedans,	147 Houses. 15 Shops.	5 to 6	*
Cotton-cleaners Hindus)	10 Shops.	4 to 5	
Shawl-menders (Mahomedans)	6 Houses. 4 Shops.	5 to 6	
Gandhis, Perfumers (Mahomedans)	9 Houses. 7 Shops.	5 to 6	
Ink-dealers	1 House. 2 Shops.	5 to 10	
Brass and Pewter-moulders	6 Houses. 4 Shops.	5 to 15	

* Bareilly being formerly the capital of a Mahomedan state, cows and oxen have from time immemorial been slaughtered and sold within the town. The Hindus are now constantly protesting, and petitioning against what they consider a great sacrilege.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month. Rupees.	Remarks.
Salt-dealers Hindus.	12 Shops.	4 to 8	The *Pansáris*, or grocers, also sell salt. The persons now mentioned are the importers, and sell chiefly by wholesale.
Shirini-furosh, Dealers in Sweet-meats, offerings to Idols (Hindus)	1 Shop.	50 to 100	This profitable manufacture of sweet offerings to the gods appears to be a monopoly
Wood-merchants and dealers (Hindus and Mahomedans)	12 Shops.	10 to 40	
Rag-sellers (Hindus)	27 Houses.	2 to 7	
Khátis, Bullock carriage and Pánkhreet-makers (Hindus)	29 Houses.	3 to 4	There are 175 bullock-carriages, private and for hire, in the town of Bareilly. They are a sort of covered cart drawn by two oxen abreast, in which the higher and middling order of natives travel.
Bamboo-dealers (Hindus)	15 Houses.	5 to 10	
Bázigars, Tumblers and Rope-dancers Mahomedans	12 Houses.	2 to 4	
Refiners of Dross of Metals (Mahomedans)	4 Houses.	2 to 6	
Banjaras, Carriers and Bullock-drivers (Mahomedans *	24 Houses.	4 to 10	They let out bullocks for the transport of military stores, and of private merchandize
Horse-breakers and Trainers Mahomedans	9 Houses.	4 to 7 when employed.	

* The tribe of *Banjaras* is very numerous, both in Hindustan and in the Deccan. Those in Rohilcund are all converts from Hindulism to the faith of Mahomed. They boast of being originally descended from some of the most noble of the Hindu tribes of Rajputs as *Powars, Chouháns, Sarpa-vansi*, &c. In the Bareilly districts, there are calculated to be about 14,000 inhabitants of this description. These people pride themselves on the recollection of the warlike exploits of their Rajput ancestors. Many of them repeat from memory long poems recording their deeds of arms, of a period prior to the first Mahomedan invasion of more than 800 years ago. I have frequently heard them singing these traditionary poems, accompanied by the tambour and guitar. Besides carrying merchandize, the *Banjaras* find employment in cultivating lands, and in winnowing rice by contract for the neighbouring farmers. Their conversion from Hindulism was probably effected some centuries ago.

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Trade, &c.	Number of Houses, Shops, &c.	Average Earnings per Month.	Remarks.
		Rupees.	
Chabuk fatósh, Whip and Korá-makers and Dealers (Mahomedans)	7 Houses.	4 to 5	The kora is an instrument of severe corporal punishment, like the Russian knut. A dexterous hand can inflict death with it at one blow. It is even now used for criminal punishment; but the breast and loins of the person to be flogged are always first covered with a thick leather waistcoat, to prevent fatal accidents.
Khákrobs, Sweepers, Scavengers, &c. (Mahomedan or Hindu outcasts	74 Huts.	2 to 5	
Chamárs, a Tribe of Hindu outcasts	126 Huts.	2 to 3	They work in the fields as labourers or prepare cow-leather and make shoes, or carry burthens. They drink arrack, eat cow's-flesh, and practise other things which the Hindus reckon abominations.
Kórwars, a caste of Hindus who sell grain in the markets and streets	25 Houses.	4 to 10	
Kisans, a caste of Hindu Husbandmen	85 Houses.	2 to 6	They cultivate the fields and kitchen gardens around the town: this is a very industrious class. The same remark is applicable to the two following classes.
Kúrmi, a caste of Hindu Husbandmen	24 Houses.	4 to 9	This class cultivate fields bearing the superior kinds of produce, as tobacco, cotton, roses, &c.
Ómraos, a caste of Hindu Husbandmen	287 Houses.	2 to 6	They cultivate round the town, also winnow, clean, and grind corn and rice. The wives of the agricultural classes now mentioned share equally in their labours.
Joshis, a caste of Hindu Mendicants	15 Houses.	5 to 8	
Ahirs, Herdsmen (Hindus)	185 Houses.	3 to 6	
Kolárs, Corn-factors and Dealers (Hindus)	134 Houses.	10 to 15	They are chiefly employed in the transport of grain from the country to the town, and its exportation to the provinces on the other side the Ganges.
Buttermilk-dealers	3 Shops.	4 to 11	

On a view of the detailed classification above exhibited, it cannot but immediately strike the observation how very backward and imperfect is the subdivision of labour, and how very few are the trades and manufactures in this, the chief town of the very extensive and populous province of Rohilkhand. The same remark is indeed applicable to all the principal towns of Hindusthan; the same indisputable signs of deficiency of capital,

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and want of industry, are found in all. Compare any town in the civilized parts of Europe, containing a population of 66,000 inhabitants, with Bareilly, and how many more varieties of trade and manufacture will be found in it, than this statement shews! This is no doubt in some measure to be attributed to the nature of the climate, in which man has less occasion for quantity and variety of clothing, food, and household furniture than in Europe. The Hindu religion, that so strictly inculcates the dread of pollution, both in food and in dress, does also no doubt materially contribute to diminish the number of trades in Indian towns*: still although these circumstances do certainly tend to restrict the multiplication of handicrafts, the poverty of the people, and their low advance in civilization, must be admitted to be the principal cause. The very limited diffusion of wealth, and consequently the little demand for the conveniences and luxuries of life, limit the number of trades and manufactures to a very insignificant amount. The nations of Europe have very little idea of the actual condition of the inhabitants of Hindusthan: they are more wretchedly poor than we have any notion of. Europeans have hitherto been too apt to draw their opinions of the wealth of Hindusthan from the gorgeous pomp of a few emperors, sultans, nawabs, and rajas, whereas a more intimate and accurate view of the real state of society would have shewn, that these princes and nobles were engrossing all the wealth of the country, whilst the great body of the people were earning but a bare subsistence, groaning under intolerable burthens, and hardly able to supply themselves with the necessaries of life, much less with its luxuries. The statement of monthly earnings given in this enumeration is rather over than underrated: but it may serve to convey some notion of the comparative poverty of this people. The average rate of earnings appears to be from five shillings to eight shillings per month (taking the rupee at the exchange of two shillings). Wheat is the food of the higher classes in Hindustan (by Hindusthan is meant the northern provinces of our Indian empire, between the Nerbadá and the Setlej); but though wheat is three times cheaper in Hindusthan than in England, yet the earnings of both

* Actuated by this superstitious notion, the greater part of the Hindus cook their own victuals, make and mend their own clothes, and wash their own linen; and even the higher classes chiefly employ their own private servants in those offices, instead of resorting to shops for the supply of their wants. Hence butchers and bakers are wanting, and tailors and washermen not numerous, in the Hindu part of the community.

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the middling and lower classes are too scanty to enable either class to live on such an article of luxury. The former mix with wheat, split-peas, vetches, and other vegetable productions: the lower classes subsist upon barley, millets, maize, tares, vetches, &c. But this is luxury compared with the food of the lower classes in the villages, their earnings, rising only from four shillings to six shillings per mensem, force a recourse to the vilest food. The more scrupulous castes are obliged to mix with the coarse grains above-mentioned, wild roots, herbs, and insects, while the outcasts, as the numerous race of *Chamars*, *Kanjars*, *Dusdds*, &c., scruple not to eat vermin, dead fish, and carrion.

The statistical information above given affords abundant proof of the superior industry of the Hindu to that of the Mahomedan. Of the Hindus nearly four-fifths are here found to be engaged in retail trade and manufactures; of the Mahomedan part of the population, only about three-fifths are engaged in the same pursuits. The Mahomedans of this part of the world have hitherto been little used to money-getting trades and professions: war and sovereign rule have been their chief occupations. On the other hand, accumulation of wealth has for ages been the darling passion of the Hindu; their maxims, and habits of life, peculiarly fit them for retail trades, commerce and manufactures.

It will be observed that, setting aside the *Nurbiyh*, who are conjectured to have been originally converts from Hinduism, the industry of the Mahomedans in Bareilly is, for the most part, confined to manufactures having relation to war, as sword cutlery, bow and arrow making, saddlery, farriery, elephant, camel or bullock driving, horse dealing, &c., or to those fine arts, inventions and luxuries, which may be supposed to have been induced by their forefathers from Persia or Arabia, as the manufacture of fine carpets, embroidery, hukkas, book-binding, and the trades of dyers, tobacco and beer dealers, engravers, turners, &c., or to trades which religious obstacles prevent the Hindu from exercising, as those of shoemakers, curriers, butchers, bakers, tailors, water-carriers, milk-dealers, &c.

In the distribution of industry above exhibited, the political economist will not find much to gratify his ardour for social improvement. The amount of labour, applied to the production even of the conveniences of life, he will find very limited, and what is employed in the cultivation of the fine arts, or in the supply of the luxuries of civilized society, very small indeed; he will regret, that division of labour, ingenuity, and enterprize, should

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be so much impeded, not only by the fetters of caste and custom, but by want of capital, and will be inclined to wonder how, under the government of a nation so eminently civilized and skilled in arts and manufactures as Great Britain, the manufactures of India should still continue to be carried on in the rudest and most unproductive style of process.

On the other hand, he cannot fail to anticipate a great increase of the comforts and conveniences of life in India, and a most material improvement in the state of society, from the application of the arts and skill of Europe to the very imperfect manufactures of Hindusthan. The facility of such improvements will more particularly strike him with relation to those articles which may be considered the staple productions of this part of India, and which are the chief subjects of its manufacturing industry in this town, such as cotton, sugar, leather, wood, stick-lac, glass, earthen-ware, &c. When will their rude wooden sugar-presses, their awkward, ill-fashioned tools and instruments, and their earthern pots and earthen furnaces, be exchanged for some portion of the machinery of Europe? It is needless to observe how much even the smallest improvement in their rude machinery must assist labour and facilitate production.

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XXVI. *Report of a Journey into the Batak Country, in the interior of Sumatra, in the year 1824. By Messrs. Burton and Ward, Baptist Missionaries. Communicated by the late Sir Stamford Raffles, Kt*

Read April 22, 1826.

Journal.

In accordance with a desire of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, and in pursuance of the objects of the mission to the *Bataks*, we left the village of *Siholga* on Friday the 30th of April 1824, for the purpose of visiting the populous districts inland of the bay of *Tappanooly*. The general opinion of the ferocity of the Batak character, together with the representations of various individuals residing in the bay, had led us to view the enterprize as somewhat hazardous and difficult. The previously limited intercourse of Europeans with the interior, had reduced them to the necessity of depending upon the natives of the coast and the adjacent mountains for their information relative to those parts — these, from a habit of hereditary depredation on their more inland neighbours, having imbibed towards them sentiments and feelings to their prejudice, had generally presented the most unfavourable view of their character and disposition. Unfortunately, the well-attested practice of cannibalism, in some of its most odious forms, so disgusting and horrible to the imagination of civilized nations, had served to corroborate their worst representations, and a barrier had thus been raised against almost every effort of research into an extensive and populous country, for more than a century bordered by our settlements and factories, and the exclusive source of some of our most valuable articles of commerce. Except a journey performed upwards of fifty years ago by Messrs. Miller and Holloway, which appears to have been extended scarcely beyond the woody hills on the west, we are not aware of any personal communication of Europeans with what may properly be called the Batak country, the open plains, and more level districts between the mountains and the straits of *Malacca*. Should the reception we experienced on this occasion be followed by farther intercourse and more accurate information, we have reason to anticipate a change of opinion on some points, which have hitherto

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led mankind to regard these people with sentiments of aversion and terror.

Being informed that the mountains at the back of old *Tappanooly* were easier of ascent than those in other parts, we proceeded by water, and reached the river of that name at 11 A.M. of the same day. Here we arranged the party, which consisted of sixteen coolies or porters, two servants, and ourselves, altogether making twenty. We carried with us a musket, a fowling-piece, a sabre, and two pairs of pocket-pistols, the latter intended as presents, should occasion require any to be made. Our baggage consisted of provisions and cooking utensils, clean clothes, bedding, and a small quantity of cloth and tobacco for barter and presents. Thus equipped and laden, an old union-jack closed the rear of our train.

For two hours the path lay over a grassy plain or valley, having at intervals patches of cultivation, and intersected by mountain streams, which uniting at the distance of two miles from the bay, form the river of *Tappanooly*. We observed a herd of small black cattle in excellent condition, pasturing in the vicinity of half a dozen Batak villages, from which supplies are occasionally afforded to the shipping which visit the bay. At one o'clock we began to ascend the first range of mountains, and reached a village named *Parik Debata*, situated on the opposite side, about half-past five. The road lay over an assemblage of hills so irregularly clustered, as to afford but a faint resemblance of the distinct ranges in the southern parts of the island. At the foot of the hills upon which *Parik Debata* was situated the fire-arms were discharged—a useful practice of the Bataks, to signify the peaceable approach of travellers and persons of distinction. The salute was returned by the chief and several of his people, who met us in a friendly manner at a short distance from the top of the hill, and conducted us to the principal house in the village. Here we spent the night with much comfort, and the next morning received the same marks of respect as are paid to the most distinguished visitors. After partaking of a meal in the house of the chief, as a token of friendship, and mutually exchanging civilities, he conducted us himself over the next stage of our journey.

Parik Debata commands an extensive view of the district of *Pagaran Lambung*, which occupies a space bounded by a prolongation of the first and second great ranges of mountains, and contains ten or twelve villages, averaging from two hundred and fifty to three hundred souls. The surface of this tract of country consisted almost exclusively of hills of various

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dimensions, covered with wood except in the vicinity of the villages, where they were partially cleared for the cultivation of the sweet potatoe. Every hill of the vast number within this compass appeared to give rise to a stream or two of water. These variously winding round the base of the smaller hills, descended to the middle of the valley between the two ranges, and formed a considerable river, which passing rapidly over a bed of rocks in a northerly direction, falls into the sea at *Kolom*, a village about twelve miles to the north of *Tappanooly*. The soil of *Pagaran Lambung* may be generally described as consisting of a friable, red, and sometimes greyish clay, covered with a thin layer of black vegetable mould. The hilly nature of the ground seems to have assisted the heavy rains in carrying off that deposit of forest mould, which in the lapse of time must necessarily have been formed on a more even surface. Vegetation, however, was luxuriant and abundant in every situation, and we doubt not that, under the direction of skill and industry, cultivation might be carried on to considerable advantage. Camphor, gambir, and benzoin trees were plentiful, and in great perfection; and we observed a variety of singular plants, which would have doubtless proved interesting to the botanist. The country seems to be tolerably free from wild beasts, as we met with but a single track, said to be that of a rhinoceros, during the whole of the journey.

After pursuing our route with much fatigue for six hours, accompanied by the chief of *Parik Debáta*, we rested for the night at a village about the middle of the district. Early the next morning, being Sunday, we proceeded to a neighbouring village, and spent the day chiefly in conversation with the people. On Monday morning we resumed our journey, and in four hours passed *Huta Tinggi*,* a village situated on an elevated part of the second range, and forming the eastern boundary of the district of *Pagaran Lambung*. Pursuing the path from *Huta Tinggi* over woody hills and deep valleys for some distance as before, we at length entered a more open country, where the hills sank to mere undulations, and table-land covered chiefly with long coarse grass, the ravines alone remaining woody, as in the vicinity of *Bencoolen*. A rapid march of five hours from *Huta Tinggi* brought us to a dirty hamlet, on a romantic spot at the foot of a lofty moun-

* "The high fort." *Huta* is the *Kota* of the Hindus and Malays. In many other words, it may be observed, that the pronunciation of *h* is changed to *k*.—W. M.

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tain, where we took up our lodgings for the night, receiving such comfort, amidst rain and cold and mud, as the miserable inmates could afford.

At an early hour on Tuesday morning we were conducted to the opposite side of the mountain, and gratified by a delightful view of the *Toba* districts, which presented themselves at an immense distance through an avenue of the hills. The woodlands had already given place to grassy plains, and the mountain on which we stood had been cleared on every side for cultivation, merely retaining its original forest in a tuft at the top. On descending its verdant side we entered a valley richly cultivated, and although we actually observed for the present but few men or habitations, every thing indicated our approach to an extensive population. The valley may be described as three miles in length and a fourth of a mile in breadth, winding so variously amongst the hills, as to present almost at every step a new and distinct prospect. A mountain stream meandering throughout its extent, and terminating in a fine cascade, contributed equally to its beauty and fertility. Its surface, perfectly even, presented a continued chain of rice fields almost ready for the sickle. The soil now became sandy and grey, and the hills were entirely free from wood, and planted with the sweet potatoe in many instances to the very tops. The beauty and variety of the scene, contrasted with the rugged wilds of nature, to which we had become accustomed, produced in our minds an effect so delightful, that had our journey terminated here, we might have concluded that nothing could have surpassed this prospect.

The path at length led us through a cleft in the hills, where our attention was arrested by the fall of the rivulet. On turning aside to view it, a portion of the district of *Silindung* discovered itself through a break of the trees. Language cannot express the astonishment which we felt when we reached the brow of the hill, and obtained a more extensive view. Even the coolies, at this unexpected scene, appeared for a moment transfixed to the spot, and with one accord cast down their burdens, and burst into expressions of the warmest admiration. The principal object of the picture was an even plain, ten or twelve miles long and three broad, forming a vast unbroken field of rice. A fine broad river, with numberless tributary streams winding through the plain from end to end, and supplying artificial aqueducts for irrigation in every direction, served much to adorn it, but the number of villages along its border and scattered over its surface, and the concourse of people assembled at a market in its centre, together with the variety of objects

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inseparable from the busy haunts of man, rendered it interesting beyond expression. The plain was surrounded by hills from five hundred to one thousand feet high, in a state of cultivation, and the whole surrounding country was perfectly free from wood, except the summits of two or three mountains, said to be the abode of monstrous serpents and evil spirits. Here we rested for a time to contemplate the prospect and prepare to descend into the plain, not omitting to discharge our muskets, the customary salute to signify our approach.

Having been joined on the way by several chiefs of villages returning from a trading journey to *Tappanooly*, we were invited by the principal of them to take up our abode with him. His village was situated in the centre of the plain, and happened to be the seat of the market on the day of our arrival. Several inducements led us to embrace his offer, and having placed ourselves under his protection, we were conducted through crowds of spectators, whose surprise and curiosity it was difficult to satisfy. The news of the arrival of white men quickly reached the market, and drew forth the whole assembly to meet us. Before we reached the bank of the principal river, over which it was necessary to pass, we were completely surrounded and prevented from advancing, not, however, from any thing hostile, but from extreme curiosity. The object of greatest interest, next to our persons, was a double-barrelled gun, which, it had been reported, fired twice together; and we were not suffered to proceed a step until we had demonstrated the reality of this singular power. Indeed, the conduct of the multitude during the whole of the day, reminded us strongly of what is described of the first appearance of the Spaniards in America, not only with regard to surprise and curiosity, but as it respects that simplicity and imbecility, which seem so strikingly to have marked the American character.

We were at length permitted to cross the river, the road leading directly from which to the village was so thickly crowded with people, that it was found impossible to pass: our guide, therefore, conducted us by a circuitous path to the market-place, where the respectable old men and the chiefs, with immense brass pipes, were seated in a circle to receive us. Here the noise and pressure became greater than ever, and before we had been in the circle two minutes, it became necessary to remove and take shelter in the house; several of the chiefs clearing the way with their pipes, which were thus conveniently converted into formidable weapons of offence. We had not been long under cover when it began to rain impetuously; but

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nothing could pacify the clamour of the people until we could exhibit ourselves to public view: it was therefore recommended that we should ascend a loft at the gable end of the house fronting the street, where we sat exposed for several hours, and added to the novelty of the scene by displaying a telescope, a mariner's compass, a pair of spectacles, a case of mathematical instruments, some printed books, and in fact every article about us, even the meanest of which attracted notice and applause.

We were scarcely less interested by the internal appearance of the villages, than we had previously been by that of the surrounding country. The one subordinate to our host consisted of twenty-four houses, in a straight line, with the gable ends uniformly facing the street, and separated from each other by a vacant space of three or four yards. The opposite side was formed by a corresponding row of open buildings on the same model, somewhat smaller, appropriated by night for the sleeping places of the young men, and by day to the more public occupations of the family. The space between the ceiling and the roof was used as a granary, and as a depôt for the skulls of their enemies. Each house was elevated five or six feet above the ground, on large wooden posts or pillars. The side walls, made of plank, were carried about four feet above the floor, projecting outwardly from bottom to top: the ends were formed by a similar projection, continued to the apex of the roof, and forming a kind of inclined gable. The roof appeared disproportionately large, being very high, sunk in the middle, raised and projecting at the ends, and surmounted at each apex with an imitation of a bullock's head and horns, thus affording a convenient shelter in the street from the rain and sun. The entrance, unlike that of the *Batak* houses on the coast, was by a trap-door in the floor from beneath. The interior contained no separate apartments, but formed a single room, thirty or forty feet by twenty. In each of the four corners was a fire-place, but having neither windows nor vent for the smoke, it became almost intolerable to remain long within. A large shelf, or loft, extending along the middle and sides, together with a wooden jar or two, or a chest scooped out of the trunk of a tree, and a few dishes and cooking utensils, constituted the principal articles of furniture. Of the detail and economy of the interior, however, we can give but a faint idea. Something may be conjectured from the fact, that each house is peopled with no fewer than from thirty to fifty inmates. The houses were constructed generally of excellent materials, exhibiting marks of superior workmanship, and in many instances

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ornamented with carving and paint. The villages were clean, and the females occupied in the manufacture of cloth, and surrounded by numbers of playful children, afforded a pleasing idea of industry, health, and domesticity.

It was our original intention to have proceeded as far as the great lake of *Toba*, but the unexpected circumstance of meeting so large a population, and the recurrence of a disease to which one of us was occasionally subject, rendered it necessary to relinquish that plan, and content ourselves for the present with the progress already effected. After some days, therefore, spent in visits and festivity, we ascended some of the highest of the surrounding hills, for the purpose of viewing the country beyond the district of *Silindung*. In one instance two guides accompanied us from the principal chief, with directions to impart all the information they could, in another, two were sent by a different chief, with similar instructions. Two of these guides were born on the borders of the lake and had spent the principal part of their lives there; and they appeared the more worthy of credit, because their accounts, although delivered at different times and in different places, very generally coincided.

They pointed out the middle of the lake as being in the direction of N.E. and by N. from the spot where we stood, which would make it probably N.E. from *Tappanooly*. From the distance at which they placed the extremities on each side of this point, we calculated its direct length to be about sixty or seventy miles. The reports of its breadth were various, but we should judge it to be from fifteen to twenty miles. It was described as having an island, a mile, perhaps, in diameter, situated near the centre. On this a periodical market is held, to which a variety of commodities are carried from the surrounding shores, in long narrow boats, worked by from forty to sixty paddles. From the extent of the lake, the water is said to be so rough in tempestuous weather as to endanger the safety even of these. They represented a deep and rapid river, named *Ayik Bakáru*, as emptying itself into the northern end from the mountains of *Dairi*, in the interior of *Sinkil*: besides this, numbers of smaller streams were said to fall into it from every quarter. The vast quantities of water flowing into it from these various sources, induced us to inquire respecting an outlet, but upon this subject we could gain no clear or satisfactory information.

We observed on the eastern side a range of lofty mountains, extending from the northern extremity about half the length of the lake, when it terminated

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abruptly, leaving the country on the south-eastern side low and open. The southern extremity seemed involved in utter obscurity, and none of our inquiries relative to an outlet in that part elicited a direct or satisfactory answer. After much inquiry and explanation, we were therefore obliged to content ourselves with a supposition founded on the situation of the lake and the general appearance of the surrounding country;—with scarcely any recollection of the eastern coast, except that it is to a great extent low, covered with jungle, and subject to inundations of the tide, we concluded that the lake must have an outlet, lost perhaps in the jungle, or otherwise destitute of a free communication with the sea.

We had concluded our inquiries relative to the lake the first time we ascended the hills, and had reverted to the surrounding scenery, when the guide voluntarily added, that the waters rose and fell twice a day, perpendicularly from a cubit to two feet. As he had never been in the vicinity of the sea, he was wholly unacquainted with the ebbing and flowing of the tide, and attributed the motion of the lake to the power either of the spirits inhabiting it or of their principal chief, whose dominion seemed to rest chiefly on the basis of superstition. Extraordinary as this circumstance appeared, our inquiries respecting it were suffered to rest until we ascended a higher hill with other guides: it was then, together with the preceding particulars, fully corroborated, and all our questions on the subject were afterwards answered to the same effect, with unanimity and distinctness. It was farther added, that at the full and change of the moon the rise and fall of the water were greater, it sometimes rising even to a level with the surrounding bank. The only alteration this important fact made in our first conclusion was, that instead of so obscure an outlet as we had supposed, it must have a more considerable one, but of what nature we were still at a loss to determine. On our return to the coast, we perceived the mouth of the river *Rakkee*, to be laid down in Mr. Marsden's map at so small a distance from the southern extremity of the lake, as to suggest the probability of a communication between them. A chief at *Tappanooly* afterwards informed us of a tradition of the *Bataks*, sufficient to account for their ignorance respecting the outlet: he said there was a certain point towards the south-east which they regarded as the abode of evil spirits, and beyond which should they presume to pass, their temerity would be punished with immediate destruction. This belief would be powerful enough, we feel convinced, to deter the superstitious *Bataks* from venturing to pass that limit.

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The space situated between *Silindung* and *Toba* comprises the district of *Butur*, an elevated and even tract of country, of which we obtained a wide and agreeable prospect. It appeared to be about thirty miles long and twenty broad, bounded on the north-east by *Toba*, on the north-west by a range of lofty mountains running apparently east and west, on the south-west by *Silindung*, and on the south-east by a broken hilly tract, extending southward probably to the district of *Angkola*. The northern parts seemed well adapted to the purposes of cultivation, and had accordingly been thus appropriated to a considerable extent. The whole plain was perfectly free from wood, and presented, as far as the eye could discern, a vast unbroken field of verdure. On a farther examination with the telescope, it was discovered to be thickly studded with small detached huts of straw, so diminished by the distance as to give the idea of flocks of sheep or pieces of rock scattered over its surface. To each of these was attached a field or patch of mountain rice. The villages, wherever discernible, were left open and without defence, and the smoke arising at every point of view, with the serenity which seemed to pervade the whole, conveyed an idea of peace and security that we had seldom witnessed since we quitted our native land.

Under one of the hills on the eastern side of *Silindung* a hot spring was pointed out; but unfortunately we deferred visiting it until the evening previous to our return, when it became too late to bestow on it the attention which it seemed to deserve. The water bubbled up in a number of places within the compass of fifty yards, and formed a rapid stream, a foot wide and six inches deep. We had no thermometer with us, but on its first issuing forth we judged it to be about the temperature of one hundred and eighty degrees of Fahrenheit. It had deposited lime in such abundance, as to have covered about an acre of land with a bed several feet thick. From this the natives procure a supply to eat with the *gumbir* leaf, calcining it in the usual manner. The *sirih*, or betel-leaf, appears to have been but recently introduced, the use of it being very limited. Besides lime, the water seemed to hold in solution a metal, which it deposited, in some places, of a rusty buff, and in others of a green colour. Of its medicinal qualities we are unable to speak, having learnt nothing farther than that the natives use it to strengthen the appetite, and to obviate the inconvenience arising from an overburthened stomach.

At seven o'clock A. M. of the 11th of May we quitted *Silindung*, on our

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return to the coast, and arrived at *Huta Tinggi* at four in the afternoon. After partaking of a hearty meal, we were amused for a couple of hours with *pantuns*, or provincial songs, by a company of women forming a circle in front of our abode, who for that space of time continued to sing or chaunt them, almost without intermission, to a motion of the hands and feet. We left this *kampung*, or enclosed village, at seven o'clock the following morning, and at half past three in the afternoon took up our lodgings for the night at a village on the western range of mountains, named *Naga Timbal*. Here we slept within a couple of yards of the skull of a man who had been eaten, which was suspended as a trophy in a public building. The next morning at eight o'clock we resumed our journey, and reached *Sibolga*, on the shores of the bay, at two o'clock, having performed the journey from the plain of *Silindung* to this spot in twenty-three hours and a half, including about six hours consumed in occasional rests on the way. Nothing seemed worthy of observation on our return, except that between the first and second ranges we struck off into the road leading directly to *Sibolga*, which we found in every respect preferable to that leading to *Tappanooly*.

To the above memoranda of our journey we subjoin a few observations on the country, the character, the institutions, and the language of the *Bataks*, partly derived from the journey itself, and partly the result of previous acquaintance with these subjects.

Situation of the Country.

The country known by the name of the *Batak* country may be described generally as comprising the whole of that part of *Sumatra* which is situated between the Equator and 2½° north latitude, with the exception of a few Malay settlements at the mouths of the rivers on either coast. On the north-west it is bounded by *Acheen*, and on the south-east by the Malay countries of *Rawa* and *Menangkabau*. It is divided into numerous districts, the principal of which are *Toba*, *Mandeling*, *Angkola*, *Humbang*, and *Si Nambela*. The district of *Toba*, which is the largest of these, is again subdivided into *Toba Silindung*, *Toba Holbung*, and *Toba Lontar*.

Proceeding in a north-easterly direction across the island from *Ayer Bangis*, we meet with the *Batak* districts of *Lubu* and *Manambin*. Proceeding in the same direction from *Natal*, we meet with the districts of *Palampungan* and *Mandeling*. Going from *Batang Tara*, we meet with those of *Angkola*, *Barumun*, and *Sungi Jambu*; from *Tappanooly*, with those of *Pagurun Lambung*,

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Toba Silindung, *Butar*, *Toba Holbang*, and the district of *Humbang*. Proceeding north-east from *Barus*, we meet with the districts of *Toba Lanton* and *Si Namtuia*; from *Sinkel*, with the district called *Dairi*; and from *Tarumon*, with the districts of *Alas*, *Karaw*, and *Ria*, extending in the interior nearly to the northern extremity of the island.

The lake of *Toba*, the middle of which, as already observed, bears about north-east from the settlement at *Tappanooly*, is situated near the centre of the *Batak* country, and the most populous districts are those upon its borders. It has on its west side *Toba Holbang* and *Toba Lanton*; on its east the district of *Humtoang*, which extends nearly to the eastern coast; and at its north-west end, that of *Si Nambia*.

Origin.

In answer to various questions on the origin of the *Bataks*, the principal chief of *Silindung* informed us that they considered themselves the first people who had settled in *Sumatra*; but that the traditions respecting the mother country were lost, except that it was situated far to the east beyond the sea. That they first landed somewhere to the eastward of the lake, and having discovered the conveniences it afforded, they settled on its borders. That having greatly multiplied in the course of time, numbers removed to the plain of *Silindung*. That by a farther increase of population, the districts of *Dairi* to the north, and of *Angkola* to the south, were successively occupied; and that the inhabitants of the latter gradually extended themselves to *Manangkabau*, which eventually acquired more consequence than all the rest. To these particulars he superadded the story of Alexander the Great, who is said to have divided his empire amongst his three sons, leaving one sultan of *Roum*, another of *China*, and a third of *Manangkabau*. He said that the Sultan of *Manangkabau*, in the height of his power, made a tour of the island, and appointed the principal chiefs to their repective governments; that after making a proper choice for the *Bataks*, he gave them a sign which should always in future distinguish the proper successor, and that they have been guided by that sign ever since. The sign is a black spot under the tongue. On asking how the *Bataks* regarded the Sultan of *Manangkabau* at the present day, and whether they would submit to his authority, we assured us that he was still considered as the sovereign of the country, superior to their own immediate chiefs, and that a simple order from him would, in every part, meet with the utmost submission. What

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degree of credit may be due to these vague traditions, on the subject of the original peopling of these islands, we cannot pretend to say.

Population.

The district of *Toba Silindung* contains eighty-two villages, which we supposed to be inhabited by eighty or one hundred thousand souls. *Toba Holbang* and *Toba Lontor* were represented by the natives as much larger and more populous, and *Humbang* as greatly exceeding either of these. *Si Nambia* contains a hundred and twenty *kampungs*, and keeping the proportion of *Silindung* we may suppose its inhabitants to exceed a hundred thousand.

Of the extensive provinces of *Angkola* and *Mandeling*, as well as of *Dairi*, *Alas*, *Butur*, and the other smaller districts, our information is very limited, but we cannot suppose, upon a loose and general calculation, that the population of the whole *Batak* country can fall much short of a million and a half.

Personal Appearance.

In their personal appearance the *Bataks* of *Silindung* struck us as bearing a considerable resemblance to the Hindus. They are generally of a middle stature, well made and robust, and their features (particularly the nose) are rather prominent. They possess smooth skins, of a lighter colour than the people on the coast. They wear the hair long, and tied at the top of the head in the manner of the Hindus, and the women part their hair in front precisely like the women in India. Amongst the crowds by which we were constantly surrounded, we do not recollect a single instance of natural deformity. The countenances of the children are mostly agreeable, uniting in their expression much gaiety with great vivacity, but on attaining the age of ten or twelve years, their front teeth are filed down nearly to the gum, and the stump blackened, which exceedingly injures their appearance. Females arrived at years of maturity have generally lost all traces of beauty; which cannot excite surprise, when it is considered that most of the labours of the field, as well as the drudgery of the house, and the manufacture of cloth, devolve upon them.

Dress.

The men wear two cloths, of various colours in stripes, about two yards and a half in length, one fastened round the waist with a belt and hanging

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down to the feet, the other loosely thrown over the shoulders as a shawl. Those worn by the chiefs are fringed at the ends with a deep border, neatly and curiously worked with the needle. The head-dress of the common people is usually a belt of straw or bark tied round the head, a little above the ears, leaving the top bare; a wreath, also, formed of a green shrub, is not uncommon. That of the more respectable people is formed of a piece of blue or white foreign cloth, five cubits long, tied round in the same way, leaving the two ends protruding, one over one ear, the other over the opposite eye. The chiefs wear also moderate-sized earrings of gold. The women have no head-dress, and after marriage only one cloth, fastened round the loins, the parts above being perfectly exposed. Previously to marriage they have an additional garment covering the breasts; but in the vicinity of the lake this practice was said to be reversed, the married women covering the bosom, and those unmarried leaving it exposed. The daughters of the chiefs have sometimes thick brass wire twisted about their wrists, and if unmarried, a few strings of beads round their necks. The children go naked to the age of six or eight years, or even longer. When the men leave their villages, they carry with them a bag, made sometimes of mat, sometimes of goat's-skin, containing tobacco, gambir, sirih, chunam, &c. To the neck of the bag is attached a thick brass chain, three or four feet in length, usually terminating with a pair of large flat iron nippers for plucking out the beard. This chain forms a counterpoise in front when the bag is thrown over the shoulder.

The people of *Silindung* use neither opium nor intoxicating liquors, except toddy (palm-wine); but both sexes and all ages are exceedingly addicted to smoking a stimulating herb of a slight narcotic quality, which, however, they eagerly abandon for tobacco, when that is procurable. The men, whether on a journey or at home, as they have little employment, are seldom seen without their pipes. These are commonly very large, the tube being about four feet in length and the head of a proportionate size, giving the idea of a sledge-hammer, for which indeed we actually mistook one. Those used by the chiefs are mostly of brass, polished and neatly indented, those of the common people are of wood, and not so large.

The people of *Silindung* are far from being cleanly, either in their persons or their houses. We believe they never wash their clothes, and but seldom bathe their persons; on asking their reason for which, they replied that the water was too cold.

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Food.

Rice and sweet potatoes, with an unusual proportion of salt, form the principal food of the *Bataks*. It is only on particular occasions they indulge themselves with animal food. In their choice of animals, or even reptiles, however, they are by no means delicate: horses, buffaloes, cows, pigs, fowls and goats are esteemed the best, but they do not scruple to eat dogs, cats, snakes, monkies, bats, &c., nor does it make any particular difference, in their estimation, whether the animal has died a natural death or been killed in good health, whether recently dead or bordering on putridity. When an animal is killed for food, they save the blood, and use it as sauce, pouring it over the meat when cooked, and chopped into pieces of about an ounce weight each. As the art of cookery has made little progress, they are frequently obliged to gratify the taste with simple salt, in cases where the Malay would have recourse to curries or sambals. This may have given rise to the idea of an extraordinary consumption of salt amongst the *Bataks*, which may not be destitute of foundation.

General Character.

Nothing can be more erroneous than the opinions commonly entertained by the Malays, in their neighbourhood as well as by Europeans, with regard to the general character and disposition of the *Bataks*. The well-established fact of their cannibalism has, perhaps, naturally led to the conclusion, that they were a remarkably ferocious and daring people. So strongly, indeed, had this impression taken hold of our minds, that although a residence of two years on the border of their country had furnished nothing to confirm the opinion, we still expected to find proofs of it in the interior. So far from this, however, whatever may be the fact with respect to other districts, the people of *Silindung*, in quietness and tranquility, are apparently not surpassed even by the Hindus. Misunderstandings between individuals of the same village seldom go beyond words, or a complaint to the chief, and their wars are little more than nominal. These will often continue for five or six years, without proving fatal to more than two or three persons of each side. The hostile parties commit no depredations on each other's crops or cattle, and an instance occurred, during our stay in *Silindung*, of two men coming upon private business to the village where we resided, from one with which our host was at war, when he hospitably entertained them, and suffered them to depart in peace. We mean not to say, however, that the *Bataks*

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are a kind and humane people, instances of their extreme unfeelingness and cruelty towards the afflicted, and to enemies in their power, are lamentably numerous. Their seemingly peaceable disposition may perhaps be resolved into cowardice, and the influence of a dark and enslaving superstition, from the shackles of which they are never for a moment free. Hospitality is practised to a considerable extent, both as a public and private virtue, but avarice is deeply implanted in their minds, and is but thinly disguised.

Religion.

The *Bataks* believe in the existence of one Supreme Being, the Creator of the World, whom they name Debata hasi asi. Since completing the work of creation, they suppose him to have remained perfectly quiescent, having wholly committed the government to his three sons, Batara Guru, Sori Pada, and Mangana Bulan, who do not, however, govern in person, but by *vakils* or proxies, whom they are supposed to station over different divisions of the earth. To these vakeels they give the distinctive titles of *Debata dgingang*, *Debata detora*, and *Debata dontunga*, or the gods above, the gods below, and the gods of the middle, expressive of the departments over which their principals respectively preside. Batara Guru they represent as the god of justice; Sori Pada as the god of mercy, and Mangana Bulan as the original source of evil, and the constant instigator to its commission. The last is supposed to have the principal share in the management of human affairs, and to be able at any time to thwart the good intentions of his brethren consequently, in whatever circumstances the *Bataks* may be placed, they are most anxious to secure his favour. Considering good in general to consist in the absence of evil, it matters little to them how they may be regarded by Batara Guru or Sori Pada, so long as they secure the good-will of Mangana Bulan. Batara Guru (as his name denotes) is the chief instructor of men, and when he is supposed by Sori Pada to be dealing too harshly with them, the latter expostulates with him on their behalf.

Besides these they number amongst their deities the fabled serpent *Naga Padoha*, which they represent with horns like a cow supporting the earth. They imagine, also, that every village has its *Boru na mora*, *Huru Sanyaing Naga*, and *Murtua Sambaon*, or guardian deities, superintending its interests and overruling its affairs, and they attempt to secure the favour of those deities by propitiatory sacrifices.

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Besides this particular interference in the public affairs of the community, they suppose that every individual is constantly attended and watched over by a number of genii, both good and evil, called *Begus* and *Sattans*. These are chiefly the souls of their departed ancestors, whom they look upon as possessing extensive power over the Living, either to protect or to afflict them. By these various orders of divinities and subordinate spirits the superstitious *Bataks* are held in such perpetual dread, that it is not without the most harassing apprehensions they leave their villages, even for a journey of no considerable distance or apparent danger. In their apprehension, indeed, dangers prove none the less real for being invisible: the path to others may seem open, clear, and safe, but their imagination, ever teeming with *Begus* and *Sattans*, pictures to them a demon at every turn. On our way to *Tappanooly*, we were once anxiously asked by a company passing, whether we had seen any *Sattans* on the road? Not a village they had to pass but had its *Datu na mora* and *Rondu na porbas*, protecting its interests and avenging its injuries, besides a host of ghosts and spirits wandering in its vicinity, and if they or their ancestors had perchance offered a slight or an insult to any of them, now might be the time for its being avenged.

Priesthood.

As the deities presiding over villages and individuals are supposed to manifest their approbation or disapprobation by remarkable appearances in various objects, the principal qualifications for the office of the priesthood consist in a knowledge of the appropriate articles used in sacrifices, and the suitable times for offering them, together with an adequate skill in signs and omens. There is generally one priest in every village. He receives, we believe, no consecration to his office, but is selected from amongst those who are best acquainted with their books and superstitions, and as the ability to read is mostly confined to the families of the chiefs, it frequently happens that the offices of *raja* and priest are united in the same person. He expounds all their religious books, and according to his interpretation a day is chosen as propitious to their object, and they will not engage in any undertaking however trifling, nor make the smallest alteration in their domestic economy, without first consulting him. On one occasion we were present when the *Datu of Soholga's* cowkeeper came to inform his master that a fold for cattle which he had just procured was ready for their recep-

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tion. The master immediately sent for his book, that he might learn whether that were a lucky day for their admission, otherwise they must have remained without shelter at the mercy of the tigers till such a day had occurred! The *Datu*, or priest, discovers the character of each day chiefly by a table called *perhala-an*, consisting of twelve horizontal lines, answering to the months of the year, which are again crossed by thirty perpendicular lines dividing each month into so many days, and producing in all three hundred and sixty small squares, answering to the days in their year. In this square table are also drawn four diagonal lines, on which are painted hieroglyphical marks, being representations of two constellations, the scorpion and pleiades, of which the former, named by the *Bataks* "*Bentung Hala*," is considered the most ominous. Where this occurs on the table, it is made to cover four days, the head one, the body two, and the tail one—those covered by its body being considered fortunate, the others so unlucky, that no new engagements can be entered into upon them with any hope of success. Besides this table this learned *Datu* is furnished with two staffs, named *tondung hujur* and *tondung rangas*, four feet long, of a very black hard wood, the heads of which are cut to represent an animal's face, and every part of them engraved with significant marks, by decyphering which he discovers lost or stolen property. To these instruments of his dark art we may add a book, called *ari siporhas*, and a cord, named *rombu siporhas*, by the former of which he determines the best time to attack an enemy, and by the latter measures the comparative strength of the two parties. Nor is it sufficient that he be well versed in the interpretation of these, in an egg, a dog, or a pig, he must see much that is important, he must be acquainted with one hundred and seventy-seven different omens exhibited by the inside of fowls, with seventy exhibited in portions of calcined lime, and with seventy-three in lemons cut transversely, and he must repeat readily from memory the various forms of prayer and invocation that are most esteemed in his district.

Sacrifices.

The *Bataks* present no offerings of gratitude to their gods. In the full enjoyment of health, prosperity, and peace, having nothing to ask from them, they are wholly neglected. It is only when entering on some hazardous enterprize, or on being threatened with war; when followed by a long train of misfortunes, or when suffering from severe and protracted

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afflictions, that they invoke the shades of their ancestors, and offer sacrifices to the gods. But in any of the circumstances here supposed, and particularly the latter, the timid *Batak* applies to the *Datu* to learn the cause and the remedy of his sorrows. He takes with him a fowl and a little rice as a present. Having opened the fowl, the *Datu* is at no loss to select, from the great variety of distinct intimations which it gives to his enlightened mind, a prescription precisely adapted to the circumstances of his timid and dejected applicant. His affliction, he is commonly told, is a visitation from one of the gods for the misconduct of some of his ancestors, and he must make a feast in honour of his father or grandfather, and intreat his intercession. The *Datu* then discovers from his books the animal proper to be killed on the occasion, which is generally a buffalo, kid, pig, or fowl, according to the circumstances of the individual applying. Every thing requisite being provided and the day fixed, the supplicant calls together his friends and relatives, who feast and dance with him for three successive days and nights. On the third day, whilst in the act of dancing, one of the company supposes, or pretends to suppose, that the spirit of his departed ancestor, attracted by the sound of the gong from the adjacent mountains and precipices, where it wanders in paths untrodden by man, has entered into him, and he falls down, apparently almost senseless. Upon recovering a little he pretends to be no longer himself, but their deceased friend come to meet them and join in their entertainment. The company then present him with such fare as they have prepared, when he eats and drinks heartily, after which the person who has given the entertainment, addressing the spirit of the departed, informs him of the particular troubles which have induced them to call him, and concludes by requesting that if these have been sent either by the gods or the demons, he would intercede for their removal. The man pretending to be possessed then returns such an answer as he thinks will best please his host, or be most likely to prove prophetic, and becoming again apparently insensible, soon recovers himself.

This may be regarded as an act of religious worship, addressed to the deities through the intercession of their ancestors. This, however, is not the only way in which the gods may be approached. Supplications may be preferred, and offerings made, immediately, to any of them separately, or to them all collectively, without the assistance of the priest, care being taken that every thing is done according to the directions given in their religious books.

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The only religious ceremony of universal interest, and in which all the village unites, is that which they celebrate when on the eve of commencing hostilities. The day proper for this solemnity having been fixed by the *Datu*, a temporary shed is erected in the midst of the village, where all the inhabitants assemble. In the middle of this shed the *Datu* spreads a green cloth named *silas*, to the centre of which are fastened two cords about two feet long, having at their ends a knob of wax intended to represent a human head. These cords, called *rombu siporhas*, are considered the representatives of the two hostile parties. On different parts of the cords are beads, significant of the different members of each community, the upper ones of the chiefs, the under of the warriors, &c.

After feasting, dancing, and beating their gongs for some time, the *Datu* takes in his hands the *rombu siporhas* in the presence of all the people, when he invokes the wrath of the gods and of their ancestors upon their enemies, and desires them to make it manifest by *rombu siporhas*, whether at that time they may revenge the wrongs of their country; then letting drop the cords, the *Datu* discovers by their relative situation and peculiar appearance, what may be expected as the result of an attack at present, and should his report be favourable, they immediately commence operations.

Oaths.

Though the *Bataks* do not worship idols, in every village is found an image of wood or stone, the figure of a man, which they chiefly use in the administration of oaths. To this test are referred all suits upon which positive evidence cannot be obtained, and it is thought that few are so daring as wholly to disregard its sanction. On great occasions the ceremony is attended with peculiar solemnity, and may justly be denominated religious. The whole village assembles before the image, when the injured party call into and about it a host of spirits, to witness the transaction and hear the oath taken.

Influence of Religion.

Of a future state of rewards and punishments these people have no conception. They imagine the spirit to become more powerful and independent after the dissolution of the body, and to be wholly exempt from suffering, and consequently look forward to death without terror, except such as may arise from the prospect of corporeal pain. Whether the soul

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be immortal or not, they do not pretend to know, but speak of it as lost when its memory is no longer cherished on earth. What precise influence the absence of all ideas of a future state of retribution may have on their moral character, is difficult to determine. That the opposite system, of an immediate interposition of supernatural agents in human affairs, possesses an unbounded dominion over their minds, will be readily conjectured from the above observations; yet it may be safely affirmed, that honesty, uprightness, integrity, purity, and similar principles, are not to be found in the list of their virtues, and that the corruptions of the heart, so common to uncultivated nature, exist amongst them without restraint. Indeed, they reconcile the idea of forbearing to practise what may afford profit or pleasure, where detection and the punishment of the law can be evaded with certainty; and although it may be hence inferred, that they assimilate the nature of their presiding divinities in the practices and passions of men, as exhibited immediately to their own observation, yet their actual depravity convinces us that the system of supernatural interposition, of whatever character, is not of itself adequate to the formation of an elevated state of moral rectitude.

Language.

The language of the *Bataks* bears so great a resemblance to that of the Malays, that we cannot but consider them dialects of the same origin. Of the most common substantives, we suppose a proportion of one word in three is either precisely the same as in the Malay, or so similar as to be immediately recognized by the Malay scholar; and although in the adjectives, verbs, and adverbs, we find the difference somewhat greater, yet as the *Bataks* form the various powers and modifications of the verb pursue much the same principle as the Malays, the similarity is here also very conspicuous. The language of common conversation, however, differs more widely from the Malay than that usually written. These they distinguish by the names *Hata Habas-tan*, or the fine language, and *Hata Tobop*, or the common language; the latter of which only is universally understood. Of the prefixes, and particularly of the affixes to nouns and verbs, the *Bataks* have a greater number than the Malays, or rather particles, substantially the same in both languages, assume a greater variety of form, to meet the *Batak* ideas of soft and agreeable articulation. This fastidiousness is most observable in the changes undergone by the affix *kan*, which answers to *kan* in the Malay. When the last syllable of the verb is pure, the annexed

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transitive particle is uniformly *hon*, as *poda*, to teach, becomes *po-da-hon*; but when the primitive word ends with a mixed syllable, the annexed particle is modified so as to coalesce with the last letter of the primitive, without producing a sound in their estimation harsh or uncouth, as *pajap*, to preserve, becomes *pa-jap-pon*, *enet*, to pull, makes *e-net-ton*, *dok*, to order, makes *dok-kon*. But even this modification of the annexed particle does not always succeed in producing a sound perfectly agreeable to the *Batak* ear. Sometimes recourse is had in pronunciation to a change, also, of the last letter of the primitive word, as *in-jam*, to lend, becomes *in-jam-hon*, but is pronounced *in-jap-pon*, *am-bo-lang*, to reject, becomes *am-bo-lang-kon*, but is pronounced *am-bo-luk-kon*, *denggan*, good, becomes *deng-gan-kon*, but is pronounced *deng-gat-ton*, *ogos*, to rub, is written *ogos-kon*, but is pronounced *o-goch-chon*.

In the grammatical relation of its words, and in the construction of its sentences, the *Batak* language, like that of the Malays, is as simple as possible, admitting very rarely of the use either of conjunctions or of personal pronouns with perspicuity. Perhaps the instance, in which it varies most in construction from the Malay, is the following: between two substantives differing in meaning, where, in Malay, possession would be implied by their mere position, the *Bataks* always introduced the particle *ni*, answering to the preposition *of* in English, as "*uhum ni huta*," the law of the village.

The *Batak* language has received no accessions from the Arabic, but the proportion of Sanscrit words found in it is greater, we believe, than in the Malay. This may arise from the Malays having embraced the religion of the prophet, in consequence of which the Sanscrit words of a religious nature, which they may be supposed to have possessed in common with the *Bataks*, have become obsolete, and have given place to Arabic terms.

In the court language of the *Bataks* very many Malay words occur; and it is worthy of remark, that the *Bataks* always give them the full sound as written and spoken to the eastward, never the minced, but as some consider it softened pronunciation of the Sumatran coast. Compared, however, with either mode, we should think the *Batak*, when well spoken, would be generally esteemed by Europeans the most sonorous and harmonious. It may be farther observed, that the *Batak* organs of speech are perfectly adapted to the Malay language, and capable of expressing with precision all its sounds.

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The *Batak* characters are remarkably simple, very distinct from each other in shape, easily formed, and fully capable, except in a single instance, of expressing every sound that occurs in the language. They are written from left to right like the Sanscrit, horizontally (not in perpendicular columns as some have supposed), and in one continual line, without separating the words. As they are undoubtedly of Sanscrit origin, they partake of the nature of that system, each consonant containing an inherent vowel sound in addition to its proper organic sound, by which it has uniformly the power of a distinct pure syllable.

The manner of reading amongst the *Bataks* is a kind of dronish singing, from syllable to syllable, without stops, which renders it difficult to be understood even by themselves. Mr Marsden intimates, that *one-half* of the *Bataks* can read, but we imagine that gentleman must have been misinformed. In the villages around the bay of *Tappanooly*, containing from two hundred to twelve hundred inhabitants each, we believe that the proportion seldom exceeds one to fifty, nor is it greater in the district of *Silindung*. Their books are principally on war, pointing out the most fortunate periods and methods of making a successful attack on their enemies, or for repelling or evading an assault; on religion, consisting of forms of prayer for particular occasions, describing the articles proper to compose a sacrifice, and the manner of preparing them, on the various rites to be attended to at feasts, &c., and on medicine, describing diseases, with their causes and remedies. Let it not be supposed, however, that their books contain any regular treatises on these subjects. Such as we have seen are made up wholly of absurd fables, omens, predictions, prescriptions of charms, &c., without the smallest portion of useful information or moral sentiment. They are said to have a history of the creation, and an account of the origin of their own country; but copies of these books we have not met with.

Poetry.

The *Bataks* have no poetical compositions except *pantuns*, which in structure and every other quality so much resemble those of the Malays, that a particular description of them is unnecessary. We may observe, however, that in this primitive mode of preserving the first rude efforts of wit and sentiment amongst the *Bataks*, the quatrain stanza is uniformly observed. They very seldom commit their *pantuns* to writing, but to the lover, to the orator, and to all indeed who are desirous of distinction and popularity, either

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as disputants or as leaders of the public entertainments, it is indispensable that their memories be well stored with these compositions. To sing them in alternate contest is an amusement of which they are extremely fond, and which will often be supported by two young persons, to the entertainment of a numerous meeting, for ten or twelve successive hours, without either of them appearing for a moment at a loss for a reply. But it is not on set occasions only that *pantuns* are employed: they use them largely in common conversation, to give weight or point to their remarks; and in general so well are their memories supplied, that scarcely any subject can be introduced for which they have not an appropriate rhyme. They arrange them in four classes: for lovers, for the instruction of the young, for the poor, and for aspirations to the gods.

Laws and Cannibalism.

As far as we have observed, the laws of the *Bataks* are not generally severe, and the penalties they enjoin, with a few exceptions, are just, and generally put in execution. Almost all crimes are punished with fines proportioned to the offence and to the rank of the criminal; and since the chief, who acts as judge, may always be bribed, and usually receives the fines himself, oppression must no doubt exist to a considerable extent. They have no written code which is universally received; but in most of the districts is found one or more books of laws and usages, which vary in their weight of authority, according to the estimation in which the person who first committed them to writing may be held.

Persons caught in the act of house-breaking or highway robbery are publicly executed with the knife or matchock, and then immediately eaten: no money can save them. But if the delinquents are fortunate enough to escape immediate seizure, they are only fined. A man taken in adultery is instantly devoured, and may be lawfully eaten piecemeal without first depriving him of life. Men killed, or prisoners taken, in a *great* war, are also publicly eaten; but, if only two villages be engaged, this is not allowed: the dead are then left on the field to be buried by their respective parties, and the prisoners may be redeemed. Twelve months ago twenty persons were entirely eaten in one day, in the village where we resided in *Silindung*, the skulls of whom are still preserved. They were inhabitants of a village situated near the path leading to the coast, whom our host represented as having so often plundered the passengers that their conduct became at length intolerable. These were the last who had thus suffered in *Silindung*.

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Debt.

Interest upon small debts is frequently as high as one hundred per cent. per mensem. We have been informed by a gentleman well acquainted with the customs of the *Angkola Bataks*, that it is no uncommon thing in that country for a man and all his family to be sold to discharge a debt, the principal of which, only two years before, was but a single dollar.

In cases of debt incurred at games of chance, their usages are very barbarous. The person of the debtor is seized (never, we believe, his family or property) and the prisoner is confined in the stocks, till either his relatives pay his debt, or some person be prevailed upon to take him as a *mangering* (bond) debtor.* It frequently happens, however, that his relatives are glad to get rid of him, the creditor, therefore, uses every rigour in order to excite their pity, or rather to wound their pride. Till some one pays the money, the prisoner is never for a moment permitted to have his feet out of the stocks, whilst his food is of the meanest quality. Many remain for years in this miserable condition, before the loathsome diseases consequent on their confinement occasion death: yet these infatuated people will risk their all on a single cast of the dice!

Slavery.

Slavery exists amongst the *Bataks* to a considerable extent, but only in the domestic form. They import no foreigners, nor are many of their own people exported. Their laws provide for the protection of persons in this state, and their allotment of labour is not more oppressive, nor are their comforts fewer, than those of the free members of the families of which they form a part. They may be addressed in abusive language, but not, we believe, struck at a smaller cost than a free man.

The causes of slavery are principally the following: families in great poverty are sometimes induced to part with one or more of their children to persons who promise to take great care of them, and in a manner adopt them. Children left orphans at an early age, whose relations do not choose to incur the trouble or expense of rearing them, are usually sold: so are also poor debtors, particularly such as are unable to pay the fines imposed by the laws of their country; and lastly, prisoners taken in war.

* See Marsden's History of Sumatra, page 393.

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Marriages.

Marriages are either by *jujur*, or by a certain modification of *ambil anak* *semando** they do not recognize. A man cannot marry a relative of his own, however distant. For instance, two brothers agree to settle, the one in *Toba*, the other in *Angkola*. They marry there and have several children, but the descendants of these two families can at no future period intermarry. Divorces are very rare, being seldom granted except for adultery, when the woman, her head having first been shaved, is sold out of the country.

The amount of the *jujur* in *Silindung* is, for a chief's daughter, ten buffaloes; for the daughters of the common people, five. When paid in money, the buffalo is reckoned at about eight dollars. A man may have as many wives as he can afford to purchase. We are acquainted with one chief who has six; few, however, have more than two. They are looked upon almost as the slaves of their husbands; and the chief object of the men in marrying and multiplying their wives is, that they may be maintained by their labour.

Burials.

The *Bataks* bury their dead sometimes outside the village, sometimes within its walls, very near to their own houses. A feast is always made on the day of the funeral, and the jaw of the animal killed on the occasion (usually a pig) is fastened to a stake at the head of the grave, together with a bag, containing *gambir*, *sirih*, tobacco, &c., and a bamboo filled with water. These, when dried up by the sun, they suppose the spirit of the deceased to have eaten. The celebration of the feasts, considered proper to precede the burial of a distinguished chief, sometimes occupies several months, during which period the body is kept above ground in a very strong wooden coffin, into the bottom of which is inserted a bamboo, forming a funnel to connect it with the earth. In *Silindung* we saw one of these coffins waiting for the customary rites, and in front of our host's house stood a large stone coffin, in which were deposited the remains of his father, who had been dead five years. In preparing this coffin our host must have been at considerable expense, for which he had hoped his father's spirit would have indemnified him by procuring for him a long series of prosperity. He

* For an explanation of these modes of marrying, see Marsden's Sumatra, page 257.

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told us, however, that he had been twice upon the point of destroying it, in consequence of being very unfortunate in gambling.

Agriculture.

The soil of *Silindung* consists chiefly of a fine light grey sand, bearing in every respect a strong resemblance to that of Bengal. The hills in the vicinity contain a large proportion of sand, and likewise a white earth in some quantity, with indications of lime: a good deal of reddish clay was also visible. Rice and sweet potatoes constitute the principal articles of food, and cultivation is confined almost exclusively to them. The former is produced both on the hills and in the valleys in great abundance, and forms a principal article of their barter with the bay. On the hills it is grown by the dry process, according to the common practice with mountain rice; in the valleys irrigation is employed with some ingenuity. The sweet potatoe grows luxuriantly in every part of the country, but occupies chiefly the sides of the hills. For the herb which they smoke, the *gambir* leaf which they chew, and the roots and leaves which they employ as dyes for cloth, they depend chiefly on the spontaneous supplies of nature. The *sirih*, or betel vine, is raised in small quantities as a luxury. The cocoa-nut was not observable beyond the second range of mountains, nor do we recollect to have seen the *areca* nut within the district of *Silindung*. Neither cotton nor tobacco is raised in the country: a good quantity of the former is imported by way of the bay of *Tappanooly*, and employed in the fabrication of cloth. Tobacco is consumed only in small quantities, as an extraordinary luxury.

Although the productions of agriculture are thus limited in number, both the soil and the climate may be deemed equal to any in the Eastern Archipelago. Indeed, the plain of *Silindung* is never allowed to remain fallow, and was said to produce from sixty to a hundred-fold, without having recourse to the expedient of transplantation. Cotton, coffee, sugar, indigo, camphor, *gambir*, benzoin, pepper, and spices, under the management of a liberal system of government, would shortly fill the country with riches. The population is sufficiently great, and of such a character as would, in a clear and open country like this, admit of an effective government without much trouble or expense; and if, as we suspect, a communication exists between the sea and the great lake of *Toba*, every local advantage would be found that could contribute to the success of such a design.

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Implements of Husbandry.

The implements of husbandry of the *Bataks* are principally made of wood. They break up the new ground with a hoe, somewhat resembling a rake, with four or five teeth, about an inch broad and twelve or sixteen inches long. Some art is requisite to avoid breaking it, but used in the manner they adopt, it is capable of great effect. In the plain of *Silindung*, where the soil is sandy and soft, the plough alone is used, and is worked by the buffalo. The rice here is formed into beds of six or eight yards in length by two or three in breadth, with intervening passages for irrigation. The whole plain is thus divided and plentifully watered. They reap the rice with a small iron sickle, somewhat resembling our own; and beat it out of the husk with a wooden pestle and mortar. Although they have thus far advanced in ingenuity, and have reduced the powers of the buffalo to the drudgery of the field, they still labour at a great disadvantage.

Tenure of Land.

Property in land seems scarcely yet established. The plain of *Silindung*, however, from its superior fertility, is claimed by four chiefs, whose respective portions are of various extent. They parcel it out for cultivation to the chiefs of villages, for a slight acknowledgment, in produce or otherwise, and these again to individuals under themselves, generally in consideration of a short term of personal service.

Manufactures.

The progress of the arts and manufactures is much on an equality with that of agriculture. The fabrication and dyeing of cloth devolve solely upon the female sex, and as but a small quantity of foreign cloth is imported, affords employment to a considerable number. Girls are taught, while young, to spin and wind off thread, which are performed with a wheel and reel, similar to those of India. They gradually learn to dye the thread and set the loom, and by the time they reach the age of puberty, to weave a piece of cloth. The loom consists simply of a couple of stretchers for the woof, which is opened at every passage of the shuttle or web with the fingers. This tedious and dilatory process necessarily renders the cloth expensive, and, it may be presumed, good imitations of it would find a ready and advantageous sale. A rather superior kind of white pottery is produced in the vicinity of the lake. Large dishes and platters, glazed and

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adorned with figures of different shapes and colours, are in common use for serving up their food in, and a species of coarse brown ware unglazed, and in the form of the Indian water-pot, called in Bengal *katsi*, is employed for the carriage of water for domestic use. Iron is roughly wrought into choppers, large knives, spear-heads, &c. They receive their matchlocks from *Manangkabau*, but manufacture coarse gunpowder themselves. Pipes of brass and ear rings of gold are figured by incrustation with considerable neatness, they also make ornaments for the wrist and neck, of iron, brass, or sea shells. The workmanship of their houses may be said to be that of good strong carpentry, affecting ornament in some instances. With so few luxuries or refinements, and with so much assistance from the opposite sex and the liberal hand of nature, it will be readily inferred that the men lead a life of extreme inactivity. It seemed to us, indeed, a matter of some astonishment, that such an appearance of civil order should be maintained with so much leisure for the operation of the evil propensities of human nature.

Government.

Exclusively of the general profession of deference to the ancient sovereigns of *Manangkabau*, the *Bataks* acknowledge the supremacy of a single chief, whose residence is at the north-west extremity of the great lake of *Toba*. His authority, however, is merely nominal and imaginary, founded on the basis of superstition and deception. So far as we have been able to ascertain, he maintains no distinct appearance of superior civil or military power, and depends for all his resources upon the voluntary contributions and offerings of his subjects, who regarding him as "*bartuah*," or invested with supernatural power, comply with his requisitions, in proportion to the degree in which they are influenced by this opinion. He interferes in no civil affairs, but appoints *rahtis* or representatives, to reside in various parts of the surrounding districts, who being themselves chiefs of villages, acquire thus a slight accession to their own independent power. There were four of these *Rahtis* in the district of *Sahadung*, whom it seemed in some degree necessary to consult in every measure affecting the general welfare of the district: but they were not distinguishable by any badge of office, or by the personal respect of private individuals. The principal of them had mingled with the crowd in the market on our arrival, offering for sale a piece of cloth the produce of his own family. Personal qualifications

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and mental endowments appear, in fact, to confer the most real and extensive power, for the frequency of their wars and their popular consultations afford so comparatively wide a scope for the exercise of these qualities, that they naturally gain an easy ascendancy, where wealth has made so slight an inroad.

Independently of this extraneous domination, every village forms a distinct community, possessing in itself every species of civil and political power, and affording, perhaps, a correct idea of what some of the great municipal cities of Europe were very anciently. The chief, with the advice of the principal men of his village (amongst whom the aged are entitled to considerable deference), forms regulations, administers justice, declares war, and concludes peace. His influence depends greatly on his capacity to govern; but as he generally secures to himself the office of priest, he has it in his power to render every thing and every person subservient to his own designs. The mental superiority derived from the exercise of power, supported by such an engine as that of the priesthood, renders the chiefs more sensible of their advantages, and tends perpetually to strengthen the shackles of superstition, and to perpetuate the condition of intellectual debasement among the people. Under such a system, it will not be thought surprising that the *Bataks* should bear in their character the features of imbecility, cowardice, and cruelty; nor, since they are already in a state of complete mental subjugation, should it be thought difficult to introduce the basis of a different order of things. As the tendency of the present system, however, is directly opposed to the internal advancement of society, and as every inherent energy is suppressed before it can acquire force to break through the chains which have hitherto enslaved the *Bataks*, it is probable they will remain fixed in their present condition of stationary barbarity, until some external influence breaks in and diverts their native resources to other purposes.

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XXVII. *Extract from the* Akhlak e Nasiri, *a work written by Naser ud Din about the middle of the Thirteenth Century.** *Communicated by Col. Mark Wilks, Vice-President R.A.S.*

Read June 17, 1826.

PREFATORY NOTE.

My attention was recently drawn to the arguments of English divines, in answer to certain physiological publications tending to materialism, in consequence of the similarity, if not the identity of some of their reasonings, with those which I recollected to have seen in a Persian work, written by a Mohammedan in the thirteenth century. I accordingly sought for the passages, and the following translated extract from the "*Akhlák é Náseri*" is the result of the search. This striking similarity of reasoning is probably to be attributed to the actual derivation of each from one common source—the works of the Greek philosophers, with which the Persian author evinces an intimate acquaintance. An incidental notice is also observable in this extract of doctrines approaching those of the modern chemistry, and it is offered, not with any pretension of being worthy a place in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, but for the mere purpose of being deposited with the work from which it is translated in the Library of the Society, as an indication, to those who have not perused it, of the character of the book.

London, 14th June 1826. M. WILKS.

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE HUMAN SOUL,

WHICH IS LIKEWISE CALLED THE REASONING SPIRIT

The human soul is a simple essence, one of whose properties is to form rational conceptions within itself, directing and disposing of this sensitive body (viz. man) by means of certain powers and instruments.

This essence is not matter nor material, nor is it perceived by any of the senses. In order to establish this, it is necessary to demonstrate certain things, viz.

1st. The proof of the existence of the soul.

* It is said to have been written in the mountains of Persia, while the author was the forced guest of a successor of that *Hassan* from whom the English word *assassin* is supposed to be derived, and whose designation was *Sheikh ul Jebál*. Lord of the Mountains, generally translated *old man of the mountain*. For the details of the singular abduction of Náser ud Dín from his quiet home at Bekhára to this savage abode, see *Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. i p. 406.

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2d. That it is an essence.

3d. That it is simple.

4th. That it is neither matter nor material.

5th. That it conceives by itself, and operates by means of organs or instruments.

6th. That it is not perceived by any of the senses.

Now for proof of the first, viz. the existence of the soul, no argument is necessary, its existence and identity being the most evident and obvious of all things to a rational man, inasmuch as, asleep or awake, sober or intoxicated, a man may forget all things except his own being. Now in what form shall any man produce an argument of his own being? for the nature of an argument is to be a medium which shall lead the prover to his proof. Now, if an argument be made use of to establish the existence of one's own being, the argument is a medium between a thing and itself, *ergo*, to argue the existence of self is absurd and impossible.

For proof of the second, viz. that it is an essence.

Every entity, except the Almighty, the self-existing, is either an essence or an accident which may be thus illustrated. Every entity either exists of itself, or dependent on some other entity which exists independently, as whiteness and blackness, which are accidents or properties of a body; and the figure of a chair, which is dependent on the existence of the wood. For if the body did not exist, there could be no blackness, and if the wood, or some substitute for it, did not exist, there would be no figure of a chair. And such entities are called accidents. For were not this the case, they must have existed of themselves, without any dependence on other independent things, like body and wood, above exemplified, which are called essences.

This distinction being established, we affirm that the mind, or distinctive nature of man, cannot be an accident for it is the nature of accident to be borne and received by some other thing, independent in itself, so as to admit of its bearing and receiving that accident, but the mind of man bears and receives ideas of external images and intellectual inferences, and both image and inference exist together in the mind, and are again obliterated, a property which is repugnant to accident.

The soul, therefore, cannot be an accident. Now it having been proved that every entity is either an essence or an accident, it follows that the soul is an essence: *q. e. d.*

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Thirdly, that it is simple, is thus demonstrated.

Every thing that exists is either divisible or indivisible. What is indivisible, we here distinguish by the name of *simple*, and what is divisible, by the name of *compound*. Now we say that the soul conceives itself to be *one* for though it may affirm unity and its opposite with regard to other things, still it cannot apply number to itself, so as to admit of one being but a part of itself. Now if the soul were divisible, by dividing the subject the property would necessarily be divided also, and unity, which is a property of the soul, would be divisible which is impossible, for unity is indivisible. It therefore follows that either the soul is indivisible, or that it does not conceive itself to be one. Now the falsity of the latter being evident, the former, which was to be demonstrated (viz. its being simple), is proved.

Fourthly, To shew that it is neither matter nor material, we say all matter is compound and divisible. The proof of which is, that place a material body, admitted to be such, between two other bodies which are in contact with it on each side, of necessity that which touches it on one side cannot touch it on the other, otherwise it would not prevent them from touching each other, and therefore could not be a body between them, but would be a part of those bodies. And as it is in contact at two separate parts with two separate things, it must itself be capable of parts. Such body being therefore compound, the qualities borne and received by it must likewise be compound for if the subject be divided, its property is divided also. Of course, nothing that is matter or material can be simple. Now we have shewn that the soul is simple, *ergo*, the soul can neither be matter nor material.

Again no matter can receive a new figure or impression, until that which it possesses be removed. Thus a triangular body cannot become quadrangular until the triangular figure be removed. and a bit of wax, which has received the impression of a seal, cannot be conceived to possess another impression until the former one be removed: for if any part of the former impression still remain, they are both confused, and neither complete, and this may be affirmed as a constant and universal property of matter Now the nature of the soul is contrary to this. for how many images so ever are impressed upon it, whether from reflection or sensation, it receives them all in succession, without the necessity of removing one for the reception of the other but the whole are completely and perfectly

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imaged upon it. Nor can it ever happen, that from the number of images impressed it can be rendered incapable of receiving more, but, on the contrary, the greater the multitude of the images it contains, the greater is, in fact, its facility of acquiring more. And hence it is that the powers of the mind, and its capacity to receive instruction and knowledge, are increased in proportion to our attainments in science and literature. Now this property is opposite to the properties of matter: *ergo*, the soul is not matter.

Again. No sense can have a notice of any thing that is not an object of that sense. Thus vision has notice of no perception that is not visual, and hearing, of none abstracted from sound. Besides, no sense can be sensible of itself, or of its own sensitive organ: for example, the sense of vision neither sees the person seeing nor the eye, nor can any sense perceive its own errors. Thus the eye sees the sun, which is more than one hundred and sixty times larger than the earth, of the same size as the moon, and has no notice of this prodigious mistake, and thus of a tree on the margin of a lake, the cause of its apparent inversion in the water can never be perceived by the sense of vision. And the same holds good with regard to the errors of the other senses.

Now the soul perceives at the same instant the sensations of all the senses, and determines a specific sound to proceed from a specific object of vision, and that this object is the producer of that sound. In the same manner the soul comprehends the distinct power and the particular organ of each sense, distinguishes their natures, their faultes, and their errors, and of their notices discriminates which are right and which are wrong, and of consequence credits some and rejects others. But it is evident that it does not derive this kind of knowledge from the senses, for it is impossible to obtain from any sense that which it does not possess, nor can it have received from a sense a decision which belies that sense. It is, therefore, evident that the soul is distinct from the corporeal senses, that it is of a more noble nature, and of more perfect comprehension.

Fifthly, That it conceives by itself, and operates by means of instruments, is proved by its consciousness, for it cannot possibly be conscious by means of an organ or instrument, so as to admit of an instrument between itself and its existence. And it is on this principle that a thing which receives notices by means of an instrument, cannot comprehend by itself: for, as we have said, the instrument cannot be between it and

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itself, nor can self, when made a medium, serve as an instrument to self. And this is the meaning of philosophers, in affirming, that with regard to reason, the agent, the thing acted on, and the act, are one and the same.

That the soul operates by means of instruments, is evident from its perceiving by means of the senses, and communicating motion by means of muscles, tendons, and nerves, the detail of which belongs to physiology

Sixthly, That it is not perceived by any of the senses, is proved by the senses having no notice of any thing that is not matter nor material. Now the soul is neither matter nor material; *ergo*, it is not perceived by them.

This is what we proposed to discuss regarding the nature of the soul, which may suffice, as far as regards what we have already affirmed on that subject.

But it is moreover to be understood, that the human soul continues to exist after the dissolution of the body, and that death has no power to destroy it, but, on the contrary, that its annihilation is by no means possible.

* * * * * * *

[A demonstration is here omitted, too much savouring of the subtleties of the old schools of the West, and quite unworthy of the subject. It rests chiefly on a play of words, regarding the terms existence *in esse*, and annihilation *in potentiâ*.]

* * * * * * *

Moreover, any person, who minutely considers the properties of bodies, has an accurate knowledge of their dependence on the laws of composition and association, decomposition and disjunction, and is well versed in the whole science of the *world of corruption and decay* (chemistry), must know, that no body whatever becomes entirely destroyed but that accidents, modes, composition, association, figures, and qualities, which subsist in a compound subject, may be changed, while the amount of matter shall still remain the same. For example, water may become air, and air fire, but the matter which receives these three separate appearances will still subsist otherwise it could not be said that water became air, and air fire. For if an entity should be destroyed, and another produced, so that no sort of junction subsisted between them, it would be impossible to say that one entity became the other entity, or that such matter bore the property of having its forms extinguished and varied. Now, seeing that material substances are not susceptible of annihilation, uncompounded essences, which are purer

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than base matter, will stand still higher touching the impossibility of annihilation.

The design of discussing this subject is, that every person who shall study this science may hold it certain, that the body is a mean or instrument to the soul, as tools and instruments are to mechanics and artisans and not, as some have imagined, that the body is its subject or abode. For the soul is neither matter nor material, that it should be connected with subject or abode. Of course, the death of the body, with respect to the soul, is no more than the loss of the instrument with respect to the artisan.

And this position being amply and clearly established, in works of speculative philosophy, by undoubted proofs, what has been said may suffice.

But God is omniscient.

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XXVIII *On Inscriptions at Temples of the Jaina Sect in South Behar.* By *H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.*

Read November 18, 1826.

As connected with the subject of an essay on the *Srávacs* or *Jainas*, read at a former meeting, I lay before the Society copies of inscriptions found by Dr Buchanan Hamilton in South Behar. Though not ancient, they may be considered to be of some importance, as confirming the prevalence of a *Jaina* tradition relative to the site of the spot where the last of the *Jinas* terminated his earthly existence, and as identifying the first of his disciples with Gautama, whose death and apotheosis took place, according to current belief, in the same neighbourhood.

In the *Calpa-sutra* and in other books of the *Jainas*, the first of Mahavira's disciples is mentioned under the name of Indra bhúti but, in the inscription, under that of Gautama swámi. The names of the other ten precisely agree whence it is to be concluded, the Gautama, first of one list, is the same with Indra bhúti, first of the other.

I subjoin Dr Buchanan Hamilton's account of the temples and their situation, where these inscriptions were found, with such other information as was collected by him concerning the *Srávacs* or *Jainas* in the same province (South Behar).

I have the satisfaction, also, of communicating to the Society, Colonel William Francklin's description of the temple of Paráswanat'ha, the preceding *Jina*, erected on the supposed site of his apotheosis likewise.

It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr. Hamilton and Major Delamaine, that the Gautama of the *Jainas* and of the *Bauddhas* is the same personage and this leads to the further surmise, that both these sects are branches of one stock. According to the *Jainas*, only one of Mahavira's eleven disciples left spiritual successors that is, the entire succession of *Jaina* priests is derived from one individual, Sudharma swami. Two only out of eleven survived Mahavira, viz. Indra bhúti and Sudharma[*] the

[*] As. Res., ix. p. 318.

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first, identified with GAUTAMA SWÁMÍ, has no spiritual successors in the *Jaina* sect. The proper inference seems to be, that the followers of this surviving disciple are not of the sect of *Jina*, rather than that there have been none. GAUTAMA's followers constitute the sect of *Bauddha*, with tenets in many respects analogous to those of the *Jainas*, or followers of SUDHARMA, but with a mythology or fabulous history of deified saints quite different. Both have adopted the Hindu Pantheon, or assemblage of subordinate deities, both disclaim the authority of the *védas*, and both elevate their pre-eminent saints to divine supremacy.

In a short essay on their philosophical opinions, which will be likewise submitted to the Society, it will be shown that a considerable difference of doctrine subsists on various points, but hardly more between the two sects, than between the divers branches of the single sect of *Bauddha*.

It deserves remark, that the *Bauddhas* and the *Jainas* agree in placing within the limits of the same province, South Bihar, and its immediate vicinity, the locality of the death and apotheosis of the last *Buddha*, as of the last *Jina*, and of his predecessor and his eldest and favourite disciple. Both religions have preserved for their sacred language the same dialect, the *Páli* or *Prácrit*, closely resembling the *Magadhí* or vernacular tongue of *Magadha* (South Bihar). Between those dialects (*Pali* and *Prácrit*) there is but a shade of difference,* and they are often confounded under a single name.

The traditional chronology of the two sects assigns nearly the same period to their GAUTAMA respectively: for, according to the *Bauddhas*, the apotheosis of GAUTAMA BUDDHA took place 543 years before the beginning of the Christian era, and according to the *Jainas*, the apotheosis of MAHAVIRA, GAUTAMA SWAMI's teacher, was somewhat earlier, viz. about 600 years before the Christian era. The lapse of little more than half a century is scarcely too great for the interval between the death of a preceptor and of his pupil, or not so much too great as to amount to anachronism.

Without relying much upon a similarity of name, it may yet not be foreign to remark, that the *Buddha*, who preceded GAUTAMA BUDDHA, was CÁSYAPA: and that MAHAVIRA, the preceptor of GAUTAMA SWAMI, was of the race of *Cásyapa*.

I take PARSWANÁT'HA to have been the founder of the sect of *Jainas*, which was confirmed and thoroughly established by MAHAVIRA and his

* Burnouf et Lassen, Essai sur le Pâli, p. 154.

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disciple SUDHARMA, by whom, and by his followers, both MAHÁVÍRA and his predecessor PÁRS'WANÁT'HA have been venerated as deified saints (*Jinas*), and are so worshipped by the sect to this day.

A schism, however, seems to have taken place, after MAHAVÍ'RA, whose elder disciple, INDRA BHÚTI, also named GAUTAMA SWÁMI, was by some of his followers raised to the rank of a deified saint, under the synonymous designation of *Buddha*, (for *Jina* and *Buddha* bear the same meaning, according to both Buddhists and Jainas). The preceding *Buddha*, according to this branch of the sect, was CÁS'YAPA, who is not improbably the same with *Sramana Vardhamána Mahávíra*, son (born of the wife) of *Siddhárt'ha*, a *súryavansí* prince of the *Cás'yapa* race.

It is to be observed, without however attaching much weight to this coincidence, that the name of SIDDHART'HA is common to MAHAVÍRA's father and to GAUTAMA BUDDHA, whom I suppose to be the same with the *Jina's* disciple, GAUTAMA SWÁMI.

The appellative *Gautama* is unquestionably a patronymic (derived from *Gótama*), however *Sácya sinha* may have come by it, whether as descendant of that lineage, nearer or remoter, or for whatever other cause. His predecessor among *Buddhas* is, in like manner, designated by a patronymic as above noticed, viz. *Cás'yapa*.

The name of GAUTAMA occurs also as an appellative in other instances besides that of the sixth *Buddha*, or of the twenty-fourth *Jina's* eldest disciple. One of the legislators of the Hindus is GAUTAMA, whose aphorisms of law are extant.*

The gentile name of the last *Buddha* has prevailed in China and Japan, where he is best known under the designation of *Sácya*. His appellation of GAUTAMA remains current in countries bordering upon India.

INSCRIPTION AT NAKHAUR.

संवत् १६८६ वर्षे वैशाखे सुदि १५ दिने मंत्री दल वंश चोपरा गोत्रे ढ० विमल दास तत्पुत्र ढ० तुलसी दास तत्पुत्र ढ० संग्राम गोवर्द्धन दास तन्माता ढ० नीहालो तस्य भार्या ढ० – – देवा गौतम स्वामिका चरण पद्म – – कराषिना वृहत्खरतर गच्छे पूज्य श्री युतीय श्री श्री जिन राज सूरी विद्यमाने पु० म – – धर्मेनि प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ ॥

* Preface to two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance, p. x.

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"In the year 1686 Samvat, on the 15th day of *Vaiśác'ha sudi*, the lotus of Gautama swámi's feet was here placed by Nihálé, mother of *T'ha* (*T'haccur*), Sangráma-Góvardhana dasa, son of *T'ha*. Tulasí dása, son of *T'ha*. Vimala dása, of the race of *Chapuri* and lineage of [*Bharata Chacravarti's*] prime councillor the fortunate Jisa-raja sáh, the venerable guide of the great *C'haratara* tribe, being present."

The same pious family, which is here recorded for erecting, or more probably restoring, the representation of Gautama swámi's feet at *Nakhaur*, is in like manner commemorated by three inscriptions, bearing date six years later (viz. 1692 Samvat),* for the like pious office of erecting images of the feet of Mahavira and of his eleven disciples, at *Pávapuri*, which, or its vicinity, is in those inscriptions stated to be the site of that saint's extinction (*nirvána*) or translation to bliss.

The same names recur, with those of many other persons, inhabitants (as this family was) of the town of *Bihar*, where a numerous congregation of *Jainas* seems to have been dwelt, and with the same additions and designations more fully set forth whence it appears, that the designation of "descendant of a prime councillor" bears reference to a supposed descent from the prime minister of the universal or paramount sovereign, Bharata, son of the first *Jina* Rishabha.

Sangrama and Govardhana, here joined as an appellation of one person, are in those inscriptions separated as names of two brothers, sons of Tulasí dasa and his wife Nihálé. In other respects, the inscriptions confirm and explain each other.†

Description of Temples of the Jainas in South Bihar and Bhagalpur, by Dr. F Buchanan Hamilton, M.R.A.S.

The sect of *Jain* has in the division of *Nawádá* in South Bihar two places of pilgrimage. One is a tank named *Nakhaur*, about a mile and a half north from *Nawada*, and which is of no great size, extending in its greatest length from east to west. It is choked with weeds, especially the nelumbium. The temple is on a small square island covered with a terrace of brick, and is a neat but inconsiderable building, covered

* The largest of these inscriptions names likewise the reigning Emperor, Shah Jehan.

† Copies of those at *Pawápura* were not taken in fac-simile, but are merely transcripts.

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with one dome. A very bad road with a rude bridge leads into the tank. The temple contains two stones, on each of which is an inscription, and the representation of two human feet, the most usual object of worship among the *Jainas* of this district. The inscriptions are exactly the same only the one is a year earlier than the other. I give therefore a copy only of the earliest, dated in *Samvat* 1676 (A.D. 1619).* The object of worship is GAUTAMA, whom the *Jainas*, as well as the orthodox and *Bauddhas*, claim as, of their sect, and the image was made by a certain *Nikalo*, mother of *Thakur Sangrama*, son of *Govardhana das*, son of *Tulasi das*, son of *Bimala das*, of the *Chigrá* tribe, descended of *Mantridal*, all persons equally obscure.

There is not in the vicinity of the tank the smallest trace of any ruin, to induce one to suppose that it had been formerly a place sacred to the worship of the *Jainas*, from which they had been expelled by the *Bauddhas*, and to which they might have been allowed to return, when the Muhammedan conquerors beheld all the Hindu sects with equal contempt. Neither does a single *Jain* reside near the place. Why it has, therefore, been chosen as a place of pilgrimage, it would be difficult to say. Many pilgrims, however, come to it from the west of India.

The other place, called *Pokharpur*, is just on the boundary of Bihar, north from *Giriyac*, and when I visited it, was crowded by pilgrims, who informed me that it was the place where the body of MAHAVIRA, one of their twenty-four lawgivers, was burnt about six centuries before the birth of Christ. It entirely resembles that at *Nakhaur*, but the tank and buildings are larger, the road leading to the temple better, and the water clean. The earth of the tank has been thrown out towards its north side, forming an eminence on which has been constructed a circular work of bricks and plaster, rising by low steps into several concentric terraces. The centre is somewhat in the shape of a large bee-hive, in the cavity of which is a representation of MAHAVÍRA's feet. These buildings were erected by the family of *Jagat set'h*, and are kept in repair at its expense. There is not near it the smallest trace of any ancient building, but adjacent to it, in the division of *Bihar*, there is a more considerable place of *Jain* worship which will be described.

At each of these places resides a *Bhójac Brahman*, with a *Máli* (gardener),

* See Plate. The date appears to be 1686.

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to keep the temples clean and supply flowers to the pilgrims, but none of these attendants are of the sect of *Jina*, although they take the offerings.

I had been informed by a convert to the doctrine of the *Bauddhas*, that GAUTAMA (BUDDHA) died at a place called *Pávapuri*, north some miles from *Girhyac*, where his funeral was performed by *Raja mal*, sovereign of the country; and we are informed by Mr. Colebrooke* that MAHAVIRA, the last *Jina*, died at *Pavapuri* at the court of *Raja* HASTIPALA.

I expected from the name to have met at this place the ruins of an old city, but was disappointed, and I found that *Pává* and *Puri* are two villages, distant from each other about a mile.

Puri, which is close adjacent to the *Jain* temples of *Pokharpuri*, contains another place of worship belonging to that sect: but near it there is no trace of any building of considerable antiquity, nor any thing that can be referred to the time of GAUTAMA or MAHAVÍRA, who were nearly contemporary.

On going to the village of *Pává*, I however found that it was built on a heap of broken bricks and earth of considerable elevation, extending from east to west about six hundred feet, and from north to south about one hundred and fifty. At each end is an old tank; and on the western extremity has been erected a small temple dedicated to the sun.

The *Jain* temple at *Puri* consists of two courts surrounded by brick walls, the doors in which, as common in the *Jain* temples here, are so small, that it is necessary to creep through them. This, I presume, has been contrived on purpose to compel infidels to approach with the prostration considered as due. In the centre of one court is a temple in excellent repair, and of no great antiquity. The ascent to it is by a wretched stair, on each side of which are two small places like a bee-hive, each containing a lump of earth covered with red lead and called *Bhairava*. The temple consists of a centre, and four small *mandirs* or spires at the corners. In the centre are three representations of the feet of MAHAVIRA, who died at this place, and one representation of the feet of each of his eleven disciples. In the corner buildings are also the representations of the feet of various persons.

The oldest inscription, at *Puri*, much defaced, my copyist reads *samvat* 1005 (A.D. 1548) but the priest says that the characters which my man reads 160, are the letters expressing *panya* with the cypher 5 after them, and this he interprets 505 (A.D. 448).

* As. Res. vol. ix. p. 312.

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A similar pretence to antiquity was made at *Bhágalpúr*, but, I believe, in both cases without foundation. The others are avowedly all later than even 1605. The persons by whom they were made, assume no titles of high dignity or regal authority, and seem to have been pilgrims, who by contribution erected, enlarged, or adorned the edifice. At each end of this court is a building. One serves as a gate, two, to accommodate pilgrims of rank, and one is occupied by a priest (*Yati*) of *Bihar*, in the occasional visits which he makes. This court is tolerably clean, and is planted with flowers. The other court contains a building, intended entirely for the accommodation of pilgrims of rank.

The old heretical sect of the *Orwals* (*Jainas*) have, in the division of *Bhágalpur*, two remarkable places of worship, remnants of the religion which prevailed during the government of the *Carna Rájás*. The sect is here completely extinct, further than that two or three attendants on these temples still reside at *Chámpánagara*.

There are two temples of considerable size, built of brick and covered with plaster, the ornaments on which are very rude. The one has been lately rebuilt, and the other is not yet quite finished, both entirely at the expense of such of the family of *Jagat set'h*, the banker, as still adhere to the worship of their fathers, although the chief has adopted that of *Vishnu*. The temples are dedicated to VÁSUPÚJYA. Many pilgrims, especially from *Marwar*, in the west of India, are said to frequent these temples.

The other place of worship, belonging to the *Jainas*, is at *Colwpur*, at no great distance from *Chámpánagara*. In the neighbourhood it is usually called *Vishnu páduca*, or the feet of VISHNU; but this is a name given only by the vulgar, and both *Brahmanas* and *Jainas* agree, that the object of worship here represents the feet of one of the twenty-four deities of the *Jainas*, which the inscription states to be those of VÁSUPÚJYA, who was born at *Chámpánagara* or *Chámpápur*.

This emblem of the Deity is very rudely carved, and represents the human feet. The inscription between the feet mentions the name of the god; that before the toes implies that it was made by certain persons therein named. The date, according to the reading of the *Pujári* (attendant priest) is in year of *samvat* 694 and of *saca* 559, but before each is a mark resembling the Hindu cypher that represents one, which would make the date 1694 *samvat* (1559 *saca*), or A.D. 1637. The *Pujári* insists, that in *Jain*

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inscriptions this mark is prefixed to all numbers and has no value. The inscription on the front of the stone is an exhortation to the believers in the *Jinas*, to worship the feet of VASUPÚJYA. But some parts of this inscription, although fairly written, were not understood by the Pandit of the survey, who says that it contains words which are peculiar to the sect. The stone was in a small temple, but (when I visited the place) had been removed, in order to have the building repaired, to the *Pujári's* house.

I must also remark, that in digging a tank in the immediate vicinity, the people of Mr Glas, surgeon to the station, found four small images of brass. On one is an inscription, which my people have some difficulty in explaining. It is dated after *Pársa* 925 I presume years after the era of *Pársa*, probably meaning PÁRSWANÁT'HA, the twenty-third teacher of the *Jainas*. It is also dated at *Champánagara*, but the rest of the inscription, probably in the old *Maghadha* or *Páli* language, could not be explained.

Description of the Temple of Párswanat'ha at Samét Sikhar By Lieut Col. WILLIAM FRANKLIN, M.R.A.S.

Read November 18, 1826.

At the foot of *Párswanat'ha's* mountain (*Samét Sikhar*[a]), on the Ramgúr frontier, and one hundred and thirty-six miles south of Bhagalpur, are situated the temples dedicated to *Parswanát'ha Iswara* (the twenty-third deified saint of the *Jains*), and constituting one of the principal places of the *Jain* worship in Hindust'han. They consist of large square brick buildings painted white, with a dome in the centre, and four smaller domes at the four corners. The centre dome is crowned with a gilded spire, like the Pyathas of the Buddhaic temples of Ava, as described by Colonel Symes.

The domes of all the temples are surmounted by crotasses of copper gilt, which shine like burnished gold. In front of each temple is a gallery for music, the instruments of which are constantly playing during the time of worship. A brick wall surrounds the whole, and at the end is a *Dharmasálá*, or *Sarai*, for the use of visiters and worshippers. Within the area of the largest of these temples I witnessed a *pújá*, or act of worship performed at the temple. On a terrace was a square canopy of white cloth,

[a] Mount *Parasnáth* or *Samet sic'kara*.—As. Res. vol. ix, p. 319.

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below which was another smaller one of rich brocade, supported by four poles painted red. On an elevated throne, covered with brocade, and called by the natives *Sinhásan*, was seated a small black stone figure of Párswanat'ha, sitting cross-legged, with his hands before him. on his head, fashioned like a turban, were seven expanded heads of serpents, the Coluber Naja, or hooded-snake of India, the invariable symbol of Párswanat'ha. Below his feet were put flowers of the double marigold, and a small silver umbrella was placed erect before him. Underneath the umbrella incense was burning, and great quantities of marigolds were scattered about the place at the sides of the throne were placed plantains, cocoa-nuts, betel leaf, and many kinds of fruits, as offerings to the deity. The two officiating priests had cloths tied over their mouths and underneath the chin, which were fastened to the top of the head to prevent their swallowing any thing that had life, two other priests were a plain cloth or sheet On a high tripod were placed the leaves containing extracts from the *Puránas*, which they chaunted aloud. The two head priests were sitting on the ground, the two others were standing, and all four were singing in praise of Párswanát'ha. The ceremony was performed in the area of the temple. The priests sounded the conch and played on cymbals, and before the figure they burnt incense and sung hymns to his praise.

When a priest sounded the conch, one of the others offered three flags, called by the natives *Sathica*,* on a brass plate, upon which he put all kinds of perfumes, and then the whole band in the gallery struck up. From sunrise to sunset, nothing can be heard but the incessant din of their harsh and discordant music.

The ascent to *Párasnáth'ha* mountain commences by a narrow path in a winding direction, surrounded on both sides by the thickest forest. It is steep, with loose stones overspreading the road as you proceed the ascent becomes steeper, and the summit of the mountain in front presents a stupendous appearance. The course up is due south. No animal of any kind is to be seen. On an opening of the forest you gain an extensive

* Agreeably to the Jain tenets, these flags bear the following meaning
1. *Jnyána*, knowledge,
2. *Darsana*, a sight of the divinity,
3. *Charitra*, worship of *Párasnáth'ha*.

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view of the *Jangal-tarái*,* and the temples at the bottom are seen to advantage. After passing over some level ground between the two hills, you again ascend, and shortly after complete the first range of this extraordinary mountain. You proceed over elevated ground, and commence a descent which brings you to the foot of the second range; then pass along the banks of the *Gandharwa* rivulet, which runs in the bottom over its rocky bed in sonorous murmurs, amidst the gloom of a deep glen, and arched over head with umbrageous foliage. the road continues through the forest till you again reach the *Gandharwa*, which you cross and commence the ascent to the second range. After crossing the rivulet you continue to ascend. On the right is seen a large block of quartz rock, covered over with red lead and oil, and dedicated to *Gandharwa*, the presiding deity of the place. The ascent still continues, and the forest begins to thin. You are now at a very high elevation, and distinctly hear the roarings of the *Sítá* river in the bottom. The road continues in a winding direction, and at intervals you perceive the summits of *Párswanáth's* mountain appearing in bluff jagged peaks, eight in number, and towering to the clouds. You then commence a descent, which brings you to the *Sítá* river, in a bottom rolling over a bed of large mis-shapen rocks. On the right is a figure of Hanumán, and on the left a small temple dedicated to Sítá, the wife of Ráma. After crossing the rocky bed of the *Sítá* river, whose waters are cool, and clear as crystal, you now commence the ascent to the third range, which is far more difficult than the two former, and in some parts nearly perpendicular, the road being covered with large stones, from a foot and a half to two feet high, over the tops of which the traveller is obliged to pass with great hazard of his life. At this part of the ascent, though seated in a small litter or chair in a cramped position, it took twenty bearers to carry me over these stones, and so insecure is the footing, that a false step would have precipitated the whole of the party over a precipice of between three and four hundred feet in height into the valley below.

You now gain an opening in the forest from which the view is inexpressibly grand, the wide extent of the *Jangal-tarái* appearing as if beneath your feet, and looking like the surface of a pictured landscape.

* *Jangal*, forest, and *tarái*, marsh the woody, and marshy district south of Bhagalpur.

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With very great difficulty I at length reached the summit, from which the view was at this time obscured by a thick haze, the result of a strong south-west wind, otherwise I can have no hesitation in supposing that the view would have equalled any thing ever witnessed. I tried, by means of a telescope, to discover the mountain *Taïar*, and also *Mandar*, but owing to the haze was disappointed on the plain however I could discern the courses of five or six rivers which intersect this part of the *Jangal-tarái*. The coup d'œil upon the whole, though clouded, was magnificent.

The summit, emphatically termed by the Jains *Samét sikhar*, comprises a table-land, flanked by twenty small *Jain* temples, situated on the craggy steeps and in different parts of the mountain. The temples in shape very much resemble an extinguisher. In them are to be found the *Vasu-Pádukas*, or sacred feet, similar to what are seen in the *Jain* temple at *Champánagar*.

The figure of PARS'WANÁT'HA is in the temple below: but on the south side of the mountain, about half way down, is a very large and handsome flat-roofed temple, containing several figures of this deity, which exhibit the never-failing attributes of PARS'WANÁT'HA and the *Jain* religion, viz. the crowned serpent and cross-legged figures of *Jinéswará*, or *Jina*, the ruler and guardian of mankind.

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XXIX. *On the Srawacs or Jains.* By Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, M.R.A.S.

Read December 2, 1826.

In the districts of *Bihár* and *Patna* the *Jains* are called *Srávacs*. The number of this sect settled there is not great, amounting only to three hundred and fifty families, but they possess considerable wealth, having all engaged in trade, and many of them with success. They have, therefore, seventeen priests (*yatis*), fifteen of whom constantly reside at *Patna*, and two at *Bihár*. With the two latter I had several interviews, and they were abundantly communicative, the chief of them being a man of considerable learning. At *Patna* they declined all intercourse with me, which, I am told, proceeded from their being very shallow, and afraid of exposing their ignorance. A *Sarjuriya-Brahman*, of the sect of *Vishnu*, named *Govinda*, was brought to me at *Patna*, as the only person there able and willing to give me information relative to the *Srávacs*. He said that he had been employed to instruct some of the *Yatis* in the Sanscrit language, which gave him an opportunity of reading their books and knowing their customs. Finding the employment profitable, he was, I believe, a principal means of keeping the *Yatis* at a distance from me: he was, however, abundantly diligent in procuring information. In travelling through the district I had also an opportunity of conversing with a great many pilgrims, who had come from *Bundelkhand*, and were visiting the holy places at *Gaya*, &c. From these sources I collected some information respecting this sect, which I now offer, in addition to that which I have given in my account of *Mysore*.*

The circumstance by which I was most surprised was, that here the hereditary division into the four common tribes of *Brahmans*, *Cshatriyas*, *Vaisyas*, and *Sudras*, is totally denied, although these names are considered among them as denoting distinctions of employment and rank. All the laity here are therefore called *Vaisyas*, because they all trade, but they assured me

* Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, vol. iii. pp. 81-84, 410-142.

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that in the west of India a great many of them are called *Sudras* because they cultivate the land or tend herds of cattle, while others are called *Chhatreyas* because they carry arms. They also assert, that a large proportion of the Rajputs at *Jayanagar*, *Bundela*, *Mewar*, *Marwar*, *Khandesh*, *Lahaur*, *Jhalawar*, *Jodhpur*, &c. are of their religion, and that the princes of the first mentioned place continued to be *Jains* until the time of *Prithiraj*, the son of *Sewae Jayasinha*, who became a worshipper of *Lakshmi*, and received initiation from the Brahmans. None of the persons I met with in these districts had ever heard of any *Brahmans* belonging to the *Jains*, except those who will be afterwards mentioned, as forming two kinds of priesthood, rather connected however with the sect than belonging to it. There is, therefore, great reason to suspect, that the proper doctrine of caste, or at least of four castes, similar to those which the orthodox Hindus suppose to have originally existed, is an innovation among the *Jains*, although in the south of India it seems now completely adopted in compliance with the prevailing opinions. In *Karnata*, for instance, none will admit that they are *Sudras*, that rank being too low for voluntary assumption, while it is evident that no people could have subsisted without by far the greater part being labourers, and it is no less evident that *Karnata* was once inhabited by a people chiefly, if not entirely, of the *Jain* religion. Although the distinction of *Brahman*, *Chhatriya*, *Vaisya*, and *Sudra*, has not taken place among the *Jains* of these districts nor of *Bundela*, yet they are subdivided into tribes, which they call *Jâti* or castes, and no person of one tribe can marry into another, nor will they eat boiled rice or bread together. These tribes are said to be numerous, and although I met with no person who pretended to know the whole which may exist in India, I heard the following mentioned. *Parwal*, *Purwal*, *Palwal*, *Kariwal*, *Agarwal*, *Yaswal*, *Sriwal*, *Srawawal*, *Kurwal*, *Barawal*, *Golangha*, *Gujjawal*, *Bagherwal*, and *Gohlal*. All the pilgrims from *Bundela* were of the *Parwal* tribe, but in these districts most of the residents are *Oswal* and *Agarwal*, that is, the original inhabitants of *Agra*. It must, however, be observed, that by far the greater part of the *Agarwals* have been converted to the sect of *Parswa*, and are admitted to be of the *Vaisya* caste, which distinction is also conceded to those who adhere to the sect of the *Jainas*.

The *Jains* seem long to have been divided into two sects, the *Shwetambar* and *Digambar*; but of late, as among the orthodox, schisms have arisen, and several people have pretended to find new ways to heaven, by what are

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called the *Terrpant'h* and *Bispant'h* (that is, the thirteen and the twenty ronds), while others, called *Duriyas*, have separated still farther from former opinions.

The *Digambaras* are also called *Bhat'árakas*. Of these there are scarcely any in this district, nor were there any among the pilgrims with whom I conversed. I believe, however, that in the south the *Digambaras* are the most prevalent. The *Digambaras*, or at least their priests, ought to go naked, but if those I saw in the south belonged to this sect, as I believe was the case, they have given up this absurdity and even *Pandita Acharya*, who had obtained *survár*, or divinity, was as decently clothed as an ordinary man. What convinces me that it was the *Digambara* I met with in the south is, that this sect has twenty-four books called *Puránas*, as mentioned in my account of *Mysore*. The names of these books are *Adi* P. or *Chakradhar* P., *Ajit* P., *Sambhar* P., *Abhinandan* P., *Saumati* P., *Padma Prabhava* P., *Suparsa* P., *Chandra Prabhava* P., *Saubodhunathya* P., *Sastalnathya* P., *Sriyangsanathya* P., *Vampujya* P., *Bimalnathya* P., *Ananta-nathya* P., *Dharma nathya* P., *Santinathya* P., *Kunthunathya* P., *Arnalla-nathya* P., *Munisahrutanathya* P., *Naminathya* P., *Nemmanathya* P., *Parsvanathya* P., *Mahavira* P. and *Uttara* P. These books, so far as I can learn, give an account of the twenty-four *Tirthancaras*, or lawgivers of the sect; the first twenty-three giving each an account of one such person, while the *Uttara Purána* gives an account of the whole.

The sect of *Digambara*, in performing its ceremonies, is said to be guided by books called *Siddhanta*, which form its code of *agam* (rituals). The books are *Trailokyasára*, *Crématasára*, *Pungjaraj*, *Trailokyadipak*, *Kshipanasára*, *Siddhántasára*, *Tribhangisára*, and *Shatpawar*.

Many of these *Puránas* and *Siddhántas* are attributed to Gautama, or other chief rulers (*Ganadhar*) of the sect, who are supposed to relate what was said by the *Tirthancaras* or law-givers.

Besides these books, the *Digambaras* have other books, called *Charitras*, composed by inferior personages. These are *Vasúdhar* C., *Sripal* C., *Hanumant* C., *Sita* C., *Bhadrubahu* C., *Jambuswámi* C., and *Pradyumna* C.

The *Swetambaras* have always held the gymnosophistic *Digambaras* in the contempt due to their extravagance.

So far as is here known, the *Digambaras* are divided into eighty-four *gachhs*, each of which is under the authority, in spirituals, of a priest, called *Sri-pujya*; but every person seems to be at liberty to join whatever

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gachha he chooses. The *Sri-pujya* is the *Guru*, or spiritual guide, of the *gachha*, and as such (as is usual among Hindus of all sects) is worshipped by his followers, but whether or not he is exactly of the same rank with *Pandita Achárya*, whom I have mentioned in my account of *Mysore*, I cannot ascertain. The *Sri-pujya* is generally a Yath a *Srávac*, and renounces all worldly pleasures. He educates a number of pupils in the same strict practice, and is succeeded by one of them when he is translated to heaven. None of the *Sri-pujyas* who resort to *Bihar* appear to reside farther east than *Gwalior*. Each of them seems to have an abode which may be considered as his head-quarters, but they pass a great part of their time in visiting their own flocks. Although it is for these alone that they perform the offices of delivering instructions (*Upades*), of distributing consecrated ashes, and of reading the book called *Pratikrama*, yet wherever they go they are received by the whole sect with the utmost respect, and in all the principal places which they frequent, houses called *pausal* have been built for their accommodation. The *Sri-pujyas* and their immediate pupils, I understand, in general possess some learning. The people of each *gachha* are so scattered, that the *Sri-pujyas* have found it necessary to appoint assistants, who act as deputies to perform the above-mentioned ceremonies, and to manage the temporal concerns of the *Sri-pujya*. These assistants are the only persons who in these districts are called *Yatis*, although it would appear from Colonel Mackenzie's account* that in the south the term is considered applicable to the whole priesthood. The *Yatis* are of the order of *Mahávrata*, described in the Asiatic Researches by Colonel Mackenzie, and ought to observe with the utmost strictness the five great virtues of the *Jain* law: 1, respect for the life of all creatures; 2, truth; 3, honesty; 4, chastity; 5, poverty. But this last is binding only while they have no expectation of being elevated to the high dignity of *Sri-pujya*. On this account it seems to be difficult to find persons willing to fill the office, so that children are usually purchased for the purpose, and among these the *Srawacs* are willing to take the children of *Brahmans*. The two *Yatis* at *Bihár* had originally been of this order, and being still suspected of a hankering after the opinions of their youth, were far from being respected, although one of them, as I have said, was a man of very considerable learning and good manners, qualifications which, I am told, are

* As. Res., vol. vii. pp. 244-256.

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very uncommon in this order of priesthood. These *Yatis* are the mere agents of the *Sri-pujyas*, and according to their industry in performing their duty, and especially in remitting contributions to the sage on whom they depend, are entrusted with the care of a larger or smaller portion of his flock, being removeable at his pleasure from one place to another. The *Yatis* usually reside at one of the places *pausal*, built for their master's accommodation, and each has usually a pupil whom he educates to be his successor. If he die without having educated a successor, the *Sri-pujya* is his heir, and sends a new *Yati* to take charge of the office. In general the *Yatis* can read Sanscrit, but few of them understand much of that language.

Some holy men, called *Sanbégis*, make occasional visits to these districts; they accept of nothing but what is absolutely necessary for each day's subsistence, and are supposed literally to take no heed for to-morrow.

The *Śrâwacs* of the *Swetambara* sect appear to have no proper *Purôhits*, or priests, for conducting their ceremonies, as each man worships the gods for himself and presents his own offerings, nor on such occasions is any priest necessary to read prayers. Among them, however, has arisen an order of *Brahmans* called *Bhôjaks* (eating), or *Pushpakar* (flower priests), who attend at their temples and take the offerings, and on that account are usually called their *Purôhits*, although they are never employed to read prayers. The account usually given is, that between two or three centuries ago, the sect having undergone persecution, these *Brahmans* took arms in their defence, and have ever since been allowed to have charge of the temples, to receive the offerings, and to supply those who come to worship, with turmeric, red-lead, and some other articles usually employed. All the *Bhôjaks* that I have seen adhered to the orthodox faith, and the same may be said of the garland-makers (*Mali*), of whom one is usually attached to each temple, to keep it clean and supply votaries with flowers. The *Śrâwacs* of the *Swetambara* sect seem, indeed, to have little occasion for *Purôhits*, as of what are called the ten acts *Daśa-karma*, requiring the assistance of priests among the orthodox, marriage alone is here accompanied by a religious ceremony, and any *Brahman* is employed to read the ceremony usual on such occasions. The reason of this seems to be, that, the ceremony being universal among their neighbours, the *Śrâwacs* are afraid, lest without it the contract might not be considered valid. In the south it appears, from Colonel Mackenzie's account, that the *Jains* attend to the performance of

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all these ten religious acts *(Das'a-karma)*, and also to the ceremony of initiation, which the *Srávacs* here entirely neglect. All the *Srávacs* ought to be *Anuvratas*, which order requires their observing the five great virtues lately mentioned, as far at least as is consistent with the existence of society, for what I have called chastity is a total abstinence from sexual intercourse, and poverty implies the total neglect of worldly concerns; and these rules, observed with rigour, are evidently incompatible with the existence of society.

The *Srávacs* worship their twenty-four great teachers, usually here called *Avatáras*, although *Tírthancara* seems to be the more proper name, and also some of their most celebrated disciples, among whom eleven attendants on Mahávira are the most conspicuous. Of these Gautama is by far the most eminent, and seems to be as remarkable here as Gomet-ra'i is in the south.

Mr Colebrooke, in his treatise on the *Jains*, published in the Asiatic Researches,* says that this person is called Gautama on account of his being descended from that race, and such may be the case. The *Yati* at *Bihár*, and *Gósanda* of Patna, assured me, however, that they consider the disciple of Mahávira as the son of Mayadévi, and as the author of the Indian metaphysics, nor in the pedigree of Gautama or Sákya that is given in the *Sri-Bhágavat*, although it ascends for one hundred and sixteen generations to Marichi, created by Brahma, can I discover any other person named Gautama.

In their temples the *Swétámbaras* have images of all these persons, which they worship, but their devotions are more usually addressed to what are called the representations of their feet.

The places where all these personages were begotten *(Garbha)*, where they were born *(Janma)*, where they resigned worldly pleasures *(Dikshá)*, where they began to meditate *(Jnyana)*, and where they departed from this world, *Nirvána* are considered holy, and are frequented by pilgrims. Many such *Tírthas* are found in these districts. All the twenty-four *Tírthancaras* are said to have been sons of kings, except Nemi-nat'h, and he was of the royal family of the Moon, being descended from Yadu, the ancestor of Crishna. Vasupújya, another of these *Tírthancaras*, died at *Champánagar*, in the reign of *Rája* Dadhibahan, who lived after Kama. These circum-

* As. Res., vol. ix. p. 308.

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stances connected with the reforms of the *Puranic* chronology, given by Major Wilford and Mr. Bentley, will serve in some measure to show what reductions will be necessary of the extravagance of *Jain* chronology. The *Yati* of *Bihar* says, that the best account of their *Avatâra* and kings is to be found in a book called the *Bhagawat sutra*, consisting of 45,000 couplets (*slóka*), and that the best account of their places of pilgrimage is called the *Tirá Tambul*. Much historical matter is said also to be contained in their *Purânas*, which are totally different from the books of the orthodox *Hindus* that are called by that name (although both have probably been derived from some common original, now lost). I was assured by Góvinda, that the *Srâwacs* here frequently study the same *Purânas* with the orthodox Hindus. The *Swétambaras* also acknowledge the laws (*smriti*) of the twenty *munis* of the orthodox, and place these sages in the same order of succession. The *Swetambaras* have no less than forty-five, or as some allege, eighty-four *Siddhántas* or *Agams* for the direction of their worship, but they seem to contain much extraneous matter. Among these are the *Thanangi sútra*, the *Gyanauti sútra*, the *Sugorangi sutra*, the *Upasakadesa*, the *Mahupandanna*, the *Nandi sútra*, the *Pandanna*, the *Rayapsêni*, the *Jwabhigami*, the *Jambudwipa-pannatti*, the *Sura-pannatti*, the *Chandrasâgar-pannatti*, the *Kalpasútra*, the *Kalantra-vibhrama-sútra*, the *Shakt'hi-sutra*, and the *Sangrahani-sutra*.

The temples of the *Srâwacs* are here called *Dêhara*. In many of them *Bhairava* is an object of worship. The *Srâwacs* look on him as a minister of the gods, and he is represented by a mass of clay usually placed under a shed. The *Srâwacs* worship no less than forty-eight female deities, among whom are Padmavati, Chakres wari, Chandrakant'ha, Sri malina, &c.; but I have learned nothing of their history, nor did I see any of their images. The *Srâwacs* also worship Kshétrapal, the god of cities, in the same way as the *Grama-dévatás* are worshipped by the vulgar Hindus. In this district the *Srâwacs* do not usually worship any of the gods (*Dewatas*, adored by ordinary Hindus, such as Rama, Crishna, Siva, Kali, &c., but when afraid of any great impending evil, and they think that they have failed in procuring relief from their own gods, they sometimes, like the Moslems, have recourse to whatever idol may be fashionable, and employ a *Brahman* to perform the ceremonies. They admit the sun and heavenly bodies to be deities, but do not consider them to be proper objects of worship.

The *Srâwacs* do not themselves perform *Hóma*, that is, they do not make burnt offerings, for they abhor animal sacrifices, and put themselves to the

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most extreme inconvenience to avoid killing, by any accident, even the most minute reptile, but when afraid of any misfortune, they employ a *Brahman* to make that offering. This seems, however, to be a superstition that has been introduced among them from their neighbours, like the worship of the gods of the orthodox *Hindus*.

Besides the *Digambar* and *Swétambar*, as I have already mentioned, three sects, called *Terépanth*, *Bupanth*, and *Duriya*, seem to have lately arisen among the *Jains*, a proof that they are now freed from the terrors of persecution.

The *Terépanths* and *Bupanths* are so few in number, that I have not been able to learn the differences of opinion on account of which they have separated from each other; but both agree in rejecting the advice of the sages (*Gurus*) who are spiritual guides for the two old sects of the *Jains*, nor have they adopted any other persons to perform this important office. This is a heresy so damnable, that they are beheld with the abhorrence due to the heterodox (*Nástik*); while the *Swetámbaras* in the west of India, and even in *Patna*, from their weight in the state, are at present admitted by the *Brahmans* to be orthodox (*Astik*). These two heterodox sects worship the twenty-four *Avatárs* or *Tirthancaras*, and perform the other religious rites usual among the *Srâwacs*: practices which are entirely condemned by the people called *Duriyas*, all of whom are said to consider themselves as having obtained divinity, and therefore as exempted from the worship of any god. This extravagance, however, has not been accompanied by the system of rejecting the advice of sages (*Gurus*); and therefore, although considered as heterodox (*Nástik*), they are thought less dangerous than the other two schisms, especially as their sages are ascetics of the most extravagant degree of mortification, who wander about thoughtless of all worldly concerns, covered with rags and nastiness. These fanatics have not yet penetrated so far toward the east as Patna, and the account above given is taken entirely from report.

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XXX. *An Account of an Inscription found near Trincomalee, in the Island of Ceylon. By Sir* ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, *Knt. V.P.R.A.S.*

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society.

SIR I have the honour to send you, for the Royal Asiatic Society, the fac-simile which was made in 1806 by my direction, of the inscription on a flat stone near the road leading from the town and fort of Trincomalee to the large tank or artificial lake of Kandellé, in the province of Trincomalee, on the north-eastern side of the island of Ceylon. The public object which I had in view in forming the collection of inscriptions of which the accompanying is one of the most remarkable, the great celebrity of the Hindu temple at Trincomalee in ancient times, and the equal celebrity of the magnificent harbour at the same place in modern times, render the illustration of every document relative to that place an object not only of literary curiosity, but of national importance.

The late Sir Thomas Maitland, when governor of the island of Ceylon, in consequence of my representing to him that the surest way of restoring that island to its ancient state of cultivation and population would be, to establish by act of parliament some permanent system for its government, founded upon a thorough knowledge of the history and feelings of the people, and really applicable to the local capabilities and present situation of the country, resolved, in council, to send me officially to England, for the purpose of laying before his Majesty's Ministers, in my official capacity of Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council on Ceylon, such a system of government for that island as in my opinion was calculated to attain the objects which I have mentioned, and, that I might be enabled to afford his Majesty's Ministers such recent information as they might require upon the occasion, previously sent me, in 1806, on a circuit completely round the island, with the fullest powers to collect the most authentic and detailed information relative to the ancient and modern history of the country, the origin of all the different classes of inhabitants, their laws, their castes, their religion, their language, their agriculture, their manufactures, and their commerce.

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As the general history and local traditions of Ceylon, confirmed as to this fact by the remains of four of the most stupendous tanks or artificial lakes that were ever constructed in India, prove beyond a doubt that the immense tracts of cultivable land in the northern and eastern provinces of the island, which are now completely waste and depopulated, were at a former period of history most highly cultivated and very densely peopled, and as one great object of the system of government, which I proposed to Sir Thomas Maitland was to restore those tracts of land to their former state of cultivation, I caused while I was on the above circuit, surveys to be made of some of these tanks, and of the extent of the lands which could be irrigated by them, estimates to be formed of the expence of putting them into repair, and copies to be taken of all the inscriptions, ancient or modern, which could be found in their neighbourhood, and I urged the natives of the country, by every motive which could stimulate their activity, to collect for me on the spot such local information, as might explain to his Majesty's Government the causes both of the former prosperity and of the present desolation of those extensive provinces.

In the course of this inquiry all the best-informed men of the island, approving highly of its object, zealously co-operated with me in eliciting local information from every part of their respective districts, and the native chiefs of the province of Trincomalee laid before me, together with many other valuable inscriptions, the one of which the fac-simile accompanies this letter, and which they described as the most ancient and the most curious in their province.

I was informed by those chiefs, that the late French Admiral Suffrein, when he was at Trincomalee with the French fleet in 1781, thinking that a translation of this inscription would throw much light upon the ancient history and upon the ancient state of cultivation of the province of Trincomalee, sent a copy of it to the late Mons. Anquetil du Perron, then in France, with an offer of a considerable reward to any person who could decypher it, but which, so far as I can learn, has never been accomplished.

The race of people who at present inhabit the province of Trincomalee and the adjacent provinces, are completely ignorant of the character in which it is written; they however believe, from the traditions which are preserved amongst them, that it is the character which was in use throughout the whole

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of the northern and eastern parts of the island in the age of the two Kings of Solamandelum, Manumethi Candesolan and his son Kalocata Maharasa, who are stated, upon what authority I cannot ascertain, in all the ancient histories of Trincomalee (of which I have in my possession both the Tamul originals and the English translations) to have reigned over the southern peninsula of India and the greater part of the island of Ceylon about the five-hundred and twelfth year of the *Cali-yug*, or about 4,400 years ago, and during their reign to have constructed not only the celebrated pagodas or temples of Trincomalee, the whole of which were in the beginning of the sixteenth century destroyed by the Portuguese, and the materials of which were subsequently used by them for building what forms a portion of the present fortifications of Trincomalee, but also the four equally celebrated tanks or artificial lakes called Kattucarré, Padvilcolam, Minerie, and Kandelie, the remains of which may, from their great magnitude and strength, and from the skill which is displayed in their construction, be considered as some of the most venerable and splendid monuments ever discovered, of the high state of perfection to which the science of irrigation had been brought in the northern and eastern parts of Ceylon, in the remotest periods of history; and of the extraordinary efforts which were made by the Hindu monarchs of India to secure their subjects from the miseries of famine, by securing to the cultivators of land a regular and an abundant supply of water.

There are many traditions in the country respecting the contents of this inscription, but the three following are those to which the natives of the province most generally allude. The first is, that it contains an account of the taxes which the priests of the temples of Trincomalee had a right to levy on the inhabitants of their own and the adjacent provinces, of the expenses which had been incurred by the sovereigns of the country in building those temples, of the lands and the treasure which were the property of the temples, of the different countries in which the lands were situated, and of the different places of security in which the treasures were deposited.

The second is, that it contains an account of the construction of the great tank of Kandelie, the sums that were expended upon it, the number of people who were employed in completing the work, the quantity of water which the tank contained, the manner in which, and the seasons at which, the

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waters were distributed amongst the proprietors of the adjacent fields; the number and extent of the fields to which its waters could be conducted; and the quantity of rice which could be raised in them.

The third is, that it contains the heads of the original laws, both civil and criminal, according to which the two kings of Solamandelum, MANUMATHY CANDESOLAM and his son KALOCATA MAHARAJA, ordained in the five-hundred and twelfth year of the *Calli-yug*, or about 4,400 years ago, that the Hindu people of the northern and eastern parts of the island of Ceylon should be governed, and upon the faith of which the original Hindu settlers had, on the invitation of those sovereigns, come over from the peninsula of India, and established themselves in the different provinces of Ceylon.

However contradictory these traditions may be as to the meaning which they attach to the inscription, I think it may safely be concluded, both from them and from all the different histories which I have in my possession, that the race of people who inhabited the whole of the northern and eastern provinces of the island of Ceylon, at the period of their greatest agricultural prosperity spoke the same language, used the same written character, and had the same origin, religion, castes, laws, and manners, as that race of people who at the same period inhabited the southern peninsula of India; and that it is therefore probable that some information as to the character and language in which the inscription is written may be derived from the ancient histories and traditions of that part of India, many of which I procured from the Brahmans of Ramisserum, Trichendore, Madura, Seringham, Combeconum, Chillembrum, Congeveram, and Tripetty, while I was travelling in the peninsula in 1807 and 1817.

I have the honour to be, SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER JOHNSTON.

Great Cumberland Place,
18th July 1827

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XXXI. *Two Edicts from the Hoppo of Canton to the Hong Merchants, translated by* JOHN FRANCIS DAVIS, *Esq., M.R.A.S.*

From the new Hoppo to the Hong Merchants.

Copy received by the British Factory on the 20th of October 1825.

TA, Hoppo of Canton, &c. &c. issues this mandate to the Hong Merchants.

THE present dynasty instituted the office of Hoppo (invested with the general superintendence of maritime commerce), on account of its compassionating feelings towards distant foreigners; surely not in consequence of any necessity that it has for the foreigners' clocks and watches, broad-cloth, long-ells, &c., or for the sake of the annual duties, amounting to some hundred thousand tales. The Central Nation possesses silk and cotton manufactures of various kinds, enough to clothe all its people, and abundance of dials, clepsydras* and hour-glasses,* as well as clocks and watches from Soo-chow and Yang-chow, sufficient to ascertain the lapse of time. With regard to the rare articles which are brought from the Four Seas,† and by the nations of the north and south, these are piled up in the Imperial Palace in mountainous heaps. When any of the provinces are afflicted with famine, millions of tales are issued from the national treasury for their relief: what necessity, then, can there be for the trifling commodities of foreign nations? In consequence of the various people of the western ocean having long been dependent upon the tea, rhubarb, and other goods of China, for their existence, therefore the office of Hoppo was established, to superintend the trade on just and impartial principles: but as it was to be apprehended that the foreigners coming from afar over a tempestuous ocean, ignorant of the language, and unable to procure food for themselves, would be deceived and cheated by wicked natives, the Hong merchants were instituted to buy their goods, and the Linguists to be their interpreters, while pilots and compradores were provided them, as well as food

* Called *Shwuy-low* and *Shé-lou*. For the Chinese characters see Plate XIII, Nos. 7 and 8.

† All the world out of China.

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and water to support their existence. As it was likewise to be feared that the foreigners, unacquainted with the laws of the celestial dynasty, might be led into a violation of them by worthless natives, a high and trusty officer was appointed for their especial superintendence, at the same time that the Viceroy delegated to the proper civil and military officers their general government and control. The *mercy* was most great, but the laws are most severe. The foreigners have either chiefs to superintend their affairs, or there is an inferior control exercised by each captain or master over those under his particular command. If they can strictly conform themselves to ancient usage, mutual good understanding may be preserved for ever.

It appears, however, that of late years remissness has proceeded from long neglect. With the exception of the English president, who indeed understands the great principles of moral fitness,* and of the foreigners of that nation (those in the Company's employ), who preserve a due regard for their respectability, the others, namely the American and *Keang-keŏ* (the country or private trading English) foreigners, regardless of the great benevolence and goodness of His Imperial Majesty, listen to and allow themselves to be led astray by worthless Chinese. The law has always been, that if any stranger felt himself aggrieved, he should acquaint his chief, or the captain of his own particular ship, that he might transmit the complaint to the Hong merchants for presentation before the Hoppo, who would act with justice therein himself, or consult with His Excellency the Viceroy on the best mode of settling the affair. It has appeared of late that foreigners of various countries, allowing themselves to be led astray by worthless persons, and to be detected in the commission of improper acts, have, as soon as they were found out and restrained, pretended to have suffered some great hardship, and taking upon themselves to present an address in a foreign language,† proceeded to the city-gate to deliver the same. This was a daring act of irregularity, and deserving of great reprehension.

* Ta-e. To speak and to discern. For the Chinese characters see Plate XIII. No. 2.

† An edict was some months ago issued by the Viceroy, declaring that none but the English chief had the right of addressing the local government in the Chinese character; all others are obliged to address him in their own language, to be translated by the Hong merchants. This is a material advantage which the Company have extorted for themselves. The Viceroy refers to the discussions which took place in 1814.—J. F. D.

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It is proper for me, the Hoppo, who received the Imperial commission for their control, to meet and consult with His Excellency the Viceroy on the best measures to be adopted. What is already past need not be renewed, but this mandate is expressly issued to Howqua and the other Hong merchants, that they may transmit it to the foreign merchants of every nation. They must strictly conform to old established usage, and sweep clean away their recent bad habits, that they will not repay with ingratitude the great benevolence of His Imperial Majesty. Let the Hong merchants, also, sincerely and with all their might, enjoin it on the Linguists, Compradores, &c. to "change their faces and wash their hearts,"* to pay a strict obedience to the regulations without seeking petty gain, whereby they will entangle themselves in the net of the law.

After the issuing of this mandate, should any person obstinately persist in ill doing, or dare to treat this admonition lightly, I, the Hoppo, in conjunction with His Excellency the Viceroy, will investigate to what nation and to what ship the offending person belongs. If the offence be light, I shall order the Hong merchants to have no intercourse with that particular ship: if the offence be heavy, I shall address his Majesty on the subject of not permitting that particular nation's ships to enter the port. As to those worthless Chinese who instigate to evil, I shall, according to the law which relates to unlawful intercourse with foreigners, first state the circumstances to His Majesty, and then carry the law into effect. The consequences will not be light to the persons and families, as well as to the lives of the Hong merchants. It is to be apprehended that the mere privation of the button will not be sufficient to cover (or atone for) their offence. Let all implicitly obey: disregard not this special mandate.

Taou-Kwang, 5th year, 9th moon, 6th day.

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2. Copy received by the British Factory on the 21st of October 1825.

To, Hoppo of Canton, &c. &c., to the Hong Merchants.

In the resort of the foreigners of various nations to Canton for the purposes of trade, whatever business must be managed by the said foreigners *in person*, is allowed to be transacted by them in the foreign factories.

* It has been very well suggested, that they had better wash their faces and change their hearts.

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They are permitted to take up their abode in the said factories, and there to remain until the business is concluded and the ships have departed, when they are required immediately to petition for a pass to Macao. Supposing that their accounts are not wound up, they must still remain at Macao: they are not permitted to loiter about at Canton. There have already been strict mandates issued on this subject; they are on record. With the exception of the English (*i. e.* the Company's factory), who by proceeding up to Canton when the ships arrive, and requesting a pass to Macao as soon as the business is concluded, have conformed to the regulations, and concerning whom, therefore, it is unnecessary to make any observations,—the *Keang-keŏ* (country or Anglo-Indian), the Americans, and other foreigners, have continued to sojourn at Canton after their business was concluded. When the ships of these nations had already set sail and left the port, they asserted that there were still other ships to come after them, thus persisting in loitering about within the foreign factories. It is also understood that there are foreigners, who publicly set up shops for goods within the factories, and carry on clandestine dealings with natives. Not only is it to be feared that *smuggling* may be the result of this practice, but *disturbance* and *trouble* may also arise from such intercourse as the above. It would, therefore, be a great unkindness to foreigners, as well as a neglect in the peaceful government of the district, were it not severely restrained. It is right to issue this mandate to the Hong merchants, that they may instantly transmit it to foreigners of all nations, requiring their obedience thereto. If they have no trading business actually in hand, let them immediately embark and return home; if their accounts are yet unsettled, let them go and wait at Macao: they must not loiter about, under borrowed pretexts. Should they dare to be obstinate and oppose, let an address be sent up for their immediate expulsion. Let inquiries be also made concerning those foreigners who have set up shops within the factories, and who carry on clandestine dealings with natives, what nation they belong to, and why the merchants have not reported them. Let inquiries be immediately made on receipt of this, and an answer returned, that the business may be arranged. Make no excuses for delay, by which offence and punishment will be incurred. Hasten, hasten, a special mandate!

Taou-Kwang, 5th year, 9th moon, 7th day.

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XXXII *A Cufic Inscription found in Ceylon, communicated by Sir A. Johnston, V.P.R.A.S., with a Translation by the Rev. Samuel Lee, A.M., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge.**

Read February 3d, 1827

Dear Sir, *Cambridge, Nov. 27, 1826.*

Herewith you will receive the Ceylon Papers which you were so good as to lend me. I should have returned them much earlier had not my Lectures absorbed nearly the whole of my time. You will perceive I have made an attempt to decipher the whole of the inscription, which, together with a translation of it, I now send you. I have availed myself of the previous endeavours of Major Stewart, as far as I could coincide with him in opinion, the rest I have made out as well I could. It is as follows

INSCRIPTION.

بسم الله الرحمٰن

الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد

رسول الله صلا الله عليه وسلم

اللهم اغفر وارحم وتجاوز عن عبد

ابن عبدك خلد بن ابو نقاده قد ترك

الدنيا وافتقر اليك وانت غني عنه وقد نزل

..ك وانت خير مسؤول منه اللهم وتعف ذنبه منه

ليمق تبرد وعطه اخيره ويتبرّ ودمه واستريد الث

حينئذ وامين وسلويًا جعل سيما الخير يتملـ

.....دلنا الرشد دليلاً ولنبه بالقول الثابت

اقتنت حجته وردّه حوض نبيه امين رب

العالمين وكتب يوم الاثنين لخمس خلين من

رجب سنة سبع وثلثين وثلثماية وبالقرية يتم

امين دين وربعة سنة سبعة عشر

وثلثماية وصلا الله علي نبيه محمد وسلم

* For a reduced fac-simile of the inscription see the accompanying plate.

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TRANSLATION.

In the name of the compassionate and merciful God. There is no God but God. Mohammed is the prophet of God. May the blessing and peace of God be upon him. O God pardon, have mercy upon, and pass away from (the sins of) a servant, the son of thy servant, Khálid Ibn Abu Bakáya (Takáya or Nakáya), (who) has left the world, and (who) was dependent on thee; but thou wast sufficient without him (who) has departed to thee, and thou art his best place of departure. O God pardon his sin, that his party may remain, and grant him his last reward), and that he may be justified. And protect thou, and multiply favour and security to him. And may he (God) appoint our excellent prophet supreme, that he may afford to us and shew us the truth clearly, for he has admonished with the established word, and his decision has obtained, and his resistance is (as) the (depth) lake of reproach. Amen Lord of Worlds. It was written on the second day (of the week) five nights taken out of (the month) Rejeb (i. e. on the 5th of Rejeb) in the year 337 * And in the vicinity he completed a security for religion with (other) conveniences, in the year 317. May God give blessing and peace upon his prophet Mohammed.

This, as I have already remarked, is the best interpretation which I have been able to give of this interesting inscription. Allow me now to say a few words on those passages of it which have appeared to me doubtful. We have in the fifth line ابو بكر which has been translated by Abu Bakáya (Takáya or Nakáya) where the first word ابو *Abu*, is incorrect, the rules of the grammar requiring ابي *Abi*, not *Abu*, and the second is doubtful, in consequence of the omission of the points necessary to distinguish the letters. But I have further doubts as to the letters themselves, from comparing the two copies together, which, in this, as in other instances, differ very widely. Upon turning over the travels of Ibn Batouta (which I hope to have it in my power shortly to give to the public), I find that he visited a grave in the island of Ceylon, which contained the remains of ابو عبد الله ابن خفيف Abu Abd Allah Ibn Khafeef. Whether this can be the same with the name in this inscription, I will not take upon me to say. It is possible and not improbable that it is. But nothing can be said on this point, until we get better copies of the inscription, or a sight of the original itself.

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* Of the Hejra.

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In the beginning of the seventh line we have only the letter ك with a space, which I have translated by supposing the word الملك to have been originally there, although there is still a slight anomaly, as بيول not بول should have preceded مسجول yet, as the word *Muzzumool* follows, I do not see what other word could have occupied this space. Again سنه would be more consistent with the idiom of the language than سنة at the end of the seventh line; but as سنة is more agreeable to the Cufic copy of the inscription than سنه, I have been content to allow this deviation, until we have better means of ascertaining what the inscription really is. In the next one, يعزه and يعزز would be more grammatical than يعزه and يعز, but, as before, I can see my way no clearer, until I see a better copy of the inscription itself. At the end of the eighth line we seem to have a defect, which I would thus supply, التقم *favour, grace*, &c. the last two letters of which may have been written at the commencement of the following line, for which there is manifestly a space left. At the end of the next line there is also a defect, which seems only to want one letter, viz. *alef*. At the beginning of the next, i. e. the tenth line, there is again a space and the letter ي is wanting, which I have supplied in the translation. Of the remainder of this line, I think, there can be no doubt, and the same, perhaps, may be said of the greater part of the next. Of the last word but one of the twelfth line I think there can hardly be two opinions, the first letter being evidently one of the ح class, though the rest are a little obscure: and, if this be the case, a considerable difficulty as to the first date will vanish. There now can remain only one difficulty of any importance, and that is, as to the second date. Of the form and signification of the last two words in the thirteenth line, I think there cannot be much doubt, and if so we may be sure that reference is made to some event independent of that mentioned in the first date. The three first words of the next line I have decyphered and translated as being تامين دين وزحمة "*A security of* (or for) *religion, with conveniences.*" If this be the real purport of the passage, the erection of a religious house, with offices, gardens, &c., is meant, and the circumstance perhaps been recorded here, as being the work of *piety** alluded to above, and which it is the wish of the writer should remain. This passage however

* The word بر, from which the word in the inscription is derived, is often used by Mohammedan writers in the sense of legacies for religious purposes.

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is capable of another interpretation. Renaudot tells us, pp. 102, 103, "Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine," that the Arab merchants were about this time in great insecurity in this island in consequence of a barbarous custom which prevailed among the Indians, whereby both their lives and property were often sacrificed, and that the king made a regulation prohibiting its recurrence in future. If then the passage relates to this circumstance, perhaps the true reading will be آمن ذين ر حر, "*A security of* (or from) *debt and deceit*" and to shew perhaps that this was brought about by the endeavours of this good man just twenty years before his death. For this interpretation the inscription on the smaller paper seems to make as we have either a ر or a ز evidently concluding the last word. The other, or larger copy, is however on the other side, the last word being there ر ح, another form only of the word رحم, but which can be made by no means to correspond with ر حر, which seems to be the reading of the smaller copy. The first of these words moreover, in the smaller copy, is apparently مامن which, at first, may have been مامن *a place of security*, which would suit the passage rather better than آمن in whichsoever of the significations proposed the following words are to be taken. Still the word آمين is not objectionable, as we find the Temple at Mecca occasionally called البيت الآمين, and the province in which it is situated بلد الآمين, which word may have been taken and applied as an epithet to any similar religious building or station.

I am sorry that I have not been able to command more leisure than I have for the consideration of this inscription, and I pray that the time I have taken has not been productive of any material inconvenience,

I remain &c.,

(Signed) SAMUEL LEE.

To Mr. W. Hottmann.

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XXXIII. *A Letter to the Secretary relating to the preceding Inscription.* By Sir ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, KNT., V.P.R.A.S.

Sir,

I some time ago had the honour to send you the fac-simile of an ancient inscription found at Trincomalee, on the east side of the island of Ceylon; I now have the honour to send you the fac-simile of one found at Colombo, on the west side of that island. The first is of importance, as connected with the plan which I proposed to Government, in 1806, for restoring the northern, eastern, and western provinces of Ceylon to their ancient state of agricultural improvement, by affording to the Hindu capitalists of Jaffna, and the opposite peninsula of India, such privileges and immunities as might induce them to employ their capital and their cultivators in the re-cultivation of those extensive and once highly cultivated provinces. The second is of importance, as connected with the plan which I submitted to Government also in 1806, for restoring the same provinces to their ancient state of commercial prosperity, by establishing free ports in the most convenient parts of the island, by repealing many taxes which, without being productive to Government, were peculiarly obnoxious to the Mohammedan traders of Ceylon, and by inducing the Mohammedan capitalists of the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and Malacca, to make Ceylon, in modern times, what it was in ancient times, the great emporium of their trade in India.

The former plan was the result of a very laborious inquiry which, with the assistance of the most learned and enlightened of the Brahmans and Hindus of Ceylon and Ramissarum, I instituted into the history of the ancient agricultural establishments of all the different tribes of Hindus on the southern peninsula of India and the island of Ceylon. The latter was the result of an equally laborious inquiry which, with the assistance of the most learned and enlightened of the Mohammedan priests and merchants, as well of Ceylon as of the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, Malacca, and the Eastern Islands, I instituted into the history of the ancient commercial establishments of the Mohammedans on the coasts of India and Ceylon. As the latter inquiry, from the character and the nations of the different

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persons whom I consulted, afforded me much curious information relative to the manner in which the trade had been carried on by the Mohammedan merchants on Ceylon, from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, and as that information may serve to fill up a portion of the chasm which exists in the history of the trade of India between those two periods, I shall avail myself of the present opportunity, while explaining to you the circumstances by which I was led to the discovery of the accompanying inscription, to submit to the Royal Asiatic Society a short account of the state of the Mohammedans, and of their trade on Ceylon, from the time of their earliest establishment on that island to the present period.

The first Mohammedans who settled on Ceylon were, according to the tradition which prevails amongst their descendants, a portion of those Arabs of the house of Hashim who were driven from Arabia in the early part of the eighth century, by the tyranny of the Caliph Abd al Melek ben Merwân, and who proceeding from the Euphrates southward made settlements in the Concan, in the southern parts of the peninsula of India, on the island of Ceylon and at Malacca. The division of them which came to Ceylon formed eight considerable settlements along the north-east, north, and western coasts of that island viz. one at Trincomalee, one at Jaffna, one at Mantotte and Manar, one at Coodramalle, one at Putlam, one at Colombo, one at Barbareen, and one at Point de Galle. The settlement at Manar and Mantotte, on the north-west part of Ceylon, from its local situation with respect to the peninsula of India, the two passages through Adam's bridge,* and the chank† and pearl‡ fisheries on the coasts of Ceylon and Madura, naturally became for the Mohammedans, what it had before been for the ancient Hindu and Persian traders of India, the great emporium of all the trade which was carried on by them with Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and the coast of Malabar, on one side, and the coast of Coromandel, the eastern shores of the bay of Bengal, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, the Moluccas, and China, on the other side. On this part of Ceylon, at an equal distance from their respective countries, the silk merchants of China, who had collected on their voyage aloes, cloves, nutmegs, and sandal-wood, maintained a free and beneficial commerce with the inhabitants of the Arabian and Persian Gulfs: it was, in fact, the place at which all the goods which came

* See the accompanying Note (A). † See Note (B). ‡ See Note (C).

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from the east were exchanged with those which came from the west. Although the Mohammedan traders who were settled on Ceylon had acquired great wealth and influence very early in the eleventh century, and although they continued to possess a most extensive and lucrative trade in its ports till the end of the fifteenth century, it was during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that they attained the highest degree of their commercial prosperity and political influence on that island. During that period, the great Mohammedan merchants of Manar and Mantotte received into the immense warehouses which they had established at this emporium the most valuable produce of the island from their subordinate agents, who resided at the different sea-ports which were situated in the neighbourhood of those provinces where the various articles of commerce were produced. From their agents at Trincomalee they received rice* and indigo,† from those at Jaffna, the chaya root or red dye,‡ the wood of the black palmyra tree,§ and the sea-shells called chanks,‖ from those at Coodramalie,¶ pearls, from those at Putlam, areca-nut** for chewing with betel leaves, ebony, satin, and calamander wood for furniture, and sappan†† wood for dyeing; from those at Colombo, cinnamon‡‡ and precious stones,§§ from those at Barbareen, cocoa-nut oil and coire,‖‖ and from those at Point de Galle, ivory and elephants.¶¶

By means of armed vessels, which they maintained at their own expense near the island of Manar, they commanded the only two passages by which vessels of any size could pass through the ridge of sand-banks which extends from the southern peninsula of India to the island of Ceylon, and is known by the name of Adam's bridge. By means of the wealth which they circulated through the country, they enabled the inhabitants of the adjoining provinces to keep their tanks or reservoirs for water in a constant state of repair, and their rice fields in a constant state of cultivation. In the days of their commercial prosperity, the great tank or artificial lake within a few miles of Mantotte,*** which is called the giant's tank,††† and which is now quite out of repair and completely useless, was in perfect repair, and most extensively useful; and the three

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* See Note (D). † See Note (E). ‡ See Note (F).
§ See Note (G). ‖ See Note (H). ¶ See Note (I).
** See Note (K). †† See Note (L). ‡‡ See Note (M).
§§ See Note (N). ‖‖ See Note (O). ¶¶ See Note (P). *** See Note (Q).

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adjoining provinces of Mossele, Mantotte, and Nanmetan, which are now almost a desert, were then extremely populous and most highly cultivated. By means of their different establishments in the southern peninsula of India, they introduced from thence into Ceylon, between six and seven hundred years ago, the first body of cloth-weavers that ever was settled on that island.* By means of the intercourse which they kept up, through the Persian Gulf and Bussorah, with Bagdad and all the countries under that caliphat, on the one side, and through the Arabian Gulf and Egypt, with all the Mohammedan powers settled along the coasts of the Mediterranean, and of Spain on the other side, they introduced from those countries into Ceylon many original works in Arabic on Mohammedan law,† and many translations into Arabic of the most valuable of the Greek and Roman classics, upon medicine, science, and literature.‡ By means of the influence which they possessed with the sovereigns of Ceylon, they obtained from them the important privilege, that in the different ports in which they carried on their trade, all commercial and maritime cases in which a Mohammedan merchant, mariner, or vessel was concerned, should be tried at the port itself, without delay or expense, by a tribunal which consisted of a certain number of Mohammedan priests, merchants, and mariners, and which was bound to proceed according to a maritime code of laws which universally prevailed amongst the Asiatic Mohammedans.§

The Portuguese, on their first arrival on Ceylon at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, found that the Mohammedan traders still monopolized the whole export and import trade of the island, and that they were, from their commercial and political power in the country, the most formidable rivals whom they had to encounter. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the trade and affluence of the Mohammedans on the island of Ceylon have been gradually, though constantly, on the decline, owing, in some degree, to the general decline of the trade and influence of the Mohammedan traders in every part of India, but more particularly to the systems of policy which have been respectively adopted by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English Governments of Ceylon, and to the great improvement which has been made within the last three centuries in the science of navigation.

The Mohammedan population on that island now consists of about seventy thousand persons, who are distributed in every part of the country.

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* See Note (R). † See Note (S). ‡ See Note (T). § See Note (U).

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The Mohammedan traders still have establishments at Putlam, Colombo, Barbareen, and Point de Galle, from whence they carry on an export and import trade with the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. A great many of them possess small capitals, with which they also carry on a considerable portion of the retail trade of the country, and rent from Government the several duties which are annually farmed out by the different agents of revenue. They are of the sect of Shafei. Their book of religious instruction is an abridgment of the Koran, called the Umbda, written in Arabic by a learned man from Arabia who visited Ceylon about the close of the twelfth century. The commentary on the Mohammedan law which is most in use amongst them is called the Amali. The whole of it is written in Arabic, the text in the old Arabic of the Koran, and the notes in modern Arabic. Their laws of marriage and inheritance are a modification of the laws of marriage and inheritance which prevailed amongst the Arabs, who were subject to the Caliph of Bagdad at the time their ancestors emigrated from Arabia. Their maritime and commercial laws bear a strong resemblance both to those maritime and commercial laws which prevail amongst the Hindu maritime traders of India, and to those which prevail amongst the Malay maritime traders of Malacca and the eastern islands.

The conduct which they, as a body, invariably observed with respect to the different measures which I adopted while I was Chief Justice and President of His Majesty's Council on Ceylon, gave me a very favourable opinion of their intellectual and moral character. In 1806, when I called upon their chiefs and their priests to assist me in compiling for their use, as I had done for that of each of the other classes of inhabitants in Ceylon, a separate code of laws, founded upon their respective usages and customs, I derived the most extensive and valuable information from their local experience. In 1807, when I consulted them as to the best mode of improving the education of their countrymen, I found them not only anxious to co-operate with me on the occasion, but willing to make, at their own expense, the most liberal establishments in every part of the island, for instructing all the children of the Mohammedan religion in such branches of science and knowledge as I might think applicable to the peculiar state of society which prevailed amongst them. In 1811, when I publicly assembled them to explain the nature of the privilege of sitting upon juries, and of the other privileges which I had obtained and secured for them under the

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great seal of England, by his Majesty's charter of 1810, I received from them the most useful suggestions, both as to the manner of rendering the jury system popular amongst their sect, and that of attaining the real ends of justice, without militating against any of the feelings, or even the prejudices of the people. In 1815, when on my proposal they adopted the same resolution which all the other castes on Ceylon had adopted, of declaring free all children born of their slaves after the 12th of August 1816, I had every reason to applaud the humanity and liberality of the sentiments and views, which they not only expressed but acted upon, in the progress of that important measure.

In 1806, while collecting, as I have already mentioned, the various usages and customs of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Ceylon, I directed my inquiries particularly to those customs and usages which could throw any light on the history of their early settlements and former commercial prosperity on that island, and their intimate connexion and constant communication with the Caliphs of Bagdad, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and I was referred by all the Mohammedan priests, merchants, and mariners, by whom I was assisted in my inquiries, to the Cufic inscription of which the accompanying is the fac-simile, as the oldest record on the island which alluded to the intercourse that had subsisted in former days between the Caliphs of Bagdad and the Mohammedans of Ceylon.

The following is the tradition which prevails on Ceylon as to this inscription. That it is supposed to be the most ancient Mohammedan inscription on the island. That the Caliph of Bagdad, in the beginning of the tenth century, hearing that the Mohammedans then established as traders at Colombo were ignorant of and inattentive to the real tenets of their religion, sent a learned and pious priest from Bagdad to Colombo, with instructions to reform the Mohammedans of that place, by explaining to them the nature of their religion, and by making such establishments, and erecting such a mosque at Colombo, as were likely to ensure for the future their strict observance of the real spirit of Mohammedan worship. That this learned and pious man, after having erected a very extensive mosque at Colombo and accomplished the object of his mission, died, and was buried at Colombo, close to the mosque he had erected. That after his death, some learned persons were sent from Bagdad to Colombo by the Caliph, for the express purpose of engraving this inscription on his tomb-stone, and that this stone had remained on his grave unbs-

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turbed for nearly eight hundred years, till the Dutch dessave, or collector of Colombo, about forty years ago, removed it, along with some other stones, from the Moorish burying-ground near Colombo, to the spot where he was building a house, and placed it where it now stands, as one of the steps to his house. The English translation of it was made by the Rev. Samuel Lee, A.M., professor of Arabic at Cambridge, who is so celebrated all over Europe for the profound knowledge he possesses of the Hebrew, the Arabic, and other oriental languages.

I remain, &c.

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society. *(Signed)* ALEXANDER JOHNSTON

NOTES.

(A). One of these passages, called the Manar Passage, which separates the island of Manar from the opposite coast of Ceylon near Mantotte, is very narrow, and not above four feet deep at high water. The other, called the Paumbum Passage, separates the island of Ramissarum, celebrated throughout India for its Hindu pagoda, from the opposite coast of the peninsula of India near Tondarré Point: it is also very narrow, and not above six feet deep at high water. The importance of the first of these passages arises from its being the passage through which all the small vessels trading between the south-west and north-west ports of Ceylon must pass; the importance of the latter arises from its being the passage through which all the small vessels trading between the coast of Malabar and the coast of Coromandel must pass. From the information which I collected during frequent visits which I paid to the islands of Ramissarum and Manar, I ascertained beyond a doubt that both these passages had been much deeper in ancient times, and that they might again be made deeper without much difficulty. The deepening of these two passages is an object of considerable importance to navigation, and is well worthy of the attention of his Majesty's Ministers and of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East-India Company.

(B). The chank is the *voluta gravea*. The principal chank banks belonging to the English Government on Ceylon are situated along the north-west coast of Ceylon, a little to the northward of the island of Manar. The divers generally dive for these shells in three or three and a half fathoms water. The quantity of chank shells which are found on these banks is so great, that the government frequently lets the right of fishing for them for one year for sixty thousand Ceylon dollars. Numbers of these shells are exported from Ceylon to every part of India, but more particularly to Bengal, where they are sawed into rings of different sizes, and worn by the Indian women as an ornament, on their arms, legs, toes, and fingers. As the Hindu natives of India have a religious prejudice in their favour, they are also used in the Hindu

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temples and at the Hindu festivals. If any of the reversed variety of these shells are found with the opening on the left instead of on the right side of the shell, they may, it is said, in consequence of a peculiar religious prejudice in favour of such variety amongst the Hindus, be sold at any Hindu temple for their weight in gold. As the Ceylon divers learn to dive for pearl oysters, which are found in eight or nine fathoms water, by diving for the chanks which are found in three or four fathoms, the chank fishery is considered a nursery for the pearl divers.

(C). The principal pearl banks belonging to His Majesty's Government are situated along the western coast of Ceylon, a little to the southward of the island of Manar. The East-India Company have a chank fishery at Kilkecarré, and a pearl fishery at Tuticoreen, both which places are situated on that part of the coast of the southern peninsula of India which is opposite to the island of Ceylon. It is said that the chank and pearl fisheries on the coast of the peninsula and the chank and pearl fisheries on the coast of Ceylon were at the time when the Mahammedans were established at Manar and Manaitte, under one management: the policy of this arrangement is obvious, for as most of the divers who dive on the one bank also dive on the other, the fisheries at one place may, if under separate management, materially interfere with the fisheries on the other. These fisheries seem to have been carried on along the same parts of the respective coasts of the peninsula of India and of Ceylon from the most ancient times, as I ascertained in the course of an examination which I made of the coast near Kilkecarré. I have little doubt that Kilkecarré was, as is stated by some authors, the Colchis mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythræan sea, and that the pearl fishery which is mentioned in the Periplus as having been carried on at Colchis in ancient times, is the same pearl fishery as that which is now carried on off the coast of Tuticoreen and Kilkecarré.

(D). The great quantities of rice which in former days were exported from Trincomalée to all parts of India were the produce of the eastern provinces of Ceylon, the produce of which is at the present time so reduced as to be scarcely sufficient to supply the small population which inhabits them. By a report made to me in 1806, it appeared that there were at that time in those provinces upwards of six hundred tanks or reservoirs of water in a state of complete ruin, two of which, Minere and Kandelle are of immense dimensions, the former being about twenty miles, the latter about sixteen miles in circumference. At the former, the embankment which keeps in the water is a quarter of a mile long, and about sixty feet wide at its top; at the latter, in order to encompass and keep in the water of the lake, two hills are joined by an embankment the length of which is one mile and a quarter, its perpendicular height about twenty feet, its breadth at the base one hundred and fifty feet, and at the summit about thirty feet.

(E). The indigo which was exported from Trincomalée is the produce of the indigofera tinctoria of Linnæus. It was celebrated in ancient times all over India, Arabia, and Persia, for the brightness of its colour, and was an article upon which the merchants of Ceylon in former days appear to have made a great profit. It grows at present perfectly wild between Trincomalée and Batticaloa, but is no longer an article of export. As his Majesty's Government at my suggestion, in the year 1810 took off the restrictions which previously existed against Europeans holding lands on the island of Ceylon, a gentleman is now about to apply to Government for a grant of land in that part of the country where the indigofera

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Nauclea grows wild, and to employ a very considerable capital in the cultivation and preparation of indigo: it is stated that he intends to take with him the improved machinery which has been recently invented for the manufacture of that valuable dye. The state of machinery on Ceylon is very defective in every branch. In order to enable both the theoretical and practical mechanics of England to form some idea of the improvements which might be made in it, I collected a very complete set of working models of every machine and instrument in use amongst the natives of Ceylon, either in agriculture or manufactures, but this collection was unfortunately lost in the *Lady Jane Dundas* East-Indiaman, in 1809. I have however recently called the attention of Dr. Birkbeck, and other scientific members of the Mechanics Institution in London, to the state of machinery on Ceylon, and to the degree of improvement which it is capable of receiving from the superior knowledge of the mechanics of this country, and I trust that the Royal Asiatic Society will soon receive the report which Dr Birkbeck is expected to make on this interesting subject.

(F). The chayá root is the *oldenlandia umbellata* of Linnæus, and is used for dyeing red, orange, and purple. Although this root grows on the opposite coasts and on the island of Ramasseram, that which grows in the province of Jaffna and on the island of Manar is reckoned the finest. It gives rise, in Jaffna and on the island of Manar, to a caste whose sole occupation is to dig for chayá root.

(G). The palmyra of the province of Jaffna is the *borassus flabelliformis* of Linnæus. This palm grows to great perfection in that province. The species of borassus in Jaffna which is so valuable is that of which the wood is almost quite black: it is used all over India for rafters and for the roofs of houses, and is peculiarly valuable from its resisting all insects and being extremely durable. The borassus, independent of its supplying this valuable wood for exportation, is of the greatest importance to the inhabitants of Jaffna, from its fruit and roots being used by them for food, and from many other parts of it being used by them in manufactures and as articles of trade. The cocoa-nut tree, or cocos *nucifera*, is as useful to the natives in the south as the borassus flabelliformis is to the natives of the north of Ceylon, and it is worthy of remark, that although there are forests of the borassus in the north of the island, there are scarcely any of the cocos nucifera, and that although there are forests of the cocos nucifera in the south of the island, there is hardly a tree of the borassus flabelliformis.

(H). Coodramallé was in ancient times a town of considerable importance. There are now extensive ruins on the spot where it formerly stood. In 1806, when I examined them, I found the remains of many very large buildings. A history which I possess of a queen who reigned over that town and the adjacent country about eighteen hundred or two thousand years ago, shews that it was at that time a place of great importance. It was the spot where the fishery for pearls used to be carried on before it was removed to Arripoe, which is a few miles to the northward of it.

(I). The areca-nut is the *areca catechu* of Linnæus. This nut is used all over India for chewing with the betel leaf or the *betle pfeffer* of Wildenow. There are three species of this nut on Ceylon, which grow in great perfection in the interior of the country, and are much esteemed throughout India. The areca-nut is to this day one of the most profitable and most abundant articles of exportation from that island.

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(K). The sappan wood is made use of for dyeing cotton cloth of a fine red, or rather a very deep orange colour; it is the *cæsalpinia sappan* of Linnæus, and grows spontaneously in many parts of Ceylon.

(L). The cinnamon generally grows in the south-west part of the maritime provinces and in the interior of Ceylon. In the maritime provinces the cultivation and preparation of the cinnamon are carried on by a particular caste, which consists of between twenty-four and twenty-five thousand persons, who are said to be descended from seven weavers that were introduced into Ceylon by a Mohammedan merchant of the town of Barbarees, about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. See Note (R.)

(M). The gems for which Ceylon is celebrated are found, it is believed, in granite rock. The right of digging for them is farmed out by government, in different farms, and in different parts of the island.

(N). The coarse filament of the cocoa-nut husk called coira is used throughout India for rope. On Ceylon it is obtained from the cocoa-nut trees, which grow in great luxuriance along the south-west part of the coast from the river Kymel to the river Walleway, forming a belt one hundred and thirty miles in length, and one and a half in breadth. This belt was estimated, in the time when the Dutch governed Ceylon, to contain between ten and eleven millions of cocoa-nut trees, and to produce in addition to a great quantity of cocoa-nut oil and six thousand leaguers of arrack, upwards of three millions of pounds weight of coira. A good tree in that belt was estimated to produce from fifty to eighty, and sometimes one hundred cocoa-nuts in a year, each cocoa-nut being equivalent as food to at least three measures of rice.

(O). All the elephants which were exported from Point de Galle were caught in ancient, as well as in modern times, in that tract of country which extends from Matura to Tangalle, in the south of Ceylon, and which, from its being famous for its elephants in his days, is described by Ptolemy in the map he made of Ceylon sixteen hundred years ago as the *elephantum pascua*. The trade in elephants from Ceylon, which used to be lucrative, is now completely annihilated, in consequence of all the petty Rajahs, Poligars, and other chiefs in the southern peninsula of India, who used formerly to purchase Ceylon elephants as a part of their state, having lost their sovereignties, and being therefore no longer required to keep up any state of this description. A gentleman who has a coffee plantation at Candy, it is understood, recently introduced the use of elephants in ploughing with great advantage. The number of elephants on Ceylon is so great and the population so small, that it will be of material assistance to the cultivators and manufacturers in the island if these animals can be generally used for labour.

(P). The ruins of the ancient town of Mantotte, all of which consist of brick, still cover a considerable extent of country. Great numbers of Roman coins of different emperors, particularly of the Antonines, specimens of the finest pottery, and some Roman gold and silver chains, have been found in those ruins.

(Q). The giant's tank, or the great artificial lake called Cottecarlie, is the largest tank in the north-west part of the island, and is situated within a few miles of the ruins of the great town of

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Manaaras. It appears by the report made to me in 1806, while I was on the spot collecting information for the purpose of having it repaired, that if put into repair it would irrigate lands sufficient for the production of one million of parrahs of paddy, each parrah containing forty-four English pounds weight of rice.

(R). I have a copy in my possession of a very curious and very ancient grant in copper, made by one of the Cingalese kings of Ceylon, about six or seven hundred years ago, to a great Mohammedan merchant who was then residing at Barbarees, and to his descendants for ever, of certain privileges and immunities in consequence of his having introduced from the opposite coast of India the first weavers of cloth who were ever established on Ceylon. By virtue of this grant, the lineal descendants of that merchant now enjoy under the British Government a portion of the privileges which were granted to their ancestors by the ancient Cingalese government of the country, and which were successively confirmed to them by the Portuguese, Dutch, and English Governments on Ceylon. The chief of this family was appointed by me, in 1806, native superintendant of the medical department, under the control of the Supreme Court. He was considered by the natives of the country as one of the best informed of the native physicians on the island, and possessed one of the best collections of native medical books, most of which had been in his family between seven and eight hundred years, during the whole of which period it had been customary for one member of his family at least to follow the medical profession. This same person made me a very detailed report of all the plants on Ceylon which have been used from time immemorial for medical purposes by Mohammedan native physicians on that island. The cultivation and improvement of these plants, as well as of all other plants and vegetables on the island which might be used either for food or commercial purposes, was one of the great objects for which his Majesty's Government, at my suggestion, in 1810, established a royal botanical garden in Ceylon.

(S). While investigating questions relative to the laws of marriage and inheritance between the Mohammedans of Ceylon, I have frequently been referred by them for my guidance to notes which they possessed, of decisions given in similar cases by the cadies of Bagdad and Cordova, which decisions had been observed as law amongst the Mohammedans of Ceylon for seven or eight hundred years.

(T). One of the principal Arabic works on medicine which they introduced into Ceylon was the work of Avicenna: they also introduced Arabic translations of Aristotle, Plato, Euclid, Galen, and Ptolemy, extracts of which were frequently brought to me while I was on Ceylon by the Mohammedan priests and merchants, who stated that the works themselves had originally been procured from Bagdad by their ancestors, and had remained for some hundred years in their respective families in Ceylon, but had subsequently been sold by them, when in distress, for considerable sums of money, to some merchants who traded between Ceylon and the eastern islands. Three very large volumes of extracts from the works to which I have alluded were presented to me by a Mohammedan priest of great celebrity in Asia, who died about twenty years ago on the island of Ceylon. These three volumes, together with between five and six hundred books in the Cingalese, Pali, Tamul, and Sanscrit languages, relating to the history, religion, manners, and literature of the Cingalese, Hindo, and Mohammedan inhabitants of Ceylon, which

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I had collected at a considerable expense, were lost in 1809, in the *Lady Jane Dundas* East-Indiaman, on board of which ship I had taken my passage for England.

(U) The maritime laws and usages which prevail amongst the Hindu and Mohammedan mariners and traders who frequent Ceylon, of which I made a complete collection while presiding in the Vice Admiralty Court of that island, may be classed under four heads. First, those which prevail amongst the Hindu mariners and traders who carry on trade in small vessels between the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and the island of Ceylon; secondly, those which prevail amongst the Mohammedan mariners and traders of Arab descent who carry on trade in small vessels between the coasts of Malabar, Coromandel, and the island of Ceylon; thirdly, those which prevail amongst the Arab mariners and traders who carry on trade in very large vessels between the eastern coasts of Africa, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and the island of Ceylon. fourthly, those which prevail amongst the Malay mariners and traders who carry on trade between the coast of Malacca, the eastern islands, and Ceylon.

The first are in some degree modified by the tenets of the Hindu religion and by Hindu law. The second, the third, and the fourth, are modified in a great degree by the tenets of the Mohammedan religion, and by Mohammedan law.

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XXXIII. *On the Philosophy of the Hindus. Part IV.* By Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq., Dir. R.A.S.

Read February 5, 1827.

ON INDIAN SECTARIES.

In the present essay, it is my intention to treat of the heretical systems of Jina and Buddha, as proposed in the first essay of this series on the philosophy of the Hindus; and to notice certain other Indian sects, which, like them, exhibit some analogy to the *Sánc'hyas*, or followers of Capila or of Patanjali.

The theological or metaphysical opinions of those sectaries, apart from and exclusive of mythology and ritual ceremonies, may be not inaptly considered as a branch of philosophy, though constituting the essence of their religion, comprehending not only their belief as to the divinity and a future state, but also certain observances to be practised in furtherance of the prescribed means for attaining perpetual bliss: which here, as with most other sects of Indian origin, is the meed proposed for true and perfect knowledge of first principles.

The *Jainas* and *Bauddhas* I consider to have been originally Hindus;* and the first-mentioned to be so still, because they recognised, as they yet do, the distinction of the four castes. It is true, that in *Hindustán*, if not in the peninsula of India likewise, the *Jainas* are all of one caste: but this is accounted for by the admission of their adversaries (Cumárila Bhat't'a, &c.), who affirm that they are misguided *Cshatriyas* (Hindus of the second or military tribe) who call themselves *Vais'yas*. On renouncing the heresies of the *Jaina* sect, they take their place among orthodox Hindus, as belonging to a particular caste (*Cshatriya* or *Vaisya*). The representative of the great family of *Jagat séth*, who with many of his kindred was converted some years ago from the *Jaina* to the orthodox

* As. Res., vol. ix. p. 289.

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faith, is a conspicuous instance. Such would not be the case of a convert, who has not already caste as a *Hindu*.

Both religions of JINA and BUDDHA are, in the view of the Hindu, who reveres the *véda* as a divine revelation, completely heterodox, and that more on account of their heresy in denying its divine origin, than for their deviation from its doctrine. Other sects, as the *Sánc'hyas* and *Vaiśéshicas*, though not orthodox, do not openly disclaim the authority of the *véda*. They endeavour to reconcile their doctrine to the text of the Indian scripture, and refer to passages which they interpret as countenancing their opinions. The *mímánsá*, which professedly follows the *véda* implicitly, is therefore applied, in its controversy with these half heretics, to the confutation of such misinterpretations. It refutes an erroneous construction, rather than a mistaken train of reasoning. But the *Jainas* and *Bauddhas*, disavowing the *véda*, are out of the pale of the *Hindu* church in its most comprehensive range; and the *mímánsá* (practical as well as theological) in controversy with these infidels, for so it deems them, argues upon general grounds of reasoning independent of authority, to which it would be vain to appeal.

The *uttara mímánsá* devotes two sections (*adhicaran'as*) to the confutation of the *Bauddhas*, and one to that of the *Jainas*. They are the 4th, 5th, and 6th sections in the 2d chapter of the 2d lecture; and it proceeds in the same controversial chapter to confute the *Pás'upatas* and other branches of the *Máhéśwara* sect, and the *Páncharátra* a branch of the *Vaishnava*. The *Chárváca* are alluded to incidently in a very important section concerning the distinction of body and soul, in the 3d chapter of the 3d lecture (§ 30). In the *púrva mímánsá*, controversy is more scattered, recurring in various places, under divers heads: but especially in the 3d chapter of the first book (§ 4).

The *Sánc'hya* of CAPILA devotes a whole chapter to controversy; and notices the sect of *Buddha*, under the designation of *nástica*; and in one place animadverts on the *Pás'upatas*; and in another, on the *Chárváca*.

It is from these and similar controversial disquisitions, more than from direct sources, that I derive information, upon which the following account of the philosophy of *Jainas* and *Bauddhas*, as well as of the *Chárváca*, *Pás'upatas* and *Páncharátras*, is grounded. A good collection of original works by writers of their own persuasion, whether in the *Sanscrit* language or in *Prácrit* or *Páli*, the language of the *Jainas* and that of the *Bauddhas*,

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is not at hand to be consulted. But, although the information be furnished by their adversaries and even inveterate enemies, it appears, so far as I have any opportunity of comparing it with their own representations, essentially correct.

SECT OF *JINA*.

The *Jainas* or *Árhatas*, followers of JINA or ARHAT (terms of like import), are also denominated *Vivasanás*, *Muctávasanás*, *Muctámbaras* or *Digambaras*, with reference to the nakedness of the rigid order of ascetics in this sect, who go "bare of clothing," "disrobed," or "clad by the regions of space." The less strict order of *Swetámbaras** "clad in white," is of more modern date and of inferior note. Among nicknames by which they are known, that of *Lunchita-cés'a* occurs. It alludes to the practice of abruptly eradicating hair of the head or body by way of mortification. PARSWANÁT'HA is described as tearing five handfuls of hair from his head on becoming a devotee.†

According to the *Digambara Jainas*, the universe consists of two classes, "animate" and "inanimate" (*jíva* and *ajíva*), without a creator or ruling providence (*Íswara*).‡ They assign for the cause (*cárana*) of the world, atoms which they do not, as the *Vaís'éshicas*, distinguish into so many sorts as there are elements, but consider these, viz. earth, water, fire, and air, the four elements by them admitted, as modified compounds of homogeneous atoms.

These gymnosophists distinguish, as already intimated, two chief categories. 1st. *Jíva*, intelligent and sentient soul (*chaitana átmá* or *bódhátmá*) endued with body and consequently composed of parts, eternal. 2d. *Ajíva*, all that is not a living soul; that is, the whole of (*jad'a*) inanimate and unsentient substance. The one is the object of fruition, being that which is to be enjoyed (*bhógya*) by the soul, the other is the enjoyer (*bhóctá*) or agent in fruition; soul itself.

This second comprehensive predicament admits a six-fold subdivision; and the entire number of categories (*padárt'ha*), as distinguished with reference to the ultimate great object of the soul's deliverance, is consequently seven.‖

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* Page 416 of this volume. † Page 438. ‡ *Rámánuj* on *Br. Sútr.*

‖ *Siváditya* and other commentators on *Br. Sútr.* and annotators on their gloss.

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I. *Jiva* or soul, as before-mentioned, comprising three descriptions: 1st. *nitya-siddha*, ever perfect, or *yóga-siddha*, perfect by profound abstraction, for instance, *arhats* or *jinas*, the deified saints of the sect: 2d. *mucta* or *muctátmá*, a soul which is free or liberated, its deliverance having been accomplished through the strict observance of the precepts of the *Jinas*: 3d. *baddha* or *baddhatmá*, a soul which is bound, being in any stage antecedent to deliverance; remaining yet fettered by deeds or works (*carma*).

II. *Ajiva* taken in a restricted sense. It comprehends the four elements, earth, water, fire and air; and all which is fixed (*sthávara*), as mountains, or moveable (*jangama*) as rivers, &c. In a different arrangement, to be hereafter noticed, this category is termed *Pudgala* matter.

III.—VII. The five remaining categories are distributed into two classes, that which is to be effected (*sadhya*), and the means thereof (*sadhana*), one comprising two, and the other three divisions. What may be effected (*sadhya*), is either liberation or confinement, both of which will be noticed further on. The three efficient means (*sadhana*) are as follow:

III. *Asrava* is that which directs the embodied spirit (*asravayati purusham*), towards external objects. It is the occupation or employment (*vritti* or *pravritti*), of the senses or organs on sensible objects. Through the means of the senses it affects the embodied spirit with the sentiment of taction, colour, smell and taste.

Or it is the association or connexion of body with right and wrong deeds. It comprises all the *carmas*, for they (*asrávayanti*) pervade, influence, and attend the doer, following him or attaching to him.

It is a misdirection (*mithyá-pravritti*), of the organs, for it is vain, as cause of disappointment, rendering the organs of sense and sensible objects subservient to fruition.

IV. *Samvara* is that which stops (*samvrinóti*), the course of the foregoing, or closes up the door or passage of it, and consists in self-command, or restraint of organs internal and external, embracing all means of self-control, and subjection of the senses, calming and subduing them.

It is the right direction (*samyac pravritti*) of the organs.

V. *Nirjara* is that which utterly and entirely *nir*, wears and antiquates (*jarayati*), all sin previously incurred, and the whole effect of works or deeds (*carma*). It consists chiefly in mortification (*tapas*), such as fasts, rigorous silence, standing upon heated stones, plucking out the hair by the roots, &c.

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This is discriminated from the two preceding, as neither misdirection nor right direction, but non-direction (*apravritti*) of the organs towards sensible objects.

VI. *Buddha* is that which binds (*badhnáti*) the embodied spirit. It is confinement and connexion, or association, of the soul with deeds. It consists in a succession of births and deaths as the result of works (*carman*).

VII. *Mócsha* is liberation, or deliverance of the soul from the fetters of works. It is the state of a soul in which knowledge and other requisites are developed.

Relieved from the bondage of deeds through means taught by holy ordinances, it takes effect on the soul by the grace of the ever-perfect ARHAT or JINA.

Or liberation is continual ascent. The soul has a buoyancy or natural tendency upwards, but is kept down by corporeal trammels. When freed from them, it rises to the region of the liberated.

Long immersed in corporeal restraint, but released from it, as a bird let loose from a cage, plunging into water to wash off the dirt with which it was stained, and drying its pinions in the sunshine, soars aloft, so does the soul, released from long confinement, soar high, never to return.

Liberation then is the condition of a soul clear of all impediments.

It is attained by right knowledge, doctrine and observances, and is a result of the unrestrained operation of the soul's natural tendency, when passions and every other obstacle are removed.

Works or deeds, (for so the term *carman* signifies, though several among those enumerated be neither acts nor the effect of action,) are reckoned eight, and are distributed into two classes, comprising four each: the first *ghátin*, mischievous, and *asúdhu*, impure, as marring deliverance: the second *aghátin*, harmless, or *súdhu*, pure, as opposing no obstacle to liberation.

I. In the first set is

1st. *Jnyána varaníya*, the erroneous notion that knowledge is ineffectual, that liberation does not result from a perfect acquaintance with true principles, and that such science does not produce final deliverance.

2d. *Darśana varaníya*, the error of believing that deliverance is not attainable by study of the doctrine of the ARHATS or JINAS.

3d. *Móhaníya*, doubt and hesitation as to particular selection among the many irresistible and infallible ways taught by the *Tírthancaras* or JINAS.

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4th. *Antardya*, interference, or obstruction offered to those engaged in seeking deliverance, and consequent prevention of their accomplishment of it.

II. The second contains:—

1st. *Vedanáya*, individual consciousness: reflection that "I am capable of attaining deliverance."

2d. *Námica*, individual consciousness of an appellation, reflection that "I bear this name."

3d. *Gutrica*, consciousness of race or lineage reflection that "I am descendant of a certain disciple of JINA, native of a certain province."

4th. *Ayushca*, association or connexion with the body or person: that, (as the etymology of the term denotes,) which proclaims (*cáyaté*) age (*áyush*), or duration of life.

Otherwise interpreted, the four *carmas* of this second set, taken in the inverse order, that is, beginning with *áyushca*, import procreation, and subsequent progress in the formation of the person or body wherein deliverance is attainable by the soul which animates it for it is by connexion with white or immaculate matter that final liberation can be accomplished. I shall not dwell on the particular explanation respectively of these four *carmas*, taken in this sense.

Another arrangement, which likewise has special reference to final deliverance, is taught in a five-fold distribution of the predicaments or categories (*astícáya*). The word here referred to, is explained as signifying a substance commonly occurring, or a term of general import; or (conformably with its etymology,) that of which it is said (*cáyaté*), that "it is" (*asti*) in other words, that of which existence is predicated.

I. The first is *jívástícáya* the predicament, life or soul. It is, as before noticed, either bound, liberated, or ever-perfect.

II. *Pudgalástícáya* the predicament, matter, comprehending all bodies composed of atoms. It is sixfold, comprising the four elements, and all sensible objects, fixed or moveable. It is the same with the *Ajiva* or second of the seven categories enumerated in an arrangement before-noticed.

III. *Dharmástícáya* the predicament, virtue; inferrible from a right direction of the organs. *Dharma* is explained as a substance or thing (*dravya*) from which may be concluded, as its effect, the soul's ascent to the region above.

IV. *Adharmástícáya*; the predicament, vice: or the reverse of the

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foregoing. *Adharma* is that which causes the soul to continue embarrassed with body, notwithstanding its capacity for ascent and natural tendency to soar.

V *Acáśástikáya* the predicament *ácása*, of which there are two, *Lócácása* and *Alócácása*.

1. *Lócácása* is the abode of the bound: a worldly region, consisting of divers tiers, one above the other, wherein dwell successive orders of beings unliberated.

2. *Alócácása* is the abode of the liberated, above all worlds (*lócas*) or mundane beings. Here *ácása* implies that, whence there is no return.

The *Jaina* gymnosophists are also cited* for an arrangement which enumerates six substances (*dravya*) as constituting the world, viz.—

1. *Jiva*, the soul.

2. *Dharma*, virtue; a particular substance pervading the world, and causing the soul's ascent.

3. *Adharma*, vice, pervading the world, and causing the soul's continuance with body.

4. *Pudgala*, matter, substance having colour, odour, savour, and tactility; as wind, fire, water, and earth: either atoms, or aggregates of atoms; individual body, collective worlds, &c.

5. *Cala*, time: a particular substance, which is practically treated, as past, present, and future.

6. *Ácása*, a region, one, and infinite.

To reconcile the concurrence of opposite qualities in the same subject at different times, and in different substances at the same times, the *Jainas* assume seven cases deemed by them apposite for obviating the difficulty (*bhanga-naya*): 1st. May be, it is, [somehow, in some measure, it so is] 2d. May be, it is not. 3d. May be, it is, and it is not [successively] 4th. May be, it is not predicable, [opposite qualities co-existing] 5th. the first and fourth of these taken together: may be it is, and yet not predicable. 6th. the second and fourth combined: may be it is not, and not predicable, 7th. the third (or the first and second) and the fourth, united: may be it is and it is not, and not predicable.

This notion is selected for confutation by the *Vedántins*, to show the futility of the *Jaina* doctrine. 'It is,' they observe, 'doubt or surmise, not

* *Rámánuja on the Br. Sútr.*

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certainty nor knowledge. Opposite qualities cannot co-exist in the same subject. Predicaments are not unpredicable: they are not to be affirmed if not affirmable: but they either do exist or do not, and if they do, they are to be affirmed: to say that a thing is and is not, is as incoherent as a madman's talk or an idiot's babble."*

Another point, selected by the *Védántins* for animadversion, is the position, that the soul and body agree in dimensions.† 'In a different stage of growth of body or of transmigration of soul, they would not be conformable: passing from the human condition to that of an ant or of an elephant, the soul would be too big or too little for the new body animated by it. If it be augmented or diminished by accession or secession of parts, to suit either the change of person or corporeal growth between infancy and puberty, then it is variable, and, of course, is not perpetual. If its dimensions be such as it ultimately retains, when released from body, then it has been uniformly such in its original and intermediate associations with corporeal frames. If it yet be of a finite magnitude, it is not ubiquitary and eternal.'

The doctrine of atoms, which the *Jainas* have in common with the *Bauddhas* and the *Vaiséshicas* (followers of Cańáde) is controverted by the *Védántins*.‡ The train of reasoning is to the following effect: 'Inherent qualities of the cause,' the *Vaiséshicas* and the rest argue, 'give origin to the like qualities in the effect, as white yarn makes white cloth: were a thinking being the world's cause, it would be endued with thought.' The answer is, that according to Cańáde himself, substances great and long result from atoms minute and short: like qualities then are not always found in the cause and in the effect.

'The whole world, with its mountains, seas, &c. consists of substances composed of parts disposed to union: as cloth is wove of a multitude of threads. The utmost sub-division of compound substances, pursued to the last degree, arrives at the atom, which is eternal, being simple; and such atoms, which are the elements, earth, water, fire, and air, become the world's cause, according to Cańáde: for there can be no effect without a cause. When they are actually and universally separated, dissolution of the world has taken place. At its renovation, atoms concur by an unseen virtue, which occasions action, and they form double atoms, and so on, to

* *Sanc. in Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 6 (S. 33).
† Ib. S. 34—36.
‡ *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 2 and § 3. (S. 11—17).

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constitute air; then fire; next water, and afterwards earth; subsequently body with its organs; and ultimately this whole world. The concurrence of atoms arises from action (whether of one or both) which must have a cause: that cause, alleged to be an unseen virtue, cannot be insensible; for an insensible cause cannot incite action: nor can it be design, for a being capable of design is not yet existent, coming later in the progress of creation. Either way, then, no action can be; consequently no union nor disunion of atoms; and these, therefore, are not the cause of the world's formation or dissolution.

'Eternal atoms and transitory double atoms differ utterly, and union of discordant principles cannot take place. If aggregation be assumed as a reason of their union, still the aggregate and its integrants are utterly different; and an intimate relation is further to be sought, as a reason for the aggregation. Even this assumption therefore fails.

'Atoms must be essentially active or inactive: were they essentially active, creation would be perpetual; if essentially inactive, dissolution would be constant.

'Eternity of causeless atoms is incompatible with properties ascribed to them, colour, taste, smell, and tactility: for things possessing such qualities are seen to be coarse and transient. Earth, endued with those four properties, is gross, water, possessing three, is less so; fire, having two, is still less, and air, with one, is fine. Whether the same be admitted or denied in respect of atoms, the argument is either way confuted: earthy particles, coarser than aërial, would not be minute in the utmost degree; or atoms possessing but a single property, would not be like their effects possessing several.

'The doctrine of atoms is to be utterly rejected, having been by no venerable persons received, as the *Sánc'hya* doctrine of matter, a plastic principle, has been, in part, by MANU and other sages.'*

Points, on which the sectaries differ from the orthodox, rather than those on which they conform, are the subjects of the present treatise. On one point of conformity, however, it may be right to offer a brief remark, as it is one, on which the *Jainas* appear to lay particular stress. It concerns the transmigration of the soul, whose destiny is especially governed by the dying thoughts, or fancies entertained at the moment of dissolution, (see page 487 of this volume). The *vedas*,† in like manner, teach that the

* *Sánc.* &c. on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 3 (S. 17.) † *Br. Sútr.* 1. 2. 1.

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thoughts, inclinations, and resolves of man, and such peculiarly as predominate in his dying moments, determine the future character, and regulate the subsequent place, in transmigration. As was his thought in one body, such he becomes in another, into which he accordingly passes.

SECT OF *BUDDHA*

The *Bauddhas* or *Saugatas*, followers of Buddha or Sugata (terms of the same import, and corresponding to Jina or Arhat) are also called *Mucta-cachha*, alluding to a peculiarity of dress, apparently a habit of wearing the hem of the lower garment untucked. They are not unfrequently cited by their adversaries as (*Nástica*) atheists, or rather, disowners of another world.

Buddha muni, so he is reverently named by the opponents of his religious system, is the reputed author of *sutras*,* constituting a body of doctrine termed *ágama* or *s'ástra*, words which convey a notion of authority and holiness. The Buddha here intended, is no doubt the last, who is distinguished by the names of Gautama and Sácya, among other appellations.

Either from diversity of instruction delivered by him to his disciples at various times, or rather from different constructions of the same text, more or less literal, and varying with the degree of sagacity of the disciple, have arisen no less than four sects among the followers of Buddha. Commentators of the *vedánta*, giving an account of this schism of the *Bauddhas*, do not agree in applying the scale of intellect to these divisions of the entire sect, some attributing to acuteness or superior intelligence, that which others ascribe to simplicity or inferior understanding.

Without regarding, therefore, that scale, the distinguishing tenets of each branch of the sect may be thus stated. Some maintain that all is void, (*sarva s'únya*) following, as it seems, a literal interpretation of Buddha's *sútras*. To these the designation of *Mádhyamica* is assigned by several of the commentators of the *védánta*, and in the marginal notes of one commentary, they are identified with the *Chárváca*: but that is an error.

Other disciples of Buddha except internal sensation or intelligence (*vijnyána*) and acknowledge all else to be void. They maintain the eternal existence of conscious sense alone. These are called *Yógácháras*.

* Quotations from them in the Sanscrit language occur in commentaries on the *Védánta* (the *Bháshya* on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. 19.)

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Others, again, affirm the actual existence of external objects, no less than of internal sensations; considering external as perceived by senses, and internal as inferred by reasoning.

Some of them recognise the immediate perception of exterior objects. Others contend for a mediate apprehension of them, through images, or resembling forms, presented to the intellect: objects they must are inferred, but not actually perceived. Hence two branches of the sect of Buddha: one denominated *Sautrántica*, the other *Vaibháshica*.

As these, however, have many tenets in common, they may be conveniently considered together, and are so treated of by the scholiasts of Vyása's *Brahma-sutras* understanding one *adhicarana* (the 4th of the 2d chapter in the 2d lecture) to be directed against these two sects of Buddhists, and the next following one (2. 2. 5.) to be addressed to the *Yógácháras*, serving, however, likewise for the confutation of the advocates of an universal void.*

The *Sautrántica* and *Vaibháshica* sects, admitting then external (*báhya*) and internal (*ábhyantara*) objects, distinguish, under the first head, elements (*bhúta*) and that which appertains thereto (*bhautica*), namely, organs and sensible qualities, and under the second head, intelligence (*chitta*), and that which unto it belongs (*chaitta*).

The elements (*bhúta* or *mahábhúta*) which they reckon four, not acknowledging a fifth, consist of atoms. The *Bauddhas* do not, with the followers of Canada, affirm double atoms, triple, quadruple, &c. as the early gradations of composition, but maintain indefinite atomic aggregation, deeming compound substances to be conjoint primary atoms.

Earth, they say, has the nature or peculiar character of hardness, water, that of fluidity, fire, that of heat; and air, that of mobility. Terrene atoms are hard, aqueous, liquid, igneous, hot, aërial, mobile. Aggregates of these atoms partake of those distinct characters. One authority, however, states, that they attribute to terrene atoms the characters of colour,

* This schism among the *Bauddhas*, splitting into four sects, is anterior to the age of Sancara Acharya, who expressly notices all the four. It had commenced before the composition of the *Brahma-sútras*, and consequently before the days of Sabara swámi and Cumarila bhatta, since two, at the least, of those sects, are separately confuted. All of them appear to have been indiscriminately persecuted, when the *Bauddhas* of every denomination were expelled from Hindustán and the peninsula. Whether the same sects yet subsist among the *Bauddhas* of Ceylon, Thibet, and the trans-gangetic India, and in China, deserves inquiry.

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savour, odour, and tactility, to aqueous, colour, savour, and tactility; to igneous, both colour and tactility, to aërial, tactility only.*

The *Bauddhas* do not recognise a fifth element, *acasa*, nor any substance so designated, nor soul (*jiva* or *atman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*), nor any thing irreducible to the four categories above-mentioned.

Bodies, which are objects of sense, are aggregates of atoms, being composed of earth and other elements. Intelligence, dwelling within body, and possessing individual consciousness, apprehends objects, and subsists as self, and, in that view only, is *atman*, self or soul.

Things appertaining to the elements, (*bhautica*), the second of the predicaments, are organs of sense, together with their objects, as rivers, mountains, &c. They are composed of atoms. This world, every thing which is therein, all which consists of component parts, must be atomical aggregations. They are external, and are perceived by means of organs, the eye, the ear, &c., which likewise are atomical conjuncts.

Images or representations of exterior objects are produced; and by perception of such image or representations, objects are apprehended. Such is the doctrine of the *Sautrantikas* upon this point. But the *Vaibhâshikas* acknowledge the direct perception of exterior objects. Both think, that objects cease to exist when no longer perceived: they have but a brief duration, like a flash of lightning, lasting no longer than the perception of them. Their identity, then, is but momentary: the atoms or component parts are scattered, and the aggregation or concourse was but instantaneous.

Hence these *Buddhists* are by their adversaries, the orthodox Hindus, designated as *Purna*— or *Sarva-vainâs icas*, 'arguing total perishableness,' while the followers of Canade, who acknowledge some of their categories to be eternal and invariable, and reckon only others transitory and changeable, and who insist that identity ceases with any variation in the composition of a body, and that a corporeal frame, receiving nutriment and discharging excretions, undergoes continual change, and consequent early loss of identity, are for that particular opinion, called *Ardha-vainâs icas*, 'arguing half-perishableness.'

The second head of the arrangement before-mentioned, comprising internal objects, viz. intelligence, and that which to it appertains, is again distributed into five *scandhas*, as follows:—

* *Nyâyaprav.* on *Sûtr.* 28.

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1st. *Rúpa-scandha*, comprehending organs of sense and their objects considered in relation to the person, or the sensitive and intelligent faculty which is occupied with them. Colours and other sensible qualities and things are external, and, as such, are classed under the second division of the first head (*bhautica*), appurtenance of elements: but, as objects of sensation and knowledge, they are deemed internal, and therefore recur under the present head.

2d. *Vijnyana-scandha* consists in intelligence (*chitta*), which is the same with self (*átman*) and (*vijnyana*) knowledge. It is consciousness of sensation, or continuous course and flow of cognition and sentiment. There is not any other agent, nor being which acts and enjoys, nor is there an eternal soul, but merely succession of thought, attended with individual consciousness abiding within body.

3d. *Vedaná-scandha* comprises pleasure, pain, or the absence of either, and other sentiments excited in the mind by pleasing or displeasing objects.

4th. *Sanjnyá-scandha* intends the knowledge or belief arising from names or words, as ox, horse, &c., or from notications or signs, as a house denoted by a flag; and a man by his staff.

5th. *Sanscára-scandha* includes passions, as desire, hatred, fear, joy, sorrow, &c. together with illusion, virtue, vice, and every other modification of the fancy or imagination. All sentiments are momentary.

The second of these five *scandhas* is the same with the first division of the second general head, *chitta*, or intelligence. The rest are comprehended under the second head, *chaitica*, appurtenance of intellect, and under the larger designation of *adhyatmica*, belonging to (*átman*) self. The latter term, in its most extensive sense, includes all the five *scandhas*, or branches, moral and personal.

The seeming but unreal course of events, or worldly succession, external and mental, or physical and moral, is described as a concatenation of causes and effects in a continual round.

Concerning the relation of cause and effect, it is to be premised that proximate cause (*hetu*) and concurrent occasion (*pratyaya*) are distinguished; and the distinction is thus illustrated in respect of both causes, external and personal.

From seed comes a germ, from this a branch, then a culm or stem, whence a leafy gem; out of which a bud; from which a blossom, and thence, finally, fruit. Where one is, the other ensues. Yet the seed is not conscious of producing the germ; nor is this aware of coming from seed and

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hence is inferred production without a thinking cause, and without a ruling providence.

Again, earth furnishes solidity to the seed, and coherence to the germ; water moistens the grain, fire warms and matures it; air or wind supplies impulse to vegetation; ether expands the seed,* and season transmutes it. By concurrence of all these, seed vegetates, and a sprout grows. Yet earth and the rest of these concurrent occasions are unconscious; and so are the seed, germ, and the rest of the effects.

Likewise, in the moral world, where ignorance or error is, there is passion: where error is not, neither is passion there. But they are unconscious of mutual relation.

Again, earth furnishes solidity to the bodily frame; water affords to it moisture, fire supplies heat, wind causes inspiration and respiration; ether occasions cavities,† sentiment gives corporeal impulse and mental incitement. Then follows error, passion, &c.

Ignorance (*avidyá*) or error, is the mistake of supposing that to be durable, which is but momentary. Thence comes passion (*sanscára*), comprising desire, aversion, delusion, &c. From these, concurring in the embryo with paternal seed and uterine blood, arises sentiment (*vijnyána*) or incipient consciousness. From concurrence of this with parental seed and blood, comes the rudiment of body, its flesh and blood, its name (*náman*) and shape (*rupa*). Thence the (*shad'-áyatana*), sites of six organs, or seats of the senses, consisting of sentiment, elements (earth, &c.), name and shape (or body), in relation to him whose organs they are. From coincidence and conjunction of organs with name and shape (that is, with body) there is feeling (*sparsa*) or experience of heat or cold, &c. felt by the embryo or embodied being. Thence is sensation (*vedaná*) of pain, pleasure, &c. Follows thirst (*trishn'á*) or longing for renewal of pleasurable feeling and desire to shun that which is painful. Hence is (*upádána*) effort, or exertion of body or speech. From this is (*bhava*) condition of (*dharma*) merit, or (*adharma*) demerit. Thence comes birth (*játi*) or aggregation of the five branches (*scandhas*).‡ The maturity of those five branches is (*jará*)

* So the commentaries on *Samara* (the *Bhámati*, *Abharana* and *Prabhá*). But the fifth element is not acknowledged by the *Bauddhas*.

† See the foregoing note.

‡ One commentary of the *Védánta* (viz. the *Abharana*), explains *bhava* as corporeal birth, and *játi* genus, kind. Other differences among the *Védántin* writers, on various minor points of the Buddhist doctrine, are passed over to avoid tediousness.

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decay. Their dissolution is (*maran a*) death. Regret of a dying person is (*śóca*) grief. Wailing is (*paridévand*) lamentation. Experience of that which is disagreeable is (*dukc'ha*) pain or bodily sufferance. But mental pain is (*daurmanasya*) discomposure of mind. Upon death ensues departure to another world. That is followed by return to this world. And the course of error, with its train of consequences, recommences.*

Besides these matters, which have a real existence but momentary duration, the *Bauddhas* distinguish under the category and name of (*nirópa*) unreal, false, or non-existent, three topics: 1st, wilful and observable destruction (*pratisanc'hya-niródha*, of an existent thing, as the breaking of a jar by a stroke of a mallet, 2d, unobserved nullity or annihilation (*apratisanc'hya-nirodha*), and 3d, vacancy or space (*ácás a*) unencompassed and unshielded, or the imaginary ethereal element.

The whole of this doctrine is formally refuted by the *Védántas*. 'The entire aggregate, referred to two sources, external and internal, cannot be, nor the world's course dependent thereon for the members of it are insensible, and its very existence is made to depend on the flash of thought; yet no other thinking permanent being is acknowledged, accumulating that aggregate, directing it, or enjoying, nor is there an inducement to activity without a purpose, and merely momentary.

'Nor is the alleged concatenation of events admissible. for there is no reason of it. Their existence depends on that of the aggregate of which they are alleged to be severally causes. The objections to the notion of eternal atoms with beings to enjoy, are yet more forcible against momentary atoms with none to enjoy. The various matters enumerated as successive causes, do not account for the sum of sensible objects. Nor can they, being but momentary, be the causes of effects for the moment of the one's duration has ceased, before that of the other's existence commences. Being then a non-entity, it can be no cause. Nor does one last till the other begins, for then they would be contemporaneous.

'The ethereal element (*ácás'a*) is not a non-entity: for its existence is inferrible from sound.

'Nor is self or soul momentary: memory and recollection prove it: and there is no doubt nor error herein, for the individual is conscious that he is the same who to-day remembers what he yesterday saw.

* *Sanc. Védk., &c. on Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. (v. 19.)

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'Nor can entity be an effect of non-entity. If the one might come of the other, then might an effect accrue to a stranger without effort on his part: a husbandman would have a crop of corn without tilling and sowing; a potter would have a jar without moulding the clay; a weaver would have cloth without weaving the yarn: nor would any one strive for heavenly bliss or eternal deliverance.'*

To confute another branch of the sect of BUDDHA, the *Védántins* argue, that 'the untruth or non-existence of external objects is an untenable position; for there is perception or apprehension of them: for instance, a stock, a wall, a jar, a cloth, and that, which actually is apprehended, cannot be unexistent. Nor does the existence of objects cease when the apprehension does so. Nor is it like a dream, a juggle, or an illusion; for the condition of dreaming and waking is quite different. When awake a person is aware of the illusory nature of the dream which he recollects.

'Nor have thoughts or fancies an independent existence, for they are founded on external and sensible objects, the which, if unapprehended, imply that thoughts must be so too. These are momentary: and the same objections apply to a world consisting of momentary thoughts, as to one of instantaneous objects.

'The whole doctrine, when tried and sifted, crumbles like a well sunk in loose sand. The opinions advanced in it are contradictory and incompatible: they are severally untenable and incongruous. By teaching them to his disciples, BUDDHA has manifested either his own absurdity and incoherence, or his rooted enmity to mankind, whom he sought to delude.'†

A few observations on the analogy of the doctrine, above explained, to the Grecian philosophy, may not be here out of place.

It has been already remarked, in former essays, that the *Bauddhas*, like the *Vaiséshicas*, admit but two sources of knowledge (p. 445 of this volume). Such likewise appears to have been the opinion of the more ancient Greek philosophers, especially the Pythagoreans: and accordingly OCELLUS, in the beginning of his treatise on the universe, declares that he has written such things, concerning the nature of the universe, as he learned from nature itself by manifest signs, and conjectured as probable, by thought

* *Sánc.* and other Com. on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 4 (v. 18-27).
† Com. on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 5 (v. 28-32).

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through reasoning; thereby intimating, as is remarked by his annotator, that the means of knowledge are two.*

Concerning the atomic doctrine, maintained not only by the *Vaiséshicas*, or followers of CANADE, surnamed CASYAPA,† but by the sect of BUDDHA, and likewise by several others as well heterodox as orthodox, no person needs to be told, that a similar doctrine was maintained by many among the ancient Greek philosophers, and in particular by Leucippus (if not previously by Moschus), and after him by Democritus, and likewise by Empedocles, who was of the Pythagorean school. They disagreed, as the Indian philosophers likewise do, respecting the number of elements or different kinds of atoms. Empedocles admitted five, developed in the following order: ether, fire, earth, water, and air. Here we have the five elements (*bhúta*) of the Hindus, including *acás'a*. The great multitude of philosophers, however, restricted the number of elements to four, in which respect they agree with the *Jainas*, *Bauddhas*, *Chárvácas* and some other sectaries, who reject the fifth element affirmed by the Hindus in general, and especially by the orthodox.

In published accounts of the religious opinions of *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, derived principally from oral information, doubts have been expressed as to the sense attached by them to the terms which they use to signify the happy state at which the perfect saints arrive. It has been questioned whether annihilation, or what other condition short of such absolute extinction, is meant to be described.

Both these sects, like most others of Indian origin, propose for the grand object to which man should aspire, the attainment of a final happy state, from which there is no return.

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* Opusc. Mytholog. phys. and eth. p. 503.

† A remark may be here made, which was omitted in its proper place (Part 2 of this essay), that the followers of the atomic sect are sometimes contumeliously designated by their orthodox opponents, as *Cán-ábhuj* (*a*, or *Cán-ábhaksha*, in allusion to the founder's name. *Cán* signifies a crow, and the import of *Cán-ábhuj*, synonymous with *Canad*, is crow-eater, *cán-ad*. The original name, however, is derivable from *cana* little, (with *ad* to eat or *bád*, to receive) implying abstemiousness or disinterestedness of the person bearing the name. Conformably with the first of those derivations, CANADE himself is sometimes called *Canábhaksha* or *Canábhuj*.

(*a*) Sanc. on Br. Sútr. II. 2. § 19 (p. 18).

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All concur in assigning to its attainment the same term, *mucti* or *mócsha*, with some shades of difference in the interpretation of the word as emancipation, deliverance from evil; liberation from worldly bonds; relief from further transmigration, &c.

Many other terms are in use, as synonymous with it; and so employed by all or nearly all of these sects, to express a state of final release from the world: such as *amrita*, immortality, *apavarga*, conclusion, completion, or abandonment; *śreyas*, excellence, *nih śréyasa*, assured excellence, perfection, *cavalya*, singleness, *nih saran'a*, exit, departure. But the term, which the *Bauddhas*, as well as *Jainas*, more particularly affect, and which however is also used by the rest, is *nirvéna*, profound calm. In its ordinary acceptation, as an adjective, it signifies extinct, as a fire which is gone out; set, as a luminary which has gone down; defunct, as a saint who has passed away: its etymology is from *vá*, to blow as wind, with the preposition *nir* used in a negative sense. It means calm and unruffled. The notion which is attached to the word, in the acceptation now under consideration, is that of perfect apathy. It is a condition of unmixed tranquil happiness or extacy (*ánanda*). Other terms (as *nir'ha*, *móha*, &c.) distinguish different gradations of pleasure, joy, and delight. But a happy state of imperturbable apathy is the ultimate bliss (*ánanda*) to which the Indian aspires: in this the *Jaina*, as well as the *Bauddha*, concurs with the orthodox *Védántis*.

Perpetual uninterrupted apathy can hardly be said to differ from eternal sleep. The notion of it as of a happy condition seems to be derived from the experience of extacies, or from that of profound sleep, from which a person awakes refreshed. The pleasant feeling is referred back to the period of actual repose. Accordingly, as I shall have occasion to show in a future essay, the *védánta* considers the individual soul to be temporarily, during the period of profound sleep, in the like condition of reunion with the Supreme, which it permanently arrives at on its final emancipation from body.

This doctrine is not that of the *Jainas* nor *Bauddhas*. But neither do they consider the endless repose allotted to their perfect saints as attended with a discontinuance of individuality. It is not annihilation, but unceasing apathy, which they understand to be the extinction (*nirvéna*) of their saints, and which they esteem to be supreme felicity, worthy to be sought by practice of mortification, as well as by acquisition of knowledge.

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Chárvácas and *Lócáyatikas.*

In my first essay on the Philosophy of the Hindus (p. 20 of this volume), it was stated upon the authority of a scholiast of the *Sánc'hya*, that Chárváca, whose name is familiar as designating a heretical sect called after him, has exhibited the doctrine of the *Jainas*. In a marginal note to a scholiast of the *Brahma-sútras*, one of the four branches of the sect of Buddha (the *Mádhyamaca*) is identified with the *Chárvácas*. This I take to be clearly erroneous, and upon comparison of the tenets of the *Jainas* and *Chárvácas*, as alleged by the commentators of the *Védánta* in course of controversy, the other position likewise appears to be not correct.

For want of an opportunity of consulting an original treatise on this branch of philosophy, or any connected summary furnished even by an adversary of opinions professed by the *Chárvácas*, no sufficient account can be yet given of their peculiar doctrine, further than that it is undisguised materialism. A few of their leading opinions, however, are to be collected from the incidental notice of them by opponents.

A notorious tenet of the sect, restricting to perception only the means of proof and sources of knowledge, has been more than once adverted to (p. 28 and 445 of this volume). Further research enables me to enlarge the catalogue of means of knowledge admitted by others, with the addition of probability (*sámbhava*), and tradition (*aitihya*) separately reckoned by mythologists (*Pauránicas*), among those means.* The latter is however comprehended under the head of (*ágáma*), oral communication. In regard to probability or possibility (for the term may be taken in this lower meaning) as a ground or source of notions, it must be confessed, that in the text of the mythologists (their *Puránas*) a very ample use is made of the latitude, and what by supposition might have been and may be, is put in the place of what has been and is to be.

The *Chárvácas* recognise four (not five) elements, viz. earth, water, fire and wind (or air), and acknowledge no other principles (*tattwa*).†

The most important and characteristic tenet of this sect concerns the soul, which they deny to be other than body.‡ This doctrine is cited for refutation in Vyása's *sútras*, as the opinion of "some," and his scholiasts,

* *Padártha dípiká.* † *Vrihaspatya-sútra*, cited by *Bhácara.*
‡ *Sancara on Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. 2. and 3. 3. 53.

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Bhavadéva-Misra and Ranganát'ha, understand the *Chárvácas* to be intended. Sancara, Bhascara, and other commentators, name the *Lócáyatacas*, and these appear to be a branch of the sect of *Chárváca*. Sadananda, in the *Védánta-sara*, calls up for refutation no less than four followers of Charvaca, asserting that doctrine under various modifications; one maintaining, that the gross corporeal frame is identical with the soul, another, that the corporeal organs constitute the soul; a third affirming, that the vital functions do so, and the fourth insisting, that the mind and the soul are the same. In the second of these instances, Sadananda's scholiast, Rama-Tirtha, names the *Locáyatanas*, a branch of the *Chárváca*, as particularly intended. No doubt they are the same with the *Lócáyatacas* of Sancara and the rest.

'Seeing no soul but body, they maintain the non-existence of soul other than body, and arguing that intelligence or sensibility, though not seen in earth, water, fire and air, whether simple or congregate, may nevertheless subsist in the same elements modified in a corporeal frame, they affirm that an organic body (*ciya*) endued with sensibility and thought, though formed of those elements, is the human person (*purusha*).*

'The faculty of thought results from a modification of the aggregate elements, in like manner as sugar with a ferment and other ingredients becomes an inebriating liquor, and as betel, areca, lime, and extract of catechu, chewed together, have an exhilarating property, not found in those substances severally, nor in any one of them singly.

'So far there is a difference between animate body and inanimate substance. Thought, knowledge, recollection, &c., perceptible only where organic body is, are properties of an organised frame, not appertaining to exterior substances, or earth and other elements simple or aggregate, unless formed into such a frame.

'While there is body, there is thought, and sense of pleasure and pain, none when body is not, and hence, as well as from self-consciousness, it is concluded that self and body are identical.'

Bhascara-Acharya† quotes the *Várhaspatya-sutras* (Vrihaspati's aphorisms), apparently as the text work or standard authority of this sect or school, and the quotation, expressing that "the elements are earth, water, fire and air, and from the aggregation of them in bodily organs, there

* *Sarvara, &c.* † On *Br. Sútr.* 2. 3. 53.

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results sensibility and thought, as the inebriating property is deduced from a ferment and other ingredients."

To the foregoing arguments of the *Lócayatícas* or *Chárvacas*, the answer of the *Vedántins* is, that 'thought, sensation, and other properties of soul or consciousness, cease at the moment of death, while the body yet remains, and cannot therefore be properties of the corporeal frame, for they have ceased before the frame is dissolved. The qualities of body, as colour, &c., are apprehended by others: not so, those of soul, viz. thought, memory, &c. Their existence, while body endures, is ascertained: not their cessation when it ceases. They may pass to other bodies. Elements, or sensible objects, are not sentient, or capable of feeling, themselves; fire, though hot, burns not itself; a tumbler, however agile, mounts not upon his own shoulders. Apprehension of an object must be distinct from the thing apprehended. By means of a lamp, or other light, objects are visible: if a lamp be present, the thing is seen, not so, if there be no light. Yet apprehension is no property of the lamp, nor is it a property of body, though observed only where a corporeal frame is. Body is but instrumental to apprehension.'

Among the Greeks, Dicæarchus of Messene held the same tenet, which has been here ascribed to the *Lócayatícas*, and other followers of CHARVACA, that there is no such thing as soul in man, that the principle, by which he perceives and acts, is diffused through the body, is inseparable from it, and terminates with it.

Máhéswaras and *Pás'upatas*.

The devoted worshippers of *Síva* or *Maheswara*, take their denomination from this last-mentioned title of the deity whom they adore, and whose revelation they profess to follow. They are called *Maheswaras*, and (as it seems) *Síva-bhágavatas*.

The ascetics of the sect wear their hair braided, and rolled up round the head like a turban, hence they are denominated (and the sect after them) *Jat'ádhári*, 'wearing a braid.'

The *Maheswaras* are said to have borrowed much of their doctrine from the *Sánc'hya* philosophy following CAPILA on many points; and the theistical system of PATANJALI on more.

They have branched into four divisions: one, to which the appellation of *Śaivas*, or worshippers of *Síva*, especially appertains, a second, to which

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the denomination of *Pas'upatas* belongs, as followers of *Pas'upati*, another title of *Mahes'wara*: the third bears the name of *Cárunica-siddhántins*, but Ramanuja * assigns to this third branch the appellation of *Calámuc'has*: the fourth is by all termed *Cápálas* or *Cápálicas*.

They appeal for the text of their doctrine to a book, which they esteem holy, considering it to have been revealed by *Mahés'wara*, *Śiva*, or *Pas'upati*; all names of the same deity. The work, most usually bearing the latter title, *Pas'upati-sástra*, *Mahés'wara-siddhánta*, or *Sivágama*, is divided into five lectures (*adhyáya*), treating of as many categories (*padárt'has*). The enumeration of them will afford occasion for noticing the principal and distinguishing tenets of the sect.

I. *Cárana*, or cause. The *Pás'upatas* hold, that *Is'wara*, the Supreme Being, is the efficient cause of the world, its creator (*cartá*) and superintending *adhishth'ata* or ruling providence, and not its material cause likewise. They, however, identify the one supreme God, with *Śiva*, or *Pas'upati*, and give him the title of *Mahés'wara*.

II. *Cárya* or effect, which in nature *pracriti*, or plastic matter (*pradhána*), as the universal material principle is by the *Pás'upatas* denominated, conformably with the terminology of the *Sanc'hyas*, and likewise *mahat*, the great one, or intelligence, together with the further development of nature, viz. mind, consciousness, the elements, &c.

III. *Yóga*, abstraction, as perseverance in meditation on the syllable *óm*, the mystic name of the deity, profound contemplation of the divine excellence, &c.

IV. *Vidhi*, enjoined rites, consisting in acts, by performance of which merit is gained, as bath, and ablutions, or the use of ashes in their stead, and divers acts of enthusiasm, as of a person overjoyed and beside himself.

V. *Duhc'hanta*, termination of ill, or final liberation (*mucsha*).

The purpose, for which these categories are taught and explained, is the accomplishment of deliverance from the bondage (*bandha*), or fetters (*pás'a*), viz. illusion (*máyá*), &c., in which the living soul (*jíva* or *átmá*), by this sect termed *pas'u*, is entangled and confined. For it is here maintained, that *pas'us* (living souls) are individual sentient beings, capable of deliverance from evil, through the knowledge of God and the practice of prescribed rites, together with perseverance in profound abstraction.

* Com. on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. 37.

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The *Pás'upatas* argue, that as a potter is the efficient, not the material, cause of the jar made by him, so the sentient being, who presides over the world, is the efficient, not the material, cause of it: for the superintendent, and that which is by him superintended, cannot be one and the same.

In a more full exposition of their opinions* they are stated as enumerating under the heads of effects and causes, those which are secondary; and as subdividing likewise the heads of prescribed rites and termination of ill.

I. They distinguish ten effects *(cárya)* namely, five principles *(tattwa)*, which are the five elements, earth, water, fire, air and ether, and five qualities *(gun'a)* colour, &c.

II. They reckon thirteen causes or instruments *(carun'a)*, viz. five organs of sense, and as many organs of action; and three interna. organs, intelligence, mind, and consciousness. These thirteen causes or means are the same with the thirteen instruments of knowledge enumerated by CAPILA and his followers, the *Sánc'hyas*.

III. *Yóga*, abstraction, does not appear to admit any subdivision.

IV. Enjoined rules *(vidhi)* are distributed under two heads: 1st. *vrata*, 2d. *dwára*.

To the first head (*vrata* or vow) appertains the use of ashes in place of water for bath or ablutions: that is, first, in lieu of bathing thrice a day; at morning, noon and evening: secondly, instead of ablutions for special causes, as purification from uncleanness after evacuation of urine, feces, &c.

To the same head belongs likewise the sleeping upon ashes, for which particular purpose they are solicited from householders, in like manner as food and other alms are begged.

This head comprises also exultation *(upahára)*, which comprehends laughter, dance, song, bellowing as a bull, bowing, recital of prayer, &c.

The second head *(dwara)* consists of, 1st. pretending sleep, though really awake, 2d. quaking, or tremulous motion of members, as if afflicted with rheumatism or paralytic affection, 3d. halting, as if lame, 4th. joy, as of a lover at sight of his beloved mistress; 5th. affectation of madness, though quite sane, 6th. incoherent discourse.

V. Termination of pain *(duhc'hánta)*, or deliverance from evil, is twofold: one is absolute extinction of all ills, the other is acquisition of transcendent

* *Vidyábharana* on *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. 37.

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power, and exercise of uncontrolled and irresistible will. The last comprises energy of sense and energy of action.

The energy of sense *drik-sacti* varies according to the sense engaged, and is of five sorts: 1st. vision *(darśana)*, or distinct and perfect perception of minute, remote, confused and undefined objects. 2d. *(sravana)*, perfect hearing of sound. 3d *(manana)* intuitive knowledge, or science without need of study. 4th. *(jnyana)* certain and undoubted knowledge, by book or fact. 5th. *(sarvajnyatwa)*, omniscience.

Energy of action *(criyá-śacti)*, is properly single of its kind. It admits nevertheless of a threefold subdivision; which, however, is not well explained, in the only work in which I have found it noticed.*

The opinions of the *Pásupatas* and other *Máhéswaras*, are heretical, in the estimation of the *Vedantins*, because they do not admit pantheism, or creation of the universe by the deity out of his own essence.

The notion of a plastic material cause, termed *pradhán*,† borrowed from the *Sánc'hyas*, and that of a ruling providence, taken from Patanjali, are controverted, the one in part, the other in the whole, by the orthodox followers of the *Vedánta*.

'An argument drawn from the prevalence of pain, pleasure, and illusion in the universe, that the cause must have the like qualities and be brute matter, is incongruous,' say the *Vedantins*, 'for it could not frame the diversities, exterior and interior, which occur: these argue thought and intention, in like manner as edifices and gardens, which assuredly are not constructed without design. Nor could there be operation without an operator; clay is wrought by the potter who makes the jar, a chariot is drawn by horses yoked to it, but brute matter stirs not without impulse. Milk nourishes the calf, and water flows in a stream, but not spontaneously, for the cow, urged by affection, suckles her calf, which, incited by hunger, sucks the teat, a river flows agreeably to the inclination of the ground, as by providence directed. But there is not, according to the *Sánc'hyas* and *Pás'upatas*, any thing besides matter itself to stir or to stop it, nor any motive: for soul is a stranger in the world. Yet conversions are not spon-

* *Abhasura* (§ 38) 2. 2. 37. The only copy of it seen by me is in this part apparently imperfect.

† That by which the world is accomplished *(pradhiyate)*, and in which it is deposited at its dissolution, is first *(pradhána)* matter.

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taneous: grass is not necessarily changed to milk, for particular conditions must coexist: swallowed by a cow, not by an ox, the fodder is so converted. Or, granting that activity is natural to matter, still there would be no purpose. The halt, borne by the blind, directs the progress: a magnet attracts contiguous iron. But direction and contiguity are wanting to the activity of plastic matter. The three qualities of goodness, foulness, and darkness, which characterise matter, would not vary to become primary and secondary in the derivative principles of intelligence and the rest, without some external instigator whomsoever. Apart from the energy of a thinking being, those qualities cannot be argued to have a natural tendency to the production of such effects as are produced."*

'The *Pas'upatas*' notion of Supreme God being the world's cause, as governing both *pradhana*, matter and *purusha*, embodied spirit, is incongruous,' say again the *Vedantins*, 'for he would be chargeable with passion and injustice, distributing good and evil with partiality. Nor can this imputation be obviated by reference to the influence of works, for instigation and instigator would be reciprocally dependent. Nor can the objection be avoided by the assumption of an infinite succession (without a beginning) of works and their fruits.

'Neither is there any assignable connexion by which his guidance of matter and spirit could be exercised: it is not conjunction, nor aggregation, nor relation of cause and effect. Nor can the material principle, devoid of all sensible qualities, be guided and administered. Nor can matter be wrought without organs. But, if the Supreme Being have organs, he is furnished with a corporeal frame, and is not God, and he suffers pain, and experiences pleasure, as a finite being. The infinity of matter and of embodied spirit, and God's omniscience, are incompatible; if he restrict them in magnitude and number, they are finite, if he cannot define and limit them, he is not omniscient (and omnipotent).'†

A further objection to the *Sans'kya* doctrine, and consequently to the *Pás'upata* grounded on it, is 'its alleged inconsistencies and contradictions: one while eleven organs are enumerated, at another seven only, the five senses being reduced to one cuticular organ, the sense of feeling. The elements are in one place derived immediately from the great or intel-

* *Sans., fr. on Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 1. (S. 1—10.)

† *Sans., fr. on Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. § 7. ‡ *Ib.* 2. 2 § 1. (S. 2. and 10.)

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ligent principle, in another, from consciousness. Three internal faculties are reckoned in some instances, and but one in others.'

The grounds of this imputation, however, do not appear. Such inconsistencies are not in the text of CAPILA, nor in that of the *Cárcá* and the *Vedánta* itself seems more open to the same reproach for there is much discrepancy in the passages of the *Veda*, on which it relies.

The point on which the *Pasupatas* most essentially differ from the orthodox, the distinct and separate existence of the efficient and material causes of the universe, is common to them with the ancient Greek philosophers before Aristotle. Most of these similarly affirmed two, and only two, natural causes, the efficient and the material, the first active, moving: the second, passive, moved, one effective, the other yielding itself to be acted on by it. Ocellus terms the latter γενεσις generation, or rather production, the former its cause, αιτια γενεσεως.* Empedocles, in like manner, affirmed two principles of nature, the active, which is unity, or god; the passive, which is matter.†

Here we have precisely the *procriti* and *cárana* of the Indian philosophers their *upadána* and *nemitta-cárana*, material and efficient causes. The similarity is too strong to have been accidental. Which of the two borrowed from the other I do not pretend to determine: yet, adverting to what has come to us of the history of Pythagoras, I shall not hesitate to acknowledge an inclination to consider the Grecian to have been on this, as on many other points, indebted to Indian instructors.

It should be observed, that some among the Greek philosophers, like the the *Sanc'hyas*, who follow CAPILA, admitted only one material principle and no efficient cause. This appears to have been the doctrine of Heraclitus in particular His *pragmata* correspond with the sheer *tán-mátra* particles of CAPILA's *Sanc'hya*, his intelligent and rational principle, which is the cause of production and dissolution, is CAPILA's *buddhi* or *mahat*, as his material principle is *pradhana* or *procriti* the development of corporeal existences, and their return to the first principle at their dissolution,‡ correspond with the upward and downward way, ὁδος ἄνω and ὁδος κατω, of Heraclitus.§

I shall not pursue the parallel further It would not hold for all particulars, nor was it to be expected that it should.

* Ocellus de Universo, c. 2. in Opusc. Mythol. p. 505. Cantr. Acadeem.

† Sext. Empir. Adv. Math. lx. 6. ‡ See p. 39 of this volume § Laert. ix. 6 and 9

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Páncharátras or Bhágavatas.

Among the *Vaishńavas* or special worshippers of Vishńu, is a sect distinguished by the appellation of *Páncharátras*, and also called *Vishńu-Bhágavatas*, or simply *Bhágavatas*. The latter name might, from its similarity, lead to the confounding of these with the followers of the *Bhagavad-gítá*, or of the *Śrí-Bhágavata-puráńa*. The appropriate and distinctive appellation then is that of *Páncharátra*, derived from the title of the original work which contains the doctrine of the sect. It is noticed in the *Bhárata*, with the *Sánc'hya*, *Yóga* and *Pás'upata*, as a system deviating from the *Védas*; and a passage quoted by Śancara-áchárya seems to intimate that its promulgator was Śandilya, who was dissatisfied with the *Védas*, not finding in them a prompt and sufficient way of supreme excellence (*para-s'réyas*) and final beatitude, and therefore he had recourse to this *s'ástra*. It is, however, by most ascribed to Náráyańa or Vásudéva himself, and the orthodox account for its heresy, as they do for that of Buddha's doctrines, by presuming delusion wilfully practised on mankind by the holy or divine personage, who revealed the *tantra*, or *ágama*, that is, the sacred book in question, though heterodox.

Some of its partisans nevertheless pretend, that it conforms with one of the *s'ác'hás* of the *veda*, denominated the *Ecáyana*. This does not, however, appear to be the case, nor is it clear, that any such *s'ác'há* is forthcoming, or has ever existed.

Many of this sect practise the *(sanscáras*, initiatory ceremonies of regeneration and admission to holy orders, according to the forms directed by the *Vájasaneyi-s'ác'há* of the *Yajur-véda*. Others, abiding rigidly by their own rules, perform the initiatory rites, in a different, and even contrary mode, founded, as is pretended, on the supposed *Ecáyana-s'ác'há*. But their sacerdotal situation is questioned, and their rank as *Bráhmańas* contested, on the ground of the insufficiency of their modes unsanctioned by either of the three genuine and authoritative *védas*.

The religious doctrine of the sect is, by admission of Śancara and other commentators of the *Vedánta*, reconcileable on many points with the *Véda*, but in some essential respects it is at direct variance with that authority, and consequently deemed heretical, and its confutation is the object of the 8th or last *adhicaraṇa* in the controversial chapter of the *Brahma-sútras* (2. 2. 8).

Yet Rámánuja, in his commentary on those *sútras*, defends the super-

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human origin and correct scope of the *Pancharátra*, the authority of which he strenuously maintains, and earnestly justifies its doctrine on the controverted points; and even endeavours to put a favourable construction on Badarayana's text, as upholding rather than condemning its positions.

Vásudéva, who is Vishnu, is by this sect identified with *Bhagavat*, the Supreme Being, the one, omniscient, first principle, which is both the efficient and the material cause of the universe, and is likewise its superintending and ruling providence. That being, dividing himself, became four persons, by successive production. From him immediately sprung *Sancarshana*, from whom came *Pradyumna*, and from the latter issued *Aniruddha*. *Sancarshana* is identified with the living soul (*jiva*), *Pradyumna*, with mind (*manas*), and *Aniruddha*, with (*ahancára*) egotism, or consciousness.

In the mythology of the more orthodox *Vaishnavas*, Vásudéva is Crishna, *Sancarshana* is his brother Bala-rama, *Pradyumna* is his son Cáma (Cupid), and *Aniruddha* is son of Cáma.

Vásudéva, or *Bhagavat*, being supreme nature, and sole cause of all, the rest are effects. He has six especial attributes, being endued with the six pre-eminent qualities of

1st. Knowledge (*jnyana*), or acquaintance with everything animate or inanimate constituting the universe.

2d. Power (*sacti*), which is the plastic condition of the world's nature.

3d. Strength (*bala*), which creates without effort, and maintains its own creation without labour.

4th. Irresistible will (*aiśwarya*), power not to be opposed or obstructed.

5th. Vigour (*virya*), which counteracts change, as that of milk into curds, and obviates alteration in nature.

6th. Energy (*tejas*), or independence of aid or adjunct in the world's creation, and capacity of subjugating others.

From the diffusion and co-operation of knowledge with strength, *Sancarshana* sprung, from vigour and irresistible will, *Pradyumna*, and from power and energy, *Aniruddha*. Or they may all be considered as partaking of all the six attributes.

Deliverance, consisting in the cession of worldly shackles, is attainable by worship of the deity, knowledge of him, and profound contemplation, that is, 1st by resorting to the holy temples, with body, thought, and speech subdued, and muttering the morning prayer, together with hymns

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and praise of *Bhagavat* the deity, and with reverential bowing and other ceremonies. 2dly By gathering and providing blossoms, and other requisites of worship; 3dly. By actual performance of divine worship, 4thly By study of the sacred text (*Bhagavat-sástra*) and reading, hearing, and reflecting on that and other holy books (*purán'as* and *ágamas*), which are conformable to it, 5thly. By profound meditation and absorbed contemplation after evening worship, and intensely fixing the thoughts exclusively on (*Bhagavat*) the deity.

By such devotion, both active and contemplative (*criyá-yóga* and *jnyána-yóga*), performed at five different times of each day, and persisted in for a hundred years, Vásudéva is attained; and by reaching his divine presence, the votary accomplishes final deliverance, with everlasting beatitude.

Against this system, which is but partially heretical, the objection upon which the chief stress is laid by Vyása, as interpreted by S'ancara * and the rest of the scholasts, is, that 'the soul would not be eternal, if it were a production, and consequently had a beginning. Springing from the deity, and finally returning to him, it would merge in its cause and be re-absorbed; there would be neither reward nor punishment, neither a heaven, nor a hell: and this doctrine virtually would amount to (*nástiqya*) denial of another world. Nor can the soul, becoming active, produce mind; nor again this, becoming active, produce consciousness. An agent does not generate an instrument, though he may construct one by means of tools; a carpenter does not create, but fabricate, an axe. Nor can four distinct persons be admitted, as so many forms of the same self-divided being, not springing one from the other, but all of them alike endued with divine attributes, and consequently all four of them gods. There is but one God, one Supreme Being. It is vain to assume more, and the *Pancha-rátra* itself affirms the unity of God.'

A few scattered observations have been thrown out on the similarity of the Greek and Indian philosophy, in this and preceding portions of the present essay. At the close of the series, after treating of the *Uttara Mímánsá* and *Védánta*, a topic which should come next after the *Púrva Mímánsá*, and before this supplemental essay concerning sectaries, but which

* *Br. Sútr.* 2. 2. 6. (42—45). *Banc., &c.*

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is at present reserved for ampler preparation, the consideration of the affinity of the Indian and Grecian philosophy will be resumed.

It may be here remarked by the way, that the Pythagoreans, and Ocellus in particular, distinguish as parts of the world, the heaven, the earth, and the interval between them, which they term lofty and aerial. Λεγω δε μερη, ουρανον, γην [illegible] μεσαξ τουτων· ἁ δη μετεωρα και αερια νομιζεται.*

Here we have precisely the *swar*, *bhú*, and *antaricsha*) heaven, earth, and (*transpicuous*) intermediate region of the Hindus.

Pythagoras, as after him Ocellus, peoples the middle or aerial region with demons, as heaven with gods, and the earth with men. Here again they agree precisely with the Hindus, who place the gods above, man beneath, and spiritual creatures, flitting unseen, in the intermediate region. The *Vedas* throughout teem with prayers and incantations to avert and repel the molestation of aerial spirits, mischievous imps, who crowd about the sacrifice and impede the religious rite.

Nobody needs to be reminded, that Pythagoras and his successors held the doctrine of metempsychosis, as the Hindus universally do the same tenet of transmigration of souls.

They agree likewise generally in distinguishing the sensitive, material organ (*manas*), from the rational and conscious living soul (*jivatman*)† θυμος and ψυχη of Pythagoras, one perishing with the body, the other immortal.

Like the Hindus, Pythagoras, with other Greek philosophers, assigned a subtle ethereal clothing to the soul apart from the corporeal part, and a grosser clothing to it when united with body, the *sucshma* (or *linga*) *sarira* and *sthúla sarira* of the *Sánc'hyas* and the rest (p. 39 of this vol.)

They concur even in the limit assigned to mutation and change, deeming all which is sublunary, mutable, and that which is above the moon subject to no change in itself‡ Accordingly, the manes doomed to a succession of births, rise, as the *Vedas* teach, no further than the moon while those only pass that bourne, who are never to return. But I am here anticipating on the *Vedanta* and will therefore terminate this treatise, purposing to pursue the subject in a future essay, in which I expect to show that a greater degree of similarity exists between the Indian doctrine and that of

* Ocell. c. 5. in Opusc. Myth. p. 588. † Empedocles. See Brucker, Hist. Crit. Phil. p. 1217.
‡ Ocellus. Opusc. Mythol. 587.

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the earlier than of the later Greeks, and, as it is scarcely probable that the communication should have taken place, and the knowledge been imparted, at the precise interval of time which intervened between the earlier and later schools of Greek philosophy, and especially between the Pythagoreans and Platonists, I should be disposed to conclude that the Indians were in this instance teachers rather than learners.

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XXXIV. *On the Dialects of the Arabic Language, by the late Professor* CARLYLE. *Communicated by* WILLIAM MARSDEN, *Esq., M.R.A.S., in the following Letter to the Secretary.*

Read March 3, 1827.

February 27, 1827.

SIR:

WHEN that accomplished Oriental scholar, the late Professor Carlyle, was proceeding on his travels to the Levant, I suggested some inquiries respecting the differences he might have opportunities of remarking amongst the spoken dialects of the Arabic language, and as his answer contains some curious information on the subject, I have thought it not unworthy of being communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society.

" Buyukdere, near Constantinople, September 10, 1801.

" MY DEAR SIR

" Accept my best thanks for your very kind letter, which I did not receive until my return to Constantinople from my tour in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. I did myself the honour of writing to Lady S. from Jaffa, just before I performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, at which place I spent a fortnight most interestingly. As I had seen the interior part of Asia Minor in going, I wished to return by the coast, for which purpose I embarked on board a Greek vessel at Jaffa, and occasionally touched at the different islands of the Archipelago, as well as at several places of the continent, which I judged would be best worth visiting, and I need scarcely say that I had a most interesting voyage.

" During my tour I had much opportunity of comparing the different Arabian dialects. My own instructor, and the families with whom I speak and read Arabic here, are from Aleppo. I passed six weeks at Cyprus and on board the Tigre, in company with the prince of the mountains and fifteen of his attendants from different parts of the east as well as Africa. We had on board, at the same time, persons from Cairo, and in my journey through Palestine, I had sufficient opportunities of remarking the dialects of the country. The discrepancies found to exist in some dialects

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of Arabic, may undoubtedly be referred in some degree to the different mode of pronouncing several of the letters—a difference more considerable, I believe, than in any other language. Thus, while a native of Baghdad can discriminate completely between the د *dal*, the ذ *dzal*, the ض *dhad*, and the ظ *dha*, the Aleppine makes little distinction between the sound of the ذ *dzal*, the ظ *dha*, and the ز *za*, while he pronounces ض *dhad*, like a د *dal*. On the other hand, the Syrian gives the sound of the د *dal* to all these letters. Again, ق in the mouth of an inhabitant of Baghdad, is a guttural *k*, but at Aleppo it is formed by a previous click with the tongue.* ج with an Egyptian, is generally hard as *g* in *go*. ك, in some parts of Syria, is sounded like our *sh*, thus مركب is pronounced as if it were مرشب. The sound of the ع *ain*, as affected with vowels, is only discriminated, as far as I have observed, by the Aleppines, and with them its several sounds, when united to the *kesra*, *dhamma*, and *fatha*, can only be conveyed to the ear. When joined to the first it is not indeed very different from the sound of the French *ar* in their word *ami*. Thus, in the word which you adduce, عدد, the Aleppines pronounce as if it were *aadad*, but rather more in the throat. The discrepancies, however, amongst the Arabian dialects, I apprehend to be chiefly occasioned by two other causes: the first, an admixture of different foreign idioms, and the second an adoption of different synonymes to express the same idea, by the different nations amongst whom this far-spreading language is spoken. Thus, from the first of these causes, we must expect to find a considerable number of Turkish words in the dialect of Aleppo, of Persian in that of Baghdad, and perhaps of Malayan in that of the Arabic which prevails in the vicinity of the Indian ocean. From the second of these causes it happens (to take an instance) that a *horse* is expressed in Egypt by the word حصان, and in Asia by خيل, both of which terms are pure Arabic, both of them expressing a *species* of horse. Now as the خيل was probably more common in Asia, and the حصان in Egypt, each of these terms lost, in the mouths of the vulgar, its *specific* acceptation, and assumed a *generic* one, and thus it is with various other words, which at the first view appear totally dissimilar,

* It would seem that in some parts of Africa, occupied by Arab tribes, the ق has the sound of *g*, as in the names of دنقلة, *Dongola*, شقرة, *Shigre*; وارنقرة *Wangérah*, and others.—*W. M.*

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and which in fact are so to those who are only acquainted with the vernacular Arabic. If therefore we make allowance for these three causes: *pronunciation*, *admixture*, and *synonymes*, I apprehend there will be found little real difference amongst the dialects of Arabic, none of which, I will venture to assert (whatever Niebuhr and others may have thought), varies materially from the language of the *Koran*. As you have led me into this philological discussion, I make no apologies for it."

The untimely death of the Professor, in the year 1804, at the age of forty-five, when he was engaged in editing the Arabic version of the Bible, with the types newly designed by Mr. Wilkins, and executed under his superintendence, was a severe, though, we may hope, not an irreparable loss, to the interests of Asiatic literature in this country

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) WM. MARSDEN

To the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX, No. I.

THERMOMETRICAL AND BAROMETRICAL TABLES,

COMMUNICATED BY LIEUT COL. WILLIAM FARQUHAR, M.R.A.S.

Abstract of the Register of the Thermometer at Malacca, during the Year 1809.

MONTHS.	Average of the Month. 8 A.M.	Average of the Month. 4 P.M.	Greatest Range. 8 A.M.	Greatest Range. 4 P.M.	Least Range. 8 A.M.	Least Range. 4 P.M.	Fair Days.	Rainy Days.
January	76½	79½	79	84	74	75	19	13
February	76½	79½	79	80	75	76	20	8
March	77½	81½	79	84	77	81	16	15
April	77½	83½	79	85	77	83	18	12
May	78½	84½	83	88	77	79	18	13
June	78½	84½	84	86	77	82	14	16
July	78½	83½	81	85	77	81	14	19
August	78½	83½	80½	86	76	82	13	18
September	80½	83½	80	85	75	80	18	12
October	76½	81½	80	85	75	80	23	8
November	75½	80½	78	84	72	74	20	10
December	74½	79½	76	85	72	77	20	11
Total Annual Average	77½	82½	79½	84½	75½	79½	204	161

(Signed) WM. FARQUHAR.

N.B. The instrument was kept inside the Old Government House.

Abstract of the Register of the Thermometer and Barometer at Singapore during the Year 1822.

THERMOMETER.

MONTHS.	Average of the Month. 8 A.M.	Average of the Month. Noon.	Average of the Month. 4 P.M.	Greatest Range. 8 A.M.	Greatest Range. Noon.	Greatest Range. 4 P.M.	Least Range. 8 A.M.	Least Range. Noon.	Least Range. 4 P.M.	Dry Days.	Rainy Days.
January	75.5	84 9	81 0	77	86 5	86	73	75	74	15	16
February	77.7	84 4	82 0	77	86 5	86	71	78	78	11	17
March	76.0	84 4	82 0	77	89	85	74 5	77	78	14	17
April	76 4	85 0	82.6	78	87	86 5	73	81	80	14	16
May	75 5	85 3	83.8	84	88.5	87	76	80	79.5	16	15
June	78 4	84 0	83.3	81	88	87	74	77	74.5	20	10
July	77 5	86 6	85 4	83	86	87	75	76	76	20	11
August	76 6	82 2	81 2	81	87	86	72	77	79	20	11
September	76 9	84 4	84 0	80	86	86	75	75	79	17	13
October	77 1	84 9	82 0	81	89	86	73	80	79	9	22
November	76 2	83.5	82 5	78	88	85	74	74	77	4	26
December	75. 4	80 6	79. 3	78	86	84	73	73	74	7	24
Total Ann. Average	76.4	84 0	82.5	79 1	87.6	85.9	73.8	77 2	77 3	147	218

BAROMETER.

MONTHS.	Average of the Month. 8 A.M.	Average of the Month. Noon.	Average of the Month. 4 P.M.	Greatest Range. 8 A.M.	Greatest Range. Noon.	Greatest Range. 4 P.M.	Least Range. 8 A.M.	Least Range. Noon.	Least Range. 4 P.M.
January	29.94	29.97	29.92	29.99	30.00	29.99	29.88	29.88	29.92
February	29.92	29.91	29.91	29.98	30.04	29.98	29.87	29.88	29.84
March	29.96	29.97	29.92	30.02	30.05	29.99	29.90	29.91	29.87
April	29.90	29.90	29.90	30.00	30.04	29.96	29.82	29.9	29.84
May	29.89	29.91	29.85	29.99	30.03	29.94	29.80	29.83	29.78
June	29.90	29.92	29.89	29.97	29.99	29.9	29.80	29.77	29.78
July	29.93	29.94	29.88	29.97	29.99	29.96	29.85	29.88	29.81
August	29.89	29.91	29.86	29.96	29.94	29.85	29.81	29.84	29.82
September	29.90	29.93	29.87	29.98	29.95	29.85	29.84	29.87	29.87
October	29.91	29.93	29.91	29.98	29.97	29.87	29.84	29.85	29.86
November	29.91	29.93	29.86	29.94	29.97	29.89	29.87	29.88	29.84
December	29.89	29.91	29.86	29.98	29.99	29.94	29.83	29.85	29.80
Total Ann. Average	29.91	29.93	29.89	29.98	30.00	29.96	29.85	29.86	29.81

The instrument was kept under a thatched bungalow.

(Signed) WM. FARQUHAR.

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Abstract of the Register of the Thermometer and Barometer at Singapore, during the Year 1823.

MONTHS.	THERMOMETER. Average of the Month. 9 A.M.	Noon.	9 P.M.	Greatest Range. 9 A.M.	Noon.	3 P.M.	Least Range. 9 A.M.	Noon.	9 P.M.	Dry Days.	Rainy Days.	BAROMETER. Average of the Month. 9 A.M.	Noon.	9 P.M.	Greatest Range. 9 A.M.	Noon.	9 P.M.	Least Range. 9 A.M.	Noon.	9 P.M.
January	74	81	79.2	76	85	81	72	76	74	10	8	29.95	29.97	29.99	30.06	30.06	29.99	29.84	29.86	29.86
February	74	82	80	76	86	84	72	74	75	10	18	29.95	29.97	29.97	30.02	30.02	29.99	29.86	29.86	29.87
March	73	84	80	74	87	84	74	79	78	20	11	29.91	29.89	29.93	29.89	29.89	30.00	29.85	29.85	29.85
April	76	84	82	78	87	85	72	79	78	15	15	29.86	29.85	29.91	29.[illegible]	[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.75	29.75	29.80
May	77	84	82	79	87	86	75	81	78	11	20	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
June	77	84	83	80	87	86	75	78	80	17	17	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
July	76	84	83	81	88	86	74	79	81	17	14	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
August	77	86	84	81	87	85	75	78	77	24	17	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
September	77	84	82	81	87	86	76	76	78	15	15	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
October	76	85	83	82	89	86	74	78	79	22	19	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
November	75	82	81	78	88	88	74	77	77	7	23	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
December	75	83	81	76	85	76	73	81	78	23	6	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	30.03	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]	29.[illegible]
Total Ann. Average	75	83.7	80.1	79	86.9	85.4	73.7	78	77 6	207	158	29.91	29.91	29.88	29.97	29.99	29.94	29	29.87	29.87

N.B. The instrument was kept under a thatched bungalow. *(Signed)* WM. FARQUHAR.

APPENDIX, No. II.

THERMOMETRICAL REGISTERS,

COMMUNICATED BY LIEUT.-COL. JOHN MONCKTON COOMBS, M.R.A.S.

Thermometrical Report, from June 17th 1815 to June 30th 1816, at Prince of Wales' Island.

JUNE.	Government Hill. 6 A.M.	9	3 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	9	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
17	69	73	72	77	81½	81½	77	West	Morning cloudy, afterwards light rain.
18	68	74	73	76½	80	83	79½	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy, evening hard rain. [night rainy.
19	68	72	69	78	81½	83	79	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy—night showers.
20	68	70	70	77½	80	81	77	South	Cloudy throughout, rainy morning, much rain at night.
21	67	65	63	76½	78½	78½	77	Ditto	Cloudy and showery throughout.
22	64½	70	69	75½	80	80	78	West	Cloudy throughout.
23	65	69	70	76	78	77½	76½	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, two hours hard rain at night.
24	67	72	72	76	80	84½	79	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
25	66	72	72	76	82	83	79	Ditto	Fine weather throughout.
26	69	75	70	78½	83½	84	82½	South	Ditto ditto.
27	68	73	72	78½	84½	84½	79	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
28	68	72	73	77	80½	83½	80	West	[rain during the night. Day clear, night cloudy, high wind with a torrent of [for several hours.
29	69	74	71	77½	83	83	79	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, 6 P.M. hard rain
30	67	74	74	77	79½	80½	79	—	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, clear night.

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JULY 1815.

Date.	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	George Town. 9 P.M.	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	6 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	68	69	69	70	78	79½	80½	80	West	Morning clear, noon hazy, afterwards clear, rain at 8 P.M.
2	68	74	70	71	77	81	80½	79½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
3	68	72	72	71	78	81½	82	80	South	Clear throughout.
4	68	70	70	69	77½	79½	80	79	Ditto	Rain at sunrise, cloudy day throughout.
5	67	71	72	70	77½	81	82½	78	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
6	68	74	74	70	78½	80	83	80½	West	Clear throughout.
7	65½	73	73	70	78½	82	83	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
8	67	70	72	69	78	82	82½	80	Ditto	[10 P.M. hard rain. First part cloudy, afterwards clear, 7 P.M. light rain,
9	67	68	68	68	78	80	80	79	Ditto	Cloudy and showery day and night.
10	67	70	71	69	77½	81	80	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
11	68	74	73	72	78	82	83	80½	Ditto	Morning hazy, day clear, night rainy.
12	68	71	73	69	78½	82	83	81	South	[7 P.M. light rain. First part cloudy, afterwards clear, 6 A.M. light rain,
13	69	73	74	72	78½	82½	83½	82	Ditto	Clear throughout.
14	69	73	74	73	80½	83	84	82	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
15	70	74	74	72	79½	83	84	81½	Ditto	[several hours. Clear throughout, 4 P.M. cloudy, 6 P.M. rain for
16	68	73	71	69	78	81	81½	79½	West	Ditto ditto.
17	68	72	74	72	77½	82	82½	80	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
18	67	74½	74	72	78	82	82	81	South	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
19	68	76	77	72½	79	83	85	82½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
20	68	74	76	73	81	84½	85	83	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
21	68	73	74	72	79	83½	83½	81	West	6-7 P.M. hard rain, cloudy day throughout.
22	68	70	72	70	78	81	81½	80	Ditto	[cloudy day throughout. 6 A.M. hard rain, lasted several hours, some thunder,
23	68	72	72	71	78½	81	82	80	Ditto	Morning much rain, noon squally, afterwards clear.
24	69	74	74	72	78½	81½	82	79½	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afterwards cloudy.
25	68	76	74½	72	78½	81½	82	79½	Ditto	Fine clear weather throughout.
26	69	73	74½	72	79	81½	82½	80	Ditto	[the night. Morning clear, afterwards cloudy, much rain during
27	68	72	74	70	76½	79	80½	78	Ditto	[clear Morning drizzling rain and cloudy till noon, afterwards
28	67½	72	73	70	77½	81½	82½	80	South	Clear throughout.
29	68	72½	75	72	79	83	83½	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
30	70	73	74	72	79½	83	84	82	Ditto	Ditto ditto, very sultry and oppressive.
31	68	72	73	71	81	85	85½	82	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.

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AUGUST 1815.

Day	Government Hill. 6 A.M.	Government Hill. M	Government Hill. 3 P.M.	Government Hill. 9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	George Town. M	George Town. 3 P.M.	George Town. 9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	69	72	74	72	80	84	85	81½	South	Clear throughout—very sultry and oppressive.
2	69	76	75	74	81½	83	83½	82	Ditto	Morning hazy, afterwards cloudy.
3	70	67	70	69	79	79	80	79½	West	[wards thick cloudy weather. 6 A. M hard rain all the morning, noon cloudy, after-
4	68	75	74½	72	78	81½	80	79	Ditto	Morning hazy, afterwards cloudy.
5	69	73	73	71	78	81½	82	79½	South	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
6	69	74½	74	72	79	82½	83½	81	Ditto	Clear throughout.
7	70	74	74	72	79	81½	82	80½	West	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
8	70	72	72	69	78½	81½	82	78½	Ditto	[noon and afternoon cloudy, 6 P. M equally At daylight hard rain, (9 A. M. therm 77°), hard rain,
9	68	71	72	70	76½	80½	81	79	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, with much rain in the morning.
10	68	72	72	70	78	81½	82	80½	South	Clear throughout.
11	69	71	71	69	78	81½	80½	79	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards equally and rainy.
12	67½	69½	70	68	77½	79	80½	79	West	[night equally and rainy. Morning clear, 8–9 A. M hard rain, afterwards clear,
13	66	69	70	68	78	80	80½	79½	North	Morning clear, noon equally, afterwards clear.
14	65½	72	71	69	77½	80	80½	79½	N W	Fine clear weather throughout.
15	68	73	70	69	77½	80	79½	78	South	[until 8 P. M Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon much rain
16	67	72	72½	70	77	80	81	79	Ditto	Fine clear weather throughout.
17	67	73	73½	72½	78	78	80	78	West	[wards fine weather. Morning clear, 10 A. M. rain for three hours, after-
18	67½	69½	72	70	77	80	82	78	Ditto	Clear throughout.
19	68	71	69½	69	77	79	79½	79	Ditto	Morning clear, noon hard shower, afterwards clear.
20	67½	71	71	69	77½	80½	81	80	South	First part clear, afternoon light rain, hard rain at night.
21	67	72	73	71	78	81	81½	79½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
22	67½	74½	73	71	78½	81½	82	80	Ditto	[very hard rain. Ditto ditto, 5–6 P. M. hard rain, during the night
23	66	73	72½	70	77½	80	81	80	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, 4 P. M. light rain.
24	68	74	73	71	79	81	81½	80	Ditto	Clear throughout.
25	67	75	74	71	79	81½	82	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
26	68	74	74	72	78½	81	82½	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto, light rain in the evening, rain at night.
27	66	71	69	68	78½	80	81	78	Ditto	[rainy night. First part clear, noon cloudy, afternoon light rain,
28	65	71	68	67	76½	78½	79½	77	West	[night. First part clear, afterwards cloudy, rainy and squally
29	65	70	68	67	76	78½	79	78	Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon clear.
30	65	74	72	70	76	79	79	78½	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
31	68	73	70½	69	77½	80½	80	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.

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SEPTEMBER 1815.

Date.	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	Government Hill. 12	Government Hill. 3 P.M.	Government Hill. 9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	George Town. 12	George Town. 3 P.M.	George Town. 9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	66	70	66	65	78	79	79	78	West	First part clear; afterwards cloudy, with drizzling rain.
2	66	73	67	67	77	79½	80	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
3	67	71	70	68	79	80	81	78½	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
4	67	70	69	68	78	79½	78½	77½	Ditto	Morning clear, noon light showers, afterwards cloudy
5	68	71	70	69	76	78	78	77	Ditto	Morning, early, hard rain for several hours.
6	67	72	71	—	70	78	78	78	Ditto	First part cloudy; noon clear, afterwards cloudy.
7	66	68	67	65	79	78	78	77	Ditto	Cloudy and showery weather throughout.
8	64½	67	68	66	76	78	78	77	Ditto	Morning heavy rain, noon clear.
9	65	68	68	66	76	78	78½	77	Ditto	Cloudy weather, and heavy showers throughout.
10	65	71	71½	69	75½	77	79	77	South	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
11	67	74	72	70	77	81½	82	78	Ditto	Clear throughout.
12	67	74	73	70	78	82½	83	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
13	68	76	74	72	78	82	83½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
14	68	75	76	74	78	82½	84	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
15	69	75½	75	75	79	84	84	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
16	70	77	77½	75	80	84½	84½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
17	70	76	75	74	80	84½	84½	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
18	69	72	70	69	79½	80	80½	78	West	First part clear, afterwards light rain, evening clear.
19	66	72	71	70	78	81	81½	79	Ditto	First part rainy, afternoon fair.
20	68	76	75	73	78	83	84	79½	South	Morning hazy noon rain, afterwards clear
21	67	75	75	73	78	83	83½	81½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
22	69	73	74	73	79	80½	82½	80½	West	First part cloudy, afterwards squally with rain.
23	68	74½	76	74	77	79	79	78	South	Morning cloudy, squally, and rainy; afternoon cloudy, [hard rain at night.
24	67	68	67	65	77	78½	79	78	West	Morning and noon heavy rain, afternoon cloudy with [light rain.
25	64½	68	68	66½	77	79	80	77½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, noon clear, afternoon light rain, [night hard rain.
26	66	68	68	66	77	77	77½	76½	Ditto	First part cloudy and hard rain, afternoon showery, [hard rain all night.
27	65½	67½	69	68½	76	77	78	77	Ditto	First part rainy, afterwards cloudy
28	67	72	71	69½	78	79	80	78	Ditto	First part cloudy, afterwards clear.
29	68	72	70	69	78½	8	82	78	North	Clear throughout.
30	68	73	74	74½	78	81½	82	80	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy, afternoon clear.

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AUGUST 1815.

Day of Month	Common Hrs. 9 A.M.	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Greenwich Time 4 A.M.	12 Noon	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Trees.
1	69	74	69	64	64	65	64	South	Clear throughout—very sultry and oppressive.
2	69	76	73	4	63	63	59	S.E.	Ditto Morning hazy, afterwards cloudy.
3	70	69	70	69	69	69	69	West	6 A. M. hard rain all the morning, noon cloudy, after- [wards thick cloudy weather.
4	68	73	74	72	68	64	65	S.E.	Ditto Morning hazy, afterwards cloudy.
5	69	71	73	74	68	63	62	South	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
6	64	64	68	71	69	63	63	Ditto	Clear throughout.
7	70	74	74	74	73	67	64	West	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
8	70	78	71	69	76	71	69	Ditto	noon and afternoon cloudy, 6 P. M. squally. At daylight hard rain, 9 A. M. threw off hard rain.
9	68	71	72	70	70	69	67	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, with much rain in the morning.
10	68	72	72	70	68	67	64	South	Clear throughout.
11	69	71	71	69	72	67	67	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards squally and rainy.
12	69	69	70	68	70	69	69	West	night squally and rainy. Morning clear, 6–9 A. M. hard rain, afterwards clear.
13	66	69	70	68	68	69	67	South	Morning clear, noon squally, afterwards clear.
14	65	71	71	69	70	69	68	S. W.	Fine clear weather throughout.
15	68	73	70	69	72	69	68	South	[until 3 P. M. Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon much rain
16	70	74	72	70	70	67	70	Ditto	Fine clear weather throughout.
17	69	73	73	73	74	69	69	West	[winds fine weather. Morning clear, 10 A. M. rain for three hours, after-
18	69	69	73	70	74	69	67	Ditto	Clear throughout.
19	68	69	69	66	72	72	69	Ditto	Morning clear, noon hard shower, afterwards clear.
20	69	71	71	69	70	69	67	South	First part clear, afternoon light rain, hard rain at night.
21	67	68	73	71	68	68	67	Ditto	Clear throughout.
22	67	74	73	71	69	68	68	Ditto	[very hard rain. Ditto ditto, 5–6 A. M. hard rain, during the night
23	66	73	71	70	71	68	68	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, 4 P. M. light rain.
24	64	73	73	69	68	68	68	Ditto	Clear throughout.
25	67	73	74	71	69	68	68	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
26	68	74	74	72	69	68	68	Ditto	Ditto ditto. light rain in the evening, wet at night.
27	68	69	68	68	68	67	67	Ditto	[rainy night. First part clear, noon cloudy, afternoon light rain,
28	68	68	67	66	68	67	67	West	night. First part clear, afterwards cloudy, rainy and squally
29	67	68	67	66	68	67	67	Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon clear.
30	67	73	74	70	73	70	68	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
31	68	74	69	67	69	68	68	Ditto	Ditto ditto.

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SEPTEMBER 1815.

Day	Government Hill. 4 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	66	70	66	65	78	79	79	78	West	First part clear afterwards cloudy, with drizzling rain.
2	66	73	67	67	77	79½	80	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
3	67	71	70	68	79	80	81	78½	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
4	67	70	69	68	78	79½	78½	77½	Ditto	Morning clear; noon light showers, afterwards cloudy.
5	68	71	70	69	76	78	78	77	Ditto	Morning, early, hard rain for several hours.
6	67	72	71		76	78	78	78	Ditto	First part cloudy; noon clear, afterwards cloudy.
7	65	68	67	65	79	78	78	77	Ditto	Cloudy and showery weather throughout.
8	64½	67	68	66	76	78	78	77	Ditto	Morning heavy rain, noon clear.
9	65	68	68	66	76	76	78½	77	Ditto	Cloudy weather, and heavy showers throughout.
10	65	72	71	69	75½	77	79	77	South	Morning cloudy, afterwards clear.
11	67	74	72	70	77	82½	81	78	Ditto	Clear throughout.
12	67	74	73	70	78	81½	81	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
13	68	75	74	72	78	82	83½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
14	66	75	76	74	78	82	84	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
15	69	75½	75	73	79	84	84	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
16	70	77	77½	75	80	84½	84½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
17	70	76	76	74	80	84½	84½	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
18	69	72	70	69	79½	82	82½	79	West	First part clear afterwards light rain, evening clear.
19	66	72	72	70	78	81	81½	79	Ditto	First part rainy, afternoon fair.
20	68	76	75	73	78	83	84	79½	South	Morning hazy, noon rain, afterwards clear.
21	67	75	75	73	78	83	83½	81½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
22	69	73	74	73	79	82½	82½	80½	West	First part cloudy, afterwards squally with rain.
23	68	74½	76	74	77	79	79	78	South	[hard rain at night. Morning cloudy, squally, and rainy afternoon cloudy.
24	67	68	67	65	77	78½	79	76	West	[light rain. Morning and noon heavy rain, afternoon cloudy with
25	64½	68	68	66½	77	79	80	77½	Ditto	[night hard rain. Morning cloudy, noon clear, afternoon light rain,
26	66	68	68	66	77	77	77½	76½	Ditto	[hard rain all night. First part cloudy and hard rain, afternoon showery.
27	65½	69½	69	68½	76	77	78	77	Ditto	First part rainy, afterwards cloudy
28	67	72	71	69½	78½	79	80	78	Ditto	First part cloudy, afterwards clear.
29	68	72	70	69	78½	81	82	78	North	Clear throughout.
30	68	73	74	71½	78	81½	82	80	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy, afternoon clear

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OF MICHIGAN

OCTOBER 1815.

Day	Government Hill. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	67½	74½	75	72	78	81	81½	80	North	Clear throughout.
2	68	74	74	72	78	81	82½	81	Ditto	First part cloudy, afterwards clear.
3	67	73	73	71	77½	80	80	79½	Ditto	Morning drizzling rain, afterwards cloudy, night squally.
4	65	72½	72	70	77	79	79½	78½	Ditto	First part cloudy, afterwards clear.
5	67	72½	69	68	77	80	80	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
6	67	73	72	70	78½	80	80	78½	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
7	68	72	70	69	77	81	79	79	Ditto	First part clear, 2 P.M. a shower of rain, afterwards [clear.
8	68	69	69½	68	77½	75½	78½	78	Ditto	Morning clear, 10 P.M. cloudy and squally with rain [till noon, afterwards clear.
9	67	73	73	70	78	81	81½	77½	South	Clear throughout.
10	67	72	74	70	78½	80	81	79½	North	Ditto ditto, very hard rain during the night.
11	68	73	75	70	77	81	81½	78½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
12	67	70	70	68	77	80	81½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
13	67	69	70	69	77½	81	81½	78½	Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, very light rain.
14	68	71	70	69	78	80½	81	79	Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, afterwards clear.
15	67	72	71	70	78	80½	82	79½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
16	66	70	69	68	78	81½	80	79½	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy.
17	67	70	72	69	78	82	81	79½	Ditto	[cloudy, with light rain. Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon dark and
18	66	70	71	68½	77½	81	83	79½	Ditto	Clear throughout
19	67	73	74	72	77½	81	82½	80½	Varia.	Ditto ditto.
20	68	73	73	71	77½	81	82	79½	North	Clear throughout, hard rain during the night.
21	67½	70	68½	68	78	79	78½	77½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, afterwards drizzling rain.
22	66	68	70	69	76½	80½	82	79	West	Clear throughout.
23	67	73	73	70	78	81	81½	79	N W.	Ditto ditto.
24	68	74	73	70	77½	81	82	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
25	66	69	69½	68	78	79	81	79½	Ditto	[clear. Morning cloudy and squally with light rain, afterwards
26	65	68	69½	67	77½	80	80½	77½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, 8–9 hard rain.
27	65	67	68	67	75½	77	78	77	Ditto	[noon cloudy and drizzling, night rainy Morning hard rain for several hours, noon and after-
28	66	70	70	69	77½	79½	80½	78	Ditto	Morning cloudy, 7–8 hard rain, afterwards clear.
29	67	73	74	71	77½	80	81	79	Ditto	Clear throughout.
30	68½	72	73	71	77½	80	81½	79½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, 11–12 hard rain, afterwards clear.
31	68	70	72	70	78	78	78½	78	Ditto	Morning clear, 11–12 hard rain, afterwards clear.

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NOVEMBER 1815.

Days	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind	Weather noted from the Town.
1	68½	71	79½	70	77	80	81	78½	N.W	Clear throughout.
2	65	70	70	69	77½	81	81	78½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
3	68	70	71	69	77½	80	81	78	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, night rainy.
4	67	71	72	70	76½	78½	79½	78	Ditto	[heavy rain, afterwards clear Much rain during the night, morning squally with [clear night rainy
5	67	68	68	67	77	79½	80½	78½	Ditto	Morning clear, noon light drizzling rain, afterwards
6	67	72	71	70	77½	80½	80½	78	Ditto	First part clear, afterwards cloudy, night hard rain.
7	67	72	72	70	77	76	77½	77½	Ditto	[afterwards clear. Morning clear, afterwards drizzling rain, noon ditto,
8	69	73	72	71	77	81	81	79	Ditto	All day clear, evening rainy.
9	68	72	72	70	77½	81	81	78½	Ditto	[night rain. Morning and noon clear, afterwards squally, night
10	66	71	71	69	76½	79½	79	78½	Ditto	[ditto. Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon rainy, night
11	66	70	71	69	76½	77½	79½	78	Ditto	[night ditto. Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy and rainy,
12	66	69	68	68	75½	80	78½	77	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon steady rain.
13	66	70	70½	68	75½	79	80	77½	Ditto	Day clear throughout, night 8–9 hard rain.
14	65	68	68	67	75½	77	77½	76	Ditto	Morning cloudy and rainy, afterwards cloudy.
15	65	67	68	66	75½	77	78½	77	Ditto	Cloudy throughout.
16	65	72	70	69	76½	79½	80	77	Ditto	Clear throughout.
17	67	69	70	69	76	79	79½	77	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
18	67½	68	68½	69	77	79½	80	77	Ditto	Ditto ditto, 5–7 P.M. hard rain.
19	66	69	70	69	75½	79	79	77	Ditto	Cloudy throughout.
20	68	70	70	71	75½	79	80	77½	South	Clear throughout, 7–8 P.M. hard rain.
21	68	72	72	70	76½	80	78	77½	N.W	Morning and noon clear, afternoon squally and rainy.
22	67	71	70	69	75½	79½	78½	77	Ditto	Ditto ditto, afternoon cloudy, 5–8 P.M. hard rain.
23	68	69	69	68	76	79	79	76½	Ditto	[ditto. Ditto ditto, afternoon light rain and cloudy, night
24	66	70	71	68	76	79½	79	77	Ditto	[hard rain. Ditto ditto, afternoon cloudy and light rain, night
25	67	71	69	68	76	80½	81	76½	Ditto	Clear throughout, evening 5–7 hard rain, night rainy.
26	65	72	72	69	76½	80½	81	77	Ditto	[6–7½ hard rain. Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, night
27	66	73	72	69	76	79	80	77½	Ditto	Clear throughout, hard rain at night.
28	67	70	68	63	76½	79	80	78½	Ditto	Morning clear, noon and afternoon cloudy.
29	66	70	71	69	76	79	80	78	North	Morning cloudy, noon and afternoon clear.
30	66	71	70	68	76½	80	79	77½	Ditto	[thunder and lightning. Morning and noon clear, afternoon squally, hard rain,

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DECEMBER 1815.

Date	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	8 P.M.	George Town. 8 A.M.	8 P.M.	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	67	70	69	68	76	77½	77	76½	N.W	Morning and noon cloudy; afternoon light rain.
2	65	69	68	68	76	79½	79	77	Ditto	Morning and noon clear; afterwards cloudy.
3	67	70	67	67	76	80	77½	76½	West	Ditto ditto, and light rain; night ditto.
4	64½	68	70	69	74½	77½	78	76½	Ditto	[afternoon clear. Morning dark, squally, and hard rain; noon cloudy,
5	68	70	71	69	75½	78	79½	77½	Ditto	Clear throughout, night drizzling rain.
6	65	67	70	68	76½	78	78½	76½	Ditto	[and afternoon clear; night rainy Morning clear; 7 A. M. cloudy; 8–9 hard rain noon
7	66	71	72	68	74½	78½	80	77	N.W	[ditto Clear throughout, 5 P. M. hard squall, with rain night
8	65	69	68	67	76½	77	77	77½	North	[heavy rain, afternoon cloudy. Morning clear; noon hard squall, with thunder and
9	64	71	70	68	76	80	80	77½	N.W	[heavy rain. Morning and noon clear afternoon hard squall, with
10	64	68	68	67	76	79	79½	77½	Ditto	[day. Clear throughout; monsoon very fresh throughout the
11	62	66	67	65	74½	78½	79½	76	Ditto	Ditto ditto, and steady.
12	62	66	67	64½	74½	78	79	76½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
13	62	66	69	67½	72½	77	78	75½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
14	62	70	69	66½	73	78	80	76	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
15	63	71	70	68	74	79	80	77	North	Clear day throughout, steady breezes.
16	64	70	72	70	75	79½	81	78	Ditto	[hard squall, with heavy rain. Morning and noon clear afterwards cloudy; 6 P. M.
17	64	71	72	70	75½	78½	80	76½	Ditto	Clear day throughout; evening squally, with a little rain.
18	64	72	72	70	76	78	80	78	Ditto	Clear throughout.
19	63	71	71	69	74½	78½	80	78	Ditto	[squally with a little rain. Morning and noon clear afterwards cloudy evening
20	64	71	71	68	75½	79	80½	76½	Ditto	[rain; evening hard rain. Morning and noon clear afterwards cloudy, with a little
21	63½	70	70	69	76	79	79½	76½	N.W	Clear throughout.
22	64	71	70	68	75½	79	80	76½	Ditto	[very light rain. Morning and noon clear, afterwards cloudy, evening
23	63½	68	68	67	75	78½	79½	77	North	Clear throughout with steady breezes.
24	64	70	70	68	76	79	78	77	Ditto	[with rain, steady breezes. Morning and noon clear afterwards cloudy and squally,
25	63½	68	65	64½	75½	79	77	77	N.W	[out the day, with a little rain. Morning clear afterwards cloudy, fresh breeze through
26	62½	68	67	65½	75½	79	80½	77½	North	[yesterday Morning and noon clear afterwards cloudy, wind as
27	62½	66	66	65½	76	78	78½	77	N. E.	Ditto ditto ditto.
28	62	65½	66	64	76	76	76½	76	West	[rain. Cloudy and squally throughout, with a little drizzling
29	61½	65	65½	63½	75	76	75½	75	East	Cloudy and squally, with drizzling rain throughout.
30	61	64	64	63½	74	74½	75	75	Ditto	Cloudy and squally throughout.
31	61½	64½	66	65	72½	76	75½	75	Ditto	Cloudy throughout.

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JANUARY 1816.

Date.	Government House.				George Town.				Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.		
1	83	86	85	84½	74	75	76	75	N. E.	Morning squally with rain, noon cloudy afternoon [ditto with drizzling rain.
2	84	87½	70	69	74	77	78	76	Varia	Clear throughout.
3	83	89	68	67	73½	78	79	76	N. E.	Ditto ditto, with strong N.E. breezes all day.
4	82	87	68	67	74	78½	79½	76	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
5	80	82	69	67	73	78½	79	75½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, strong breezes all day.
6	80	70	71	67	73	77	78½	77	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
7	83	78	71	69	74	78	79	76½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, breezes steady and moderate.
8	84	70	71	68	74½	78	80	77½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
9	81	70	69	68	75	75	80½	76½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, very hot day.
10	81	70	74	69	73½	79	80	78½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
11	82	68	70	69	74	79	79½	78½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
12	80	68	67	65	73½	78	79	76½	N.W.	Ditto ditto, steady breeze all day.
13	80	67	68	65	73½	77	78	75½	Ditto	[yesterday Morning clear, noon and afternoon cloudy, breeze as
14	80	70	71	66	73	77	78½	76	Ditto	Clear throughout, breeze ditto.
15	81	70	70	66	74	79	81	75½	Ditto	Ditto ditto ditto.
16	80	70	74	68	74½	77½	80	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto, breeze faint.
17	81	71	73	68	74	79	81	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto, breeze steady, but moderate.
18	84	70	68	66	76	78½	79½	77	Ditto	[squall with rain. Morning clear, noon and afternoon cloudy, 4 P. M.
19	83	73	70	69	76	78½	81	78½	Ditto	Clear throughout; wind moderate.
20	84	72	69	68	76	78½	81	78	Ditto	Ditto ditto, ditto
21	83	73	72	69	76½	80	81½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, wind faint.
22	84	73	71	69	76½	79½	81½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, breeze faint.
23	87	74	73	70	76	79	82½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, ditto.
24	87	74	74	72	76	80	81	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, ditto.
25	88	74	73	71	76½	80½	81½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, ditto.
26	87	74	73	71	76½	80½	81½	78½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
27	87	74	73	71	76	79	81½	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
28	86	73	75	72	75½	80½	82	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
29	87	75	76	72	76	81	82	79½	Ditto	[lightning. Morning and noon clear afternoon cloudy with [the afternoon.
30	87	70	74	70	76½	80½	82	79	North	Clear throughout, strong wind from the eastward in
31	84	72	73	70	76½	81	80½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto all day.

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FEBRUARY 1816.

Days	Government Hill. George Town. 8 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	64	74	72	70	77	82	82	79	North	Clear throughout.
2	64	72	70	71	76½	80½	82½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
3	65	72	72	71	77	81	84½	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
4	64	74	72	72	77	80½	82½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
5	63	72	74	72	72	81	82	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
6	64	74	72	70	75½	80	80½	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
7	66	75	74	72	76	81	82½	80	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
8	67	75	75	73	76½	81½	82½	80½	N.W	Ditto ditto.
9	68	74	74	72½	76½	83	84½	81	South	Ditto ditto, evening dark and threatening rain, [with puffs of wind.
10	69	74	73	71	76½	82	83½	82	Ditto	Clear throughout.
11	68	74	74	72	79½	80½	84½	81	N.W	Ditto ditto.
12	67	73	73	71	79	80½	82	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
13	65	74	76	73	78	81	82½	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
14	67	76	77	74	75½	78½	80½	79½	North	Ditto ditto.
15	68	74	76	74	75½	80½	82	78½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
16	66	74	74	72	74	81	82½	79½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
17	68	74	75	73	77	80½	82½	80	Varia.	Ditto ditto.
18	68	76	75	72	75	80½	82	80½	N.W	Ditto ditto.
19	68	77	78	73	79	80	84	80½	Ditto	Ditto ditto
20	66	76	76	73	79½	80½	80½	81	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
21	68	76	77	71	77	80	83	84	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
22	68	78	76	71	75	81½	85	80½	Varia	Ditto ditto.
23	64	76	77	72	76½	84	84	81½	North	Ditto ditto.
24	65	78	77	72	77½	84½	83½	82	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
25	66	76	77	72	80	81½	82½	81½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
26	66	78	77	72	77½	82	84	81½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
27	60	76	76½	70	77½	81	85	79	Ditto	Ditto ditto, about sunset hard squall with rain
28	66	76	72	69	78	82	84½	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
29	67	74	72	69	76	82	84	79½	Varia.	Ditto ditto, evening squally, with very hard showers

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MARCH 1816.

Day	Government Hill. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	George Town. 6 P.M.	12	3 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	65	74	72	69	77	81½	80	76½ N. W.	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy evening light rain.
2	68	74	73	69	77½	81½	82	80½ Ditto	[with rain. Morning and noon clear, afterwards cloudy and squally
3	66	74	72	70	80	81	83½	81 Varia.	Cloudy throughout.
4	67	74	75	71	80	81	82	81½ S. W.	Clear throughout.
5	67	75	74	71	78½	82½	85½	80 Varia.	[southerly winds) sunset, squally with hard rain. Morning and noon clear; afternoon cloudy, (strong
6	69	74	74	70	78	82	84½	82 West	Clear throughout.
7	68	75	76	72	77	82	84	81 N. W.	Ditto ditto.
8	66	76	74	70	76½	82½	83½	79 Ditto	[gun-fire, squally with hard rain, during night much heavy rain. Morn. and noon clear; aftern. cloudy wi h thunder and lights., [w h heavy rain.
9	68	71	68	68	77	79½	80½	77 Varia.	Morning and noon cloudy afternoon dark and squally,
10	67	68	71	68	76	80	80	79½ S. W.	Morning clear, noon and afternoon cloudy, with rain.
11	67	74	74	70	75½	76½	81	79½ N. W.	Morning and noon cloudy afternoon clear.
12	68	73	72	69	78½	82	80	79½ Ditto	[showery Morning and noon clear afternoon cloudy and
13	68	73	72	69	77	81	82	80½ Ditto	Clear throughout.
14	68	73	73	69	78	82	83	78½ Ditto	[showers. Morning and noon clear afternoon cloudy with light
15	67	73	73	69	76½	82	84	81 West	[thunder, lightning, and torrents of rain. Clear throughout night, most violent squall, with
16	68	72	74	70	78	84	83	82 Ditto	Clear throughout.
17	68	72	72	69	81	82	80	81 Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, afternoon clear.
18	68	73	72	69	79	82	83½	82 Ditto	Clear throughout: evening very light rain.
19	68	72	73	70	80	82	83½	82 Ditto	Morning hazy, noon, very light rain afternoon clear.
20	68	75	75	71	79	82	84	82½ Ditto	Clear throughout; evening, lightning, with dark clouds.
21	69	75	76	72	75½	82	83½	81 S. W.	[P. M. very hard squall, and heavy rain. Clear throughout, evening, cloudy with lightning, 9
22	69	75	76	72	79	81½	82½	81½ Ditto	Clear throughout.
23	69	75	76	72	79	82½	83½	82 Ditto	[ning night very hard rain. Ditto ditto, 9 P. M. hard rain, thunder, and light-
24	68	76	75	72	80½	82	83	81 Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy.
25	69	76	77	73	79½	83½	85	82½ Ditto	Clear throughout; southerly wind all day.
26	70	77	75	73	80	83	85	83 Ditto	Clear throughout.
27	70	79	78	74	80	82½	84½	81½ Varia.	Ditto ditto.
28	70	76	76½	73	78½	83	85	82½ Ditto	Ditto ditto.
29	69	76½	76	73	80	84	87	83 S. W.	Ditto ditto.
30	68	76½	77	73	79½	84	86½	80½ Varia.	[lightning, with rain. Morning and noon clear, 9 P. M. squally, thunder and
31	69	75	76	72	78½	82	83	82½ Ditto	Clear throughout.

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APRIL. 1816.

Date.	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	68	75	76	72	78½	83	85	81	S. W	Morning and noon clear afternoon cloudy, with squalls [and rain.
2	69	74	75½	71	78½	83	84	81½	Ditto	Clear throughout, evening squally with hard rain.
3	69	75	76	72	79½	83	84½	81½	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, with [thunder and lightning.
4	68	76	75	72	78½	83½	85	82	Ditto	Clear throughout.
5	69	76	75	71	79½	83½	84½	81	Ditto	[with thunder, lightning, and light rain. Morning and noon clear. afternoon cloudy and squally.
6	68	72	72	70	77½	83	84	82½	West	Clear throughout.
7	69	72	72½	70	78	82	82½	81½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
8	69	76	75	72	78	82	85	82	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
9	69	75	75	72	78½	81½	83	81½	Ditto	Morning and noon clear. afternoon cloudy.
10	69	74	74	72	78	82	85	82½	Ditto	[lightning, and heavy rain. Clear throughout, 11 P. M hard squall, with thunder,
11	70	74	74	71	80	82½	85½	82½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
12	69	75	74	71	80	82½	85½	83	Ditto	Ditto ditto, light showers during the night.
13	69	75	75	72	80½	84	85½	84	Ditto	Clear throughout.
14	70	74	74	71	83	84½	85½	82½	Ditto	[rains, and torrents of rain throughout the night Ditto ditto, continued peals of thunder, vivid light
15	69	74	74	72	80	83	84½	82½	Ditto	Clear throughout
16	70	74	75	72	80	83	84	81	S. W	Morning and noon cloudy afternoon clear.
17	70	76	76	73	80	83	83½	80	Ditto	Clear throughout, 7 P.M. hard rain for half an hour.
18	70	75	74	71	78	83	83½	81½	Ditto	Ditto ditto, 4 P.M. hard shower, afterwards clear.
19	69	76	75	72	79	83	84½	82½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
20	69	73	70	70	80½	84	84	80½	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy
21	69	72	73	70	79½	84	85	83	Ditto	Morning and noon clear.
22	68	72	73	72	80	83½	84	82	West	Clear throughout
23	69	76	76	73	80½	84	85	82½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
24	69	75	75	72	80½	84	85½	83½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
25	69	73	73	71	81½	84½	83½	82	Ditto	[hard shower. Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, 5 P M. a
26	70	74	74	72	82	83	83½	81½	Ditto	Hazy and cloudy throughout.
27	70	73	73	72	80½	83	83½	82½	Ditto	Hazy throughout.
28	70	75	75	72	82	82½	82½	81½	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, 9 P.M. a slight shower.
29	70	73	73	72	81	82	83½	81½	Ditto	Morning clear. afterwards cloudy.
30	70	73	73	72	78½	82	83	79	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, 7 P.M. hard rain, night rainy.

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MAY 1816.

Date.	Government Hill. 8 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	George Town. 6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
1	70	74	75	72	78	82	83½	81	West	Clear throughout, very hard rain during the night.
2	70	74	74	73	78	81	84	80	Ditto	[a hard squall, and rain for several hours. Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, 5 P.M. [with rain, night rainy
3	70	75	74	72	79	82	81½	80	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon thick hazy weather
4	70	75	74	72	79	81	81½	80	S.W	Cloudy throughout, 6 P.M. hard rain for several hours.
5	69	74	72	70	79	83	82½	81	Ditto	Ditto ditto, afternoon rainy
6	69	77	77	73	79½	83	82½	79	West	[squall and hard shower evening rainy Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, 4 P.M. a
7	69	76	75	72	78	82	83	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
8	70	74	74	72	79½	81	81½	80	S.W	[rainy. Morning clear, afterwards cloudy and squally, evening
9	69	76	75	70	77½	84½	84	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
10	70	75	75	71	78½	82	81	80	South	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy, night rainy
11	68	74	74	70	78½	81	82	79½	S.W.	Morning showery, noon cloudy, afterwards showery
12	68	74	74	72	77½	81	82	81	Ditto	Clear throughout.
13	68	74	74	72	79½	82½	83	81	West	Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy.
14	68	75	74	70	80	83	83	81½	Ditto	Cloudy throughout.
15	68	75	74	72	81	83	85	83½	South	Clear throughout.
16	68	76	74	72	79½	82½	83½	81½	West	Cloudy throughout.
17	69	75	74	72	80	83	83	81½	S.W	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy.
18	69	75	75	72	80	84	84½	81½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
19	68	75	74	72	80	82½	84	82½	South	Morning cloudy, with light rain, afterwards clear
20	69	75	75	72½	79½	83	84	81½	S.W	[clear Morning dark and squally, with hard rain, afterwards
21	69	75	74½	72	80	83	83½	82½	West	Clear throughout.
22	69	75	75	72	80	83	84	82½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
23	69	74	74	72	80	83½	84½	81½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
24	69	74	74	72	80½	83½	84	83	Ditto	[fine squall with hard rain, night much rain Morning clear, noon light shower, afternoon clear, gun-
25	69	73	72	70	81½	83	83	81	Ditto	Cloudy throughout, with frequent hard showers.
26	69	72	72	70	80	81½	82½	81½	Ditto	Morning cloudy and rainy, afterwards cloudy
27	69	71	71	69	80	82½	82	80	Ditto	Squally day throughout with very hard showers.
28	67½	72	73	70	78½	80½	81	79½	Ditto	[cloudy. Morning cloudy with hard rain, noon clear, afternoon
29	68	73	73	70	79	80½	81	80	Ditto	Morning clear, noon very hard rain, afternoon cloudy
30	69	75	75	72	79	80½	82	80	Ditto	Clear throughout.
31	69	75	75	72	78½	82½	83	80½	South	Ditto ditto.

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JUNE 1816.

Date.	Government Hill.			George Town.			Wind.	Weather noted from the Town.
	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.	6 A.M.	12	3 P.M.	9 P.M.		
1	70	75	75	70	80	84½	83½	81½	South	Clear throughout.
2	69	78	78	72	80	84½	85½	83½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
3	70	78	78	72	81	84½	86	82½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
4	70	76	76	72	80	84½	85½	83½	Ditto	Ditto ditto.
5	70	77	76	70	82½	83½	85	82½	S.W	Ditto ditto.
6	70	78	75	71½	80½	83	84	82½	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards cloudy
7	69	76	73	72	79½	81½	82	79	Ditto	Morning cloudy, 9 A M squall with very hard rain, [afterwards cloudy
8	69	76	75	71	78½	81	81	80	Ditto	Morning and noon clear. afterwards cloudy, with light [shower
9	69	75	76	71	80½	82½	84	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
10	68	78	76	72	79	84	85½	82	South	Ditto ditto.
11	69	77	74	73	80½	85½	85	82	Ditto	Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy.
12	69	74	74	70	80½	80½	84	81½	West	Ditto ditto, ditto, with light rain.
13	69	75	76	72	80½	82	83½	81	Ditto	Morning clear, afterwards squali with rain. noon and [afternoon clear very hard rain, and much rain afterwards.
14	68	76	75	72	79	83½	85	80	Ditto	Morning cloudy with light rain, afterwards clear 9 P M rainy
15	68	74	74	69	79	80½	80	78½	Ditto	Morning cloudy and squally noon cloudy afternoon
16	68	67	72	69	76½	78½	79	78	Ditto	Cloudy and very rainy throughout, 10 P M hard rain
17	68	70	72	71	78½	79	80	76½	Ditto	[afternoon squally with hard rain. Daylight very hard rain, morning and noon cloudy
18	68	75	75	71	76½	70½	82½	76½	Ditto	[all night. Morning and noon cloudy, afternoon clear, hard rain
19	68	70	74	69	78	78½	79½	78	Ditto	Morning rainy, afterwards cloudy
20	65	74	74	69½	77	80	80½	78	Ditto	[and rain Morning very hard rain, noon clear afternoon cloudy
21	67	75	74	71	77	81½	82	80½	Ditto	Clear throughout.
22	70	76	74	70	79	82½	82	76½	Ditto	very rainy Morning and noon clear, afternoon cloudy, evening
23	67	66	69	69	77	78	80	78	Ditto	Morning cloudy with much rain, afterwards cloudy.
24	7	3	7	70	77	0	8	79	Ditto	Morning clear, noon cloudy, afterwards clear.
25	68	69	68	67	78	75	78	76	Ditto	[evening rains Morning clear, noon very hard rain. afternoon cloudy
26	64	69	70	69	75½	80	79½	77½	Ditto	Cloudy throughout.
27	68	74	74	71	77	81	82	79½	Ditto	Clear throughout. much rain during the night
28	68	74	74	71	76½	81	82½	78½	Ditto	Morning cloudy, evening squally with very hard rain, [evening and night much hard rain
29	68	69	70	69	78	81	82	78	Ditto	Morning cloudy. noon clear. afterwards showery. [and night very hard rain.
30	68	72	71	69	78	81	82	78½	Ditto	Morning and noon cloudy afternoon showery evening

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ABSTRACT OF THE METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER,

Kept at the Library in George Town, Prince of Wales' Island, 1820-1821.

MONTHS.	Average Range of the Thermometer at			Greatest Height of the Thermometer during the Month.			Prevailing Winds.	Number of Days Rain in the Month.
	7 A.M.	12 Noon.	4 P.M.	7 A.M.	12 Noon.	4 P.M.		
1820.								
July	78½	81½	82½	80	84	85	W	3
August	80½	82½	83½	81½	85	87½	N.W.	10
September	78½	81½	83	82	86	88½	N.W	13
October	77½	81½	82½	80	85	86½	N.W	13
November	77½	83	82½	80	84	85	N.W	5
December	77½	80½	81½	77	82½	85	N W	7
1821.								
January	77½	79½	82½	78½	82	85½	N.W	5
February	78	82½	85	79½	84½	77	N.W	2
March	78½	83	85½	79½	86	87	N W.&S.E.	5
April	76	78	79½	80	86	86½	S E.&N W	11
May	79½	84	85½	80	87	89	S.E. & N.W	6
June	77½	84	85	83	88	88	N W.&S.E.	9
July	77½	82½	85½	83½	88	88½	S.E.& NW	4
August	78	81½	82	84	87	88½	S.E.	8
September	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
October	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
November	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
December	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

METEOROLOGICAL REGISTER,

Kept at the Library in George Town, Prince of Wales' Island, 1823.

MONTHS.	Mean Sum of the Thermometer at			Number of Days Rain in the Month.	Greatest Height of the Thermometer during the Month at these Periods.		
	8 A.M.	12 Noon.	4 P.M.		8 M.A.	12 Noon.	4 P.M.
1823.							
January	76	82½	84	6	80½	85	86½
February	79	83	84½	10	81	86½	87½
March	80½	84½	86½	6	81½	87½	90
April	79½	84	86	11	82	87½	89
May	79½	84	85½	8	81	87	87½
June	79½	83½	86	7	81	87	89
July	79½	83½	85½	12	82½	86½	88
August	79½	83½	85½	9	81	86	87½
September	78½	81½	83½	13	81½	87	89
October	76½	79½	80	16	80	84	86
November	78½	81½	82	11	80	84½	85
December	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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APPENDIX, No. III.

DONATIONS

TO THE

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,

FROM ITS INSTITUTION, MARCH 15, 1823, TO MARCH 15, 1827.

I. DONATIONS OF MONEY

James Alexander, Esq., M.P., Treasurer R.A.S.	£50	0	0
J. Dupré Alexander, Esq., M.P., M.R.A.S.	20	0	0
Henry Alexander, Esq., M.P., M.R.A.S.	10	10	0
H. T. Colebrooke, Esq., Director R.A.S.	10	10	0
Edward Fletcher, Esq., M.R.A.S.	20	0	0
Daniel Moore, Esq., M.R.A.S.	50	0	0
Sir G. T. Staunton, Bart., Vice-President R.A.S.	50	0	0
W. H. Trant, Esq., M.R.A.S.	6	6	0
	£217	6	0

II. DONATIONS OF BOOKS, &c.

By Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., V.P.R.A.S., *March* 20, 1823, &c.

A very extensive and valuable collection of books in the Chinese language, and of works on China in European languages. The following letter explains the nature of the collection, and the donor's object in presenting it to the Society.

Copy of a Letter from Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart., to the late G. H. Noehden, Esq., LL.D., Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society.

"Sir, Having, in the course of my residence in China, formed a considerable collection of "Chinese printed books, and also of manuscript dictionaries and other works of Europeans, "calculated to assist the student in the acquisition of a knowledge of the language and literature "of the Chinese, I feel confident that I cannot more effectually promote the object I had in

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"view in making this collection, namely, the more general acquaintance in this country with "whatever may be found curious or useful among the productions of the Chinese press, than by "a respectful offer of the collection to the Royal Asiatic Society.

"My wish is that it should be preserved entire, and placed in such a situation as may admit "of it's being at all times readily accessible to the British and other students of Chinese literature who may frequent this metropolis, under such regulations as the Royal Asiatic Society may "deem it expedient to prescribe.

It is not in my power at present to offer to the Society an exact catalogue of the collection, but the enclosed memorandum will convey a general idea of its nature and extent.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"19, *Portland Place,*
"*March* 20, 1823."

(Signed) "GEO THO. STAUNTON."

MEMORANDUM *of a Collection of Chinese printed Books, presented to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland by Sir* GEORGE THOMAS STAUNTON, *Bart., V P R.A.S.*

Works.		Vols.
15.	CLASS 1. *Ancient Literature or Classics of the Chinese* including those of Confucius, and a Mantchoo Tartar translation of what are called the *Four Books* .. .. ..

By Sir Geo. Tho. Staunton, Bart., V.P.R.A.S.—Continued.

Works.		Vols.
	Annals of Particular Periods, History of the Four First Emperors of the Reigning Dynasty, Biography of the "Wise and Good;" Biography of Illustrious Women. Conquests of the Emperor Kien Long, &c. . . .	246
30	Class 7.—*Laws and Government*, viz. The Present Civil, Penal, and Fiscal Codes, Penal and other Codes of Former Dynasties, Reports of adjudged Cases in Courts of Law. Instructions for Readers, Series of Imperial Pekin Gazettes, Collection of Provincial Reports and Government Decisions. Official Instructions on Moral Duties, Court Kalendar, &c. . .	554
14.	Class 8.—Doctrines of Foe and other Superstitions, including	56
7	Class 9.—*Publications of the Catholic and Protestant Missionaries.* Manuals, Summaries of Faith, Translations from the Scriptures, &c.	20
24	Class 10.—*Miscellaneous*, viz. Treatises on Ceremonials, Games of Chess and Draughts, Miscellaneous Instructions, Books for Children, Treatises on Coins and Medals, Extracts from Scarce Books, Catalogues of the Imperial and other Libraries, &c.	222

Summary of the whole.

Class.	Works.	Vols.
1. Chinese Classics	15	109
2. Dictionaries	22	486
3. Arts and Sciences	25	232
4. Travels and Geography	27	270
5. Poetry, Plays and Novels	28	677
6. History and Biography	9	246
7. Laws and Government	30	554
8. Native Superstitions	14	56
9. Books on Christianity	7	20
10. Miscellaneous	24	222
	186	2,610

Sir George Leonard Staunton's Account of Macartney's Embassy to China. London, 1797, 2 vols. 4to. with atlas, folio.

Sir George Thomas Staunton's Miscellaneous Notices relating to China. London, 1822, 8vo.

Sir George Thomas Staunton's Account of the British Embassy to Pekin, in 1816. Havant, 1824, 8vo.

Bengal Regulations, 793, folio.

Fourmont's Grammatica Sinica. Paris, 1742, folio.

A MS. French and Chinese Dictionary, folio.

Dictionarium Latino Sinicum, MS. 2 tom. folio.

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By Sir Geo. Thos. Staunton, Bart., V.P.R.A.S.—Continued.

Historia Trium Imperiorum Sinarum, a MS. Latin Translation of the San Kwo Che. folio.

Nieuhoff's Legatio Batavica ad Magnum Tartariæ Chamum. Amsterdam, 1668, folio.

Papers connected with Sir T. S. Raffles' Governorship of Java. folio.

Appendix to Bengal Papers, 1774-5. folio.

Pisonis De Indiæ utriusque re naturali et medica. Amsterdam, 1658, folio.

Harrington's Bengal Regulations, 1805-1809, folio.

Reports on Bengal, &c. 1782-1783. 2 vols. folio.

Papers on East-India Freight, 1780 to 1791, 1796 to 1797; 3 vols. folio.

Mailla's Tong Kien Kang Mou, Histoire Générale de la Chine. Paris, 1777-1785, 13 tom. 4to.

Mémoires concernant les Chinois. Paris, 1776-1814, 16 tom. 4to.

Marshman's Chinese Grammar. Serampore, 1814, 4to.

Amyot's Dictionnaire Tartare Mantchou Français. Paris, 1789-1790, 3 tom.

Robertson's Memoir of a Chart of the Chinese Sea. London, 1791, 4to.

Hager's Pantheon Chinois. Paris, 1800, 4to.

Navarrete's Historia de. Reyno de la China. 4to. Madrid, 1675.

Marshman's Works of Confucius, vol. i. containing Shang-Lun. Serampore 1809, 4to.

Hager's Numismatique Chinoise. Paris, 1805, 4to.

Amyot's Lettre de Pekin sur la Langue Chinoise. Bruxelles, 1773, 4to.

De Rhodes' Divers Voyages en la Chine, &c. Paris, 1681, 4to.

Ricci's Expedito Christianæ ad Sinas. Lugduni, 1616, 4to.

Vocabulario de Japon declarado en Castellano. Manilæ, 1630, 4to.

Papers on the Restoration of the King of Tanjore. London, 1787, 7 vols. 4to.

Dictionarium Latino Sinicum. 2 tom. 4to. MS.

Gladwin's English and Persian Vocabulary. Madras, 1780, 4to.

Collado's Grammatica Japonica. Romæ, 1632, 4to.

East-Indian Treaties and Grants, 1774, 4to.

East-India Charters, 1772, 4to.

Defence of Lord Pigot. London, 1778, 4to.

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* For the Chinese character see plate XIII. No. X.

† Plate XIII. No. XI.—For an account of Sung ta zhin, see Macartney's Embassy to China, Vol. II. pages 357 and 448; also page 397 of this volume.

‡ Plate XIII. No. XII.

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- An Ink Stone.
- A Steel Yard.
- Specimens of Playing Cards.
- Specimens of Wooden Printing Type.
- Tinder made from Paper.
- An Envelope for a Letter.
- A Rouging Cloth.

} Chinese.

Two large Chinese Coins of the Emperor Shun-tsung, who reigned from A.D. 1068 to 1086, one bearing the name He-ning, the other bearing the name Yuen-fung.

Four Tung Kingese Coins, bearing the names Canh-hung, Quang-trung, Canh-thinh, and Gia-laong, coined between 1740 and 1820.

A Series of Coins, in Duplicate, of the Tai-tsing Dynasty, now reigning in China. (This series is engraved, Plate III., and described pages 857-8 of this volume).

By Lieut. James Brooke. ..... Dec. 2, 1825

An Arabian Silver-mounted Dagger.

An Arabian Silver-mounted Knife.

By Captain Philip Parker King, M.R.A.S. ..... Jan. 7, 1826.

- Three Models of Canoes.
- A Turtle Spear
- Four Flint Knives.
- Two Flint Hammers.
- A Throwing Stick.
- Three Wooden Missile Weapons.
- A Collection of Spears.

} From Australia.

By Sir R. Colquhoun, Bart. ..... Jan. 7, 1826.

The *Mowal*, or Blue Pheasant (Impeyan), inhabiting the base of the Himalaya Mountains.

The *Sing Chirs*, or Horned Pheasant (Phasianus Satyrus), inhabiting the base of the Himalaya Mountains.

A large Moth (Bombyx Atlas, Linn.) the Larva of which feeds on the Barberry Bush.

The Myrmelion, or Lion Ant.

Butter, the Produce of the *Churi*, or Butter Tree of Kumaon.

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By Sir R. Calquhoun, Bart.—(Continued.)

The H[illegible] of the Hucrou Hydrocorax of the Tarai, at the Base of the Kumaon Hills.
A Snake preserved in Spirits, found at Huwal Hagh, in Kumaon.
Two Teeth of the Mountain Tiger.
A Pair of Horns of the Bhurl or Wild Sheep.
A Pair of Horns of the Mountain Deer.
Two Teeth of the Mountain Leopard.
Four Tusks of the Musk Deer.
Skin of the Bhurl or Wild Sheep.
Horn of an Antelope.
Fossil Bones, from the Himalaya Mountains.

By Colonel J. Young [illegible] *Jan.* 7, 1826.

A Burmese Harp.

By the Rev. Robert Morrison, D.D. M.R.A.S. [illegible] *Feb.* 18, 1826.

Two Specimens of Lava from Owhyhee.

By Lieut.-Col. W. Farquhar, M.R.A.S. [illegible] *June* 17, 1826.

The Skeleton Head of an Elephant.
The Lower Jaw of ditto.
Two Thigh Bones of ditto.
The Skeleton Head of a Royal Tiger.
The Skeleton Head of a Black Tiger.
The Skeleton Head of a Baby Rôus.
The Skeleton Head of the Tapir of Malacca.

By Lieut.-Col. John Monckton Coombs, M.R.A.S. [illegible] *June* 17, 1826.

Four Poisoned Arrows, for the Blow-pipe, from Celebes.
A Specimen of Cuspidaria, or India Rubber, from Prince of Wales' Island.
A Case of Malay Cockspurs.
A Specimen of the Phasmus Gracilis, or Stick Insect, from Prince of Wales' Island.

By Major-Gen. Walker, M.R.A.S. [illegible] *Nov.* 4, 1826.

Five small Hindu Leaden Coins, with the Inscription "Sri Rama, Raja Rama."

By Captain Gowan, M.R.A.S. [illegible] *Nov.* 4, 1826.

Two Tails of the Yak from Tibet.

By Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq. [illegible] *Nov.* 4, 1826.

The following Articles from Bhotan.

The Mooni, or Praying Cylinder.

Google

By Brian Houghton Hodgson, Esq.—(Continued.)

A Rosary.
Needle-Case and Needles, worn by both Sexes, suspended from the Girdle.
A Hollow Trinket for holding the Divine Lama's Excrement, worn round the Neck as an Amulet.
A Wooden Drinking Cup, constantly carried in the Bosom.
A Lock and Key of an ingenious construction.
Amulets, containing Deprecatory Prayers, worn round the Neck, &c. Some are open for inspection.
A Guard to protect the Eyes from the glare of Snow.
A Mould, for the casting of Earthen Idols.
Three Blocks of Birch, used in Printing.
A White Silk Scarf, to envelop Letters of Ceremony.
Two Horns of the Chiroo, or Himalayan Antelope, and one of the Gooroong.
Models in Clay of the Chactyee or Pyramidal Temple, appropriated to the principal Gods of the Bauddhists.
Four Objects of Worship.
A Sword worn by a Priest, the scabbard ornamented with silver Filagree-work.

By Col. William Francklin, M.R.A.S., ... Nov. 4, 1829.

A Collection of Minerals from the Jungle Pherry, consisting of Quartz, Granite, Chalcedony, Agate, Mica, &c.
A Statue of Surya from Indra Pye, on the Banks of the Kyal, near Rampur.
A Statue of Buddha.
A Headless Statue of Buddha, from Kashdi, near Colgong.
A Head of Buddha, from Indra Pye.
Bricks and Tiles from the King's Tomb and Gateway and the Nuttia Masjid at Gour. They were found in the jungle near the Mosques.
An Image of Parswanath, in Basalt.
A Sculpture, representing Rama and Sita, in Alabaster.
Part of a Statue, bearing a Sceptre or Mace.
The Stone Figure of a Lion.
The Bust of a Hindu Goddess.
An Oblong Piece of Moulding.
Fragment of a Column, with a Male and Female Figure.

By Sir A. Johnston, Bart., V.P.R.A.S. ..... Dec. 2, 1826.

A Rope for catching Elephants.
A Chabuk used for Flagellation.
A Forestaff, used in Navigation by the Maldivians.
Two Collections of Specimens of Dried Plants.

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By Sir A. Johnston, Bart., V.P. R.A.S.—(Continued.)

An antique Metal Bowl, from Java, with the Signs of the Zodiac, &c. in Basso-Relievo.

A Calfary Horn used by the Poligars.

By W. Evans, Esq., R.N. ..... *Dec.* 2, 1826.

Specimens of Iron Ore, Carbonate of Lime, Granite, and Silex, from New South Wales.

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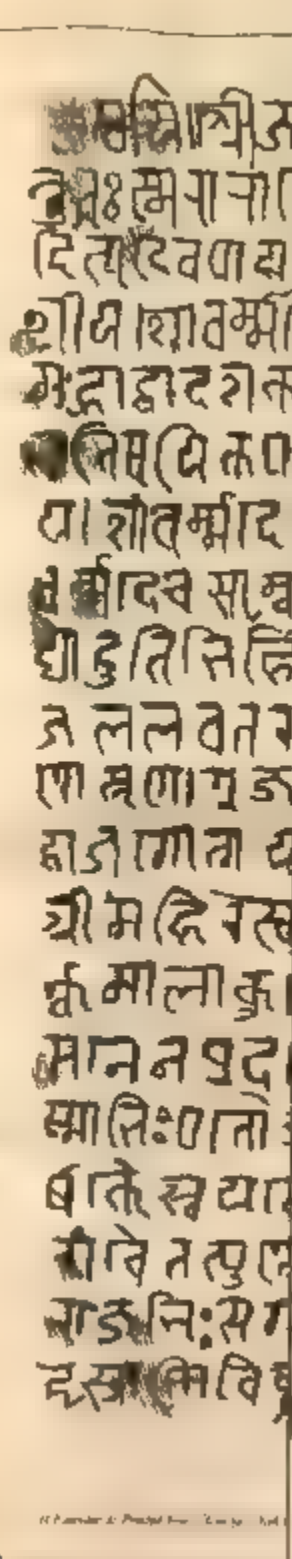

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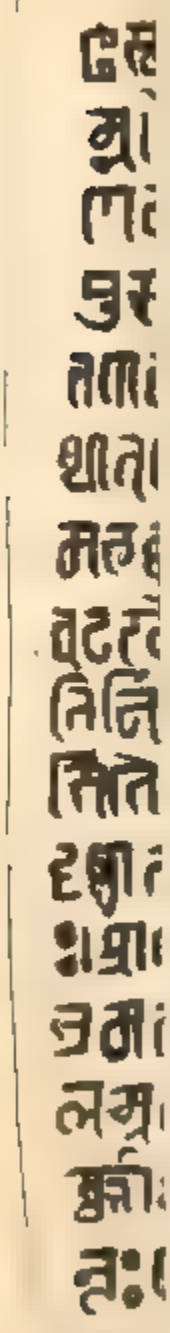

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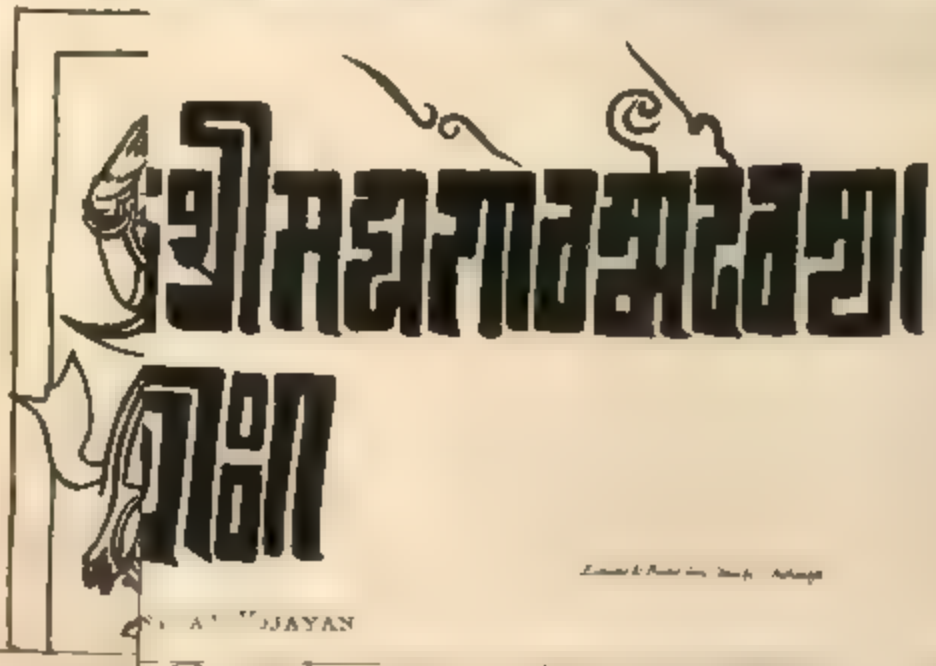

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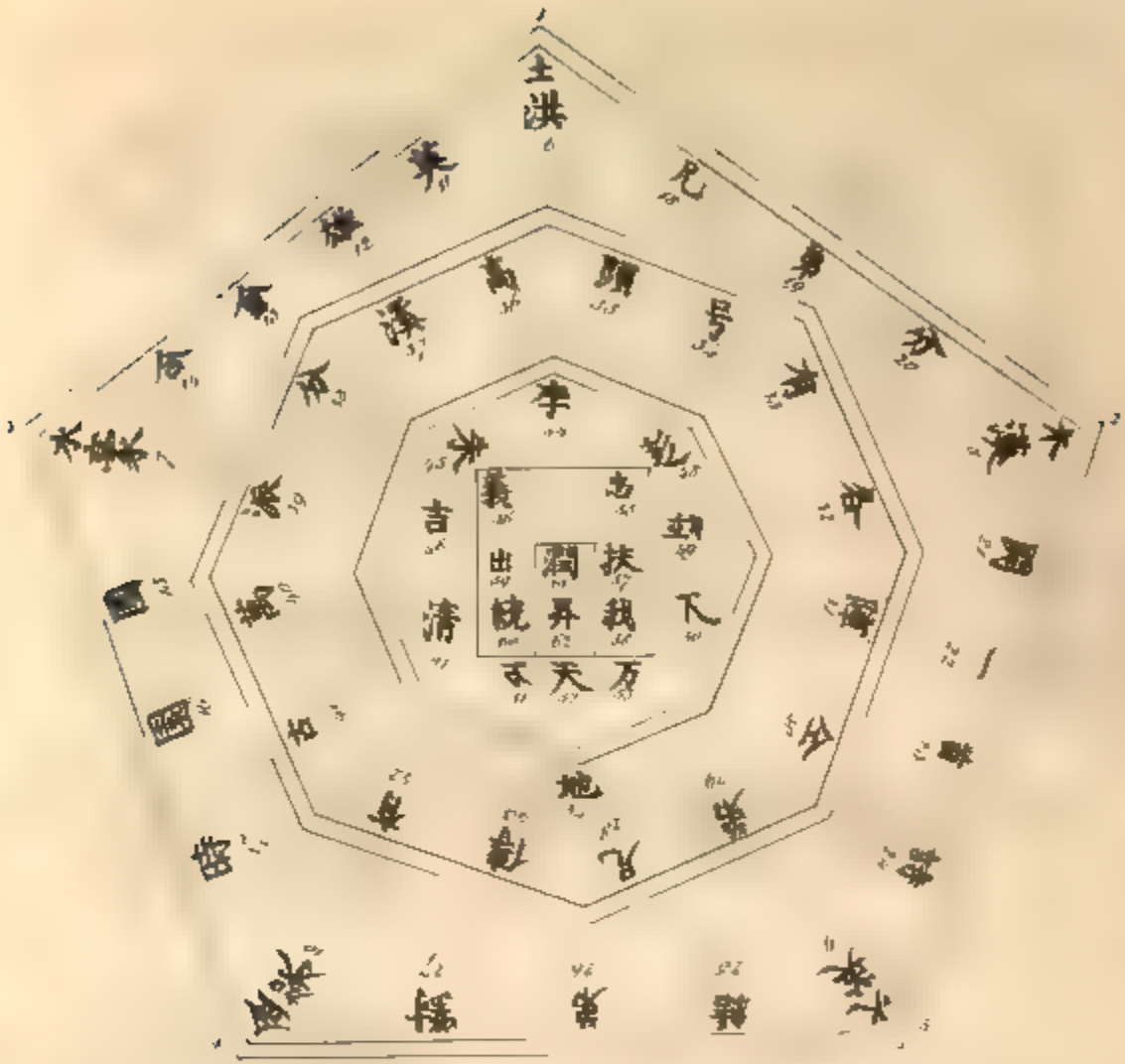

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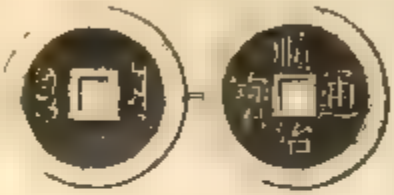

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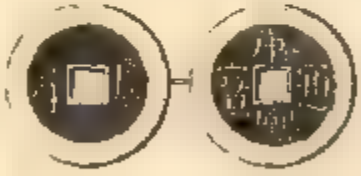

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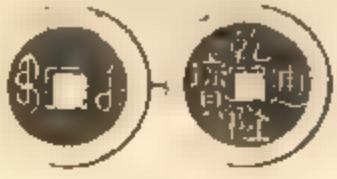

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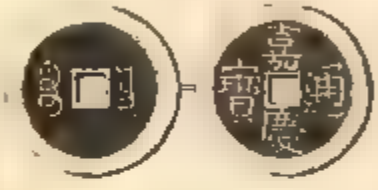

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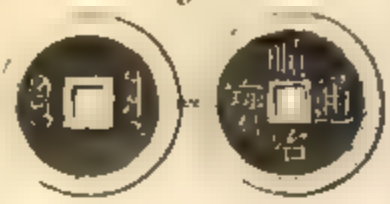

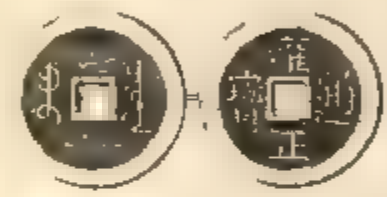

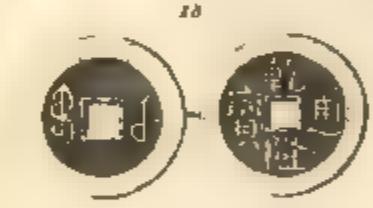

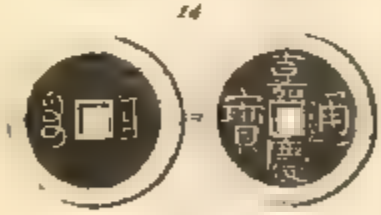

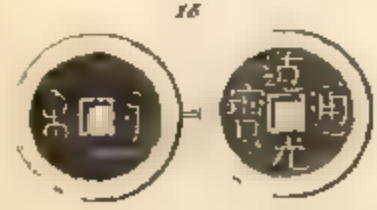

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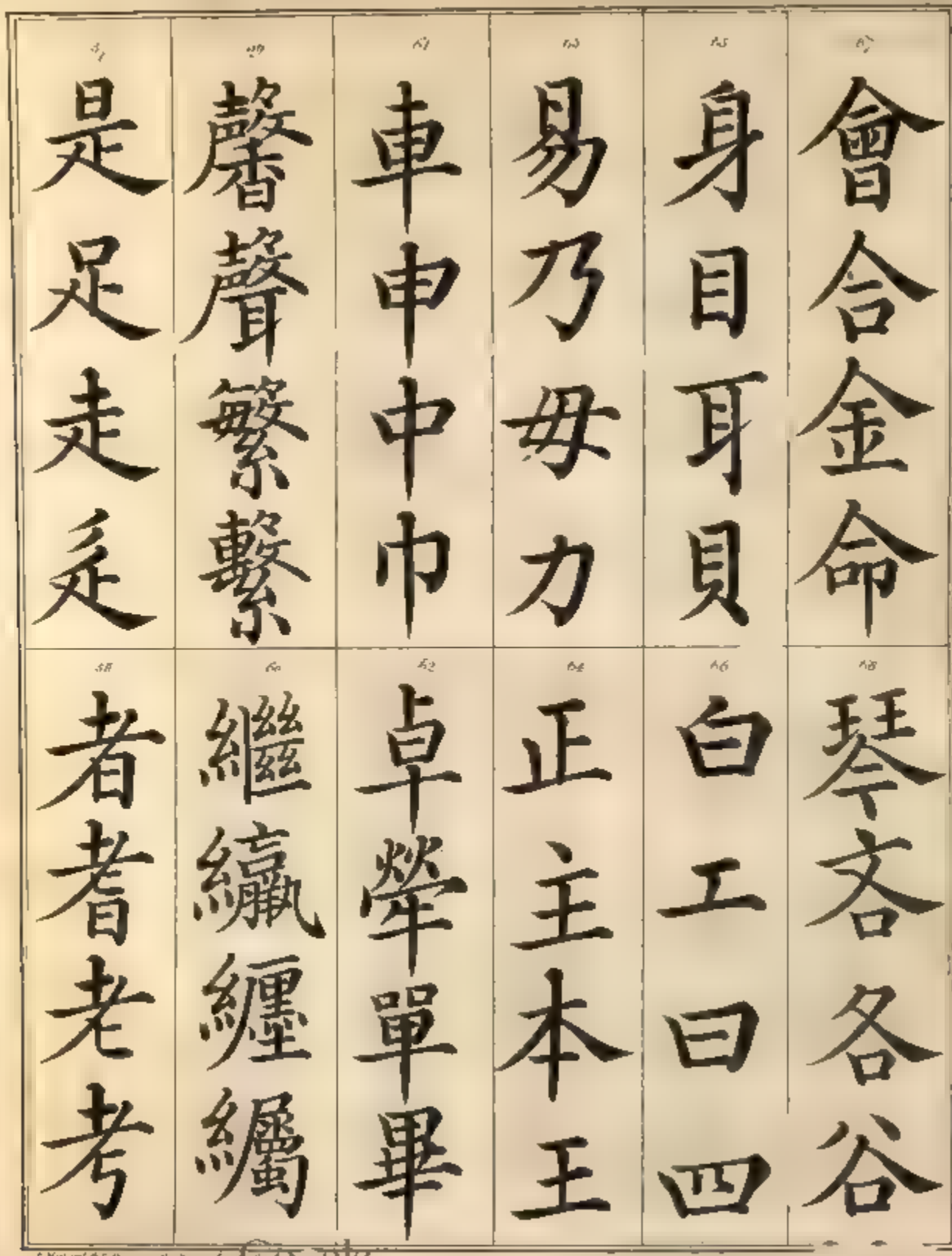
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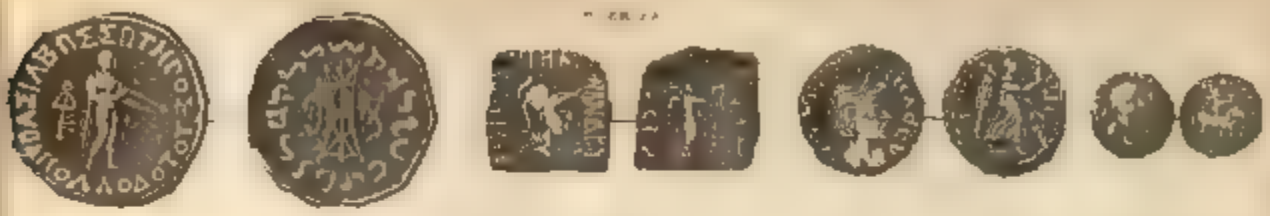

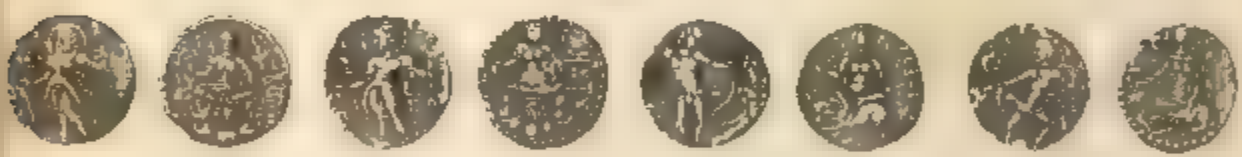

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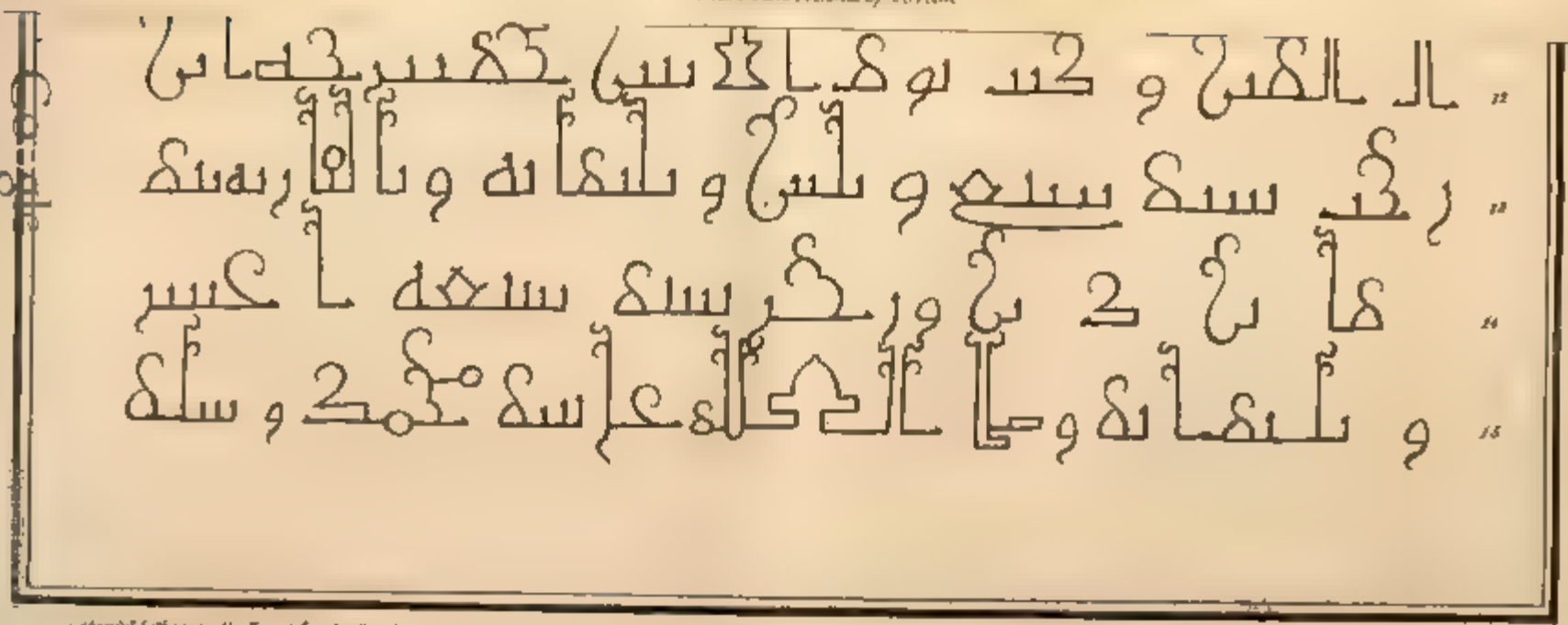

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